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SELECTIONS
FROM THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

Vol. VIII. Oct. 1883—Jan. 1884.

CONTAINING ARTICLES FROM

Nos. LXII—LXXVIII. Sept. 1858—Dec. 1864.

"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they, but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

THOS. S. SMITH, "CITY PRESS," 12, BENTINCK STREET.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.
LONDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL,
AND MAY BE ORDERED OF ALL BOOKSELLERS,

CALENDAR REVIEW,

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDIAN EPISCOPATE.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

1. *Sketch of the Established Church in India; its recent growth, its present state and prospects*; by Edward Whitehead, M. A., Assistant Chaplain, H. E. I. C. Formerly Domestic and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Madras. London: 1848.
2. *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography*; by Sir James Stephen. London: 1849.

IT was in that spring of 1813, when the sad tidings of the death of Henry Martyn were received and wept over by Simcon and his friends, that a great movement, which had long been gathering strength and consistency, seemed to have acquired an irresistible impetus, which would command for it speedy success. The harvest seemed to be ready for the sickle. The labours of those busy workmen, Grant, Teignmouth, Thornton, Wilberforce, Buchanan and their companions, were now about to meet their reward. They had toiled and striven manfully for years. They had encountered public opposition and private ridicule. They had been shouted at by the timid, and sneered at by the profane. They had been described on the one hand, as dangerous intermeddlers, and upon the other, as imbecile fanatics. They had contended only against the open official suppression of Christianity in India; they had asked only for toleration. They had demanded that, in the midst of opposing creeds, the faith of the Christian might be suffered to walk unveiled and unfettered. They had been seeking this liberty for many years; and now at last the day of emancipation was beginning to dawn upon them.

The "Clapham Sect" were victorious. There was, in truth, everything to make them so. All the wit of Sydney Smith and all the ponderous orientalism of Scott Waring could not long prevail against the steady efforts of that little band of strong-headed and strong-hearted Christians. They were not inexperienced novices, or mere idle dreamers. Grant and Teignmouth had spent their lives, from very boyhood, in India. Wilberforce and Thornton had mixed large / with Anglo-Indians, had deep-

ly studied means
of arriving at men—
not merely knowing
nothing of the busy mem-
bers of Pa. Governor-General
of India. They were on their side; and
Christian Englishmen had written much,
and spoken much, on the subject so near their hearts; and now
they were bracing themselves up for a final effort—secure of
victory in the end.

The old Charter of the East India Company was expiring. The provisions of a new one were about to be considered and determined by the Parliament of Great Britain. Great changes of a commercial character were about to be introduced; but with these we have nothing here to do. Our concern is with other changes. A battle was to be fought for the establishment of an Anglo-Indian Episcopate, and for the liberty of Christian Missions. There was nothing very alarming in the provisions for the better maintenance of Christianity in India, which it was now proposed to substitute for a system of studied abnegation. But some weak-minded people had taken alarm, and others with stronger heads and worse hearts had pretended to feel it. For many years there had been an outcry against (what was called) "interference with the religious prejudices of the natives of India." No interference with their religious prejudices had ever been designed; but it suited the purpose of the antagonists of Christian liberty to talk about coercion, as though the millions of Hindústan were about to be converted by a system of general iconoclasm, like that by which Cortes and his followers had made proselytes of the helpless idolators of the Western world. There was, however, supposed to be this difference; that, whereas the Spanish invader had filled with terror, and reduced to prostration, the Mexican heathen, the idol-worshippers of Hindústan would rise up against their Christian conquerors, burn their temples, sacrifice their priests, and involve every white man in the country in a great and indiscriminate slaughter. So was it said; so was it written. So was it said and written in ignorance; so was it said and written with design. Everlasting references to the massacre of Vellore stood instead of other facts, and of all argument. The downfall of the British Empire in India was confidently predicted; and vivid pictures were drawn of mighty multitudes of incensed Brahmin-led Hindús, mingling with fierce bands of insulted Muhammedans, making common cause against the followers of the Nazarene, and driving them into the sea.

Some years before the old Charter expired there had been

a fierce paper war in England—a strife of pamphlets, prosecuted with some vigour on either side, perhaps with some acrimony—about this great matter of the propagation of Christianity in our British Indian possessions. Ever since Mr. Buchanan published in 1805 his memoir on an Indian Church Establishment, the subject had been prominently before the public ; and in spite of the necessary obtrusion of more exciting topics throughout those stirring times of European war, there were circles in which the progress of that great battle between truth and error was regarded with livelier interest than the contest between the Corsican adventurer and the allied sovereigns of Europe. Having exhumed a considerable number of these long-buried pamphlets, and very carefully and conscientiously examined their contents, we are bound to declare our conviction that they are very heavy affairs. One wonders in these days how so interesting a subject could have been treated in so uninteresting a manner. Marvellously little talent illumined these weighty discourses. If it had not been for the Reviewers the controversy would have been conducted in the dullest manner ; but *they* threw a little life into it. A dread of the biting sarcasms of the *Edinburgh Review* extended even to the Northern Provinces of India ; but we would rather have fallen under the hands of Sydney Smith, than have been consigned to the tender mercies of John Foster. The canon of St. Paul's cut sharply with a polished razor ; the dissenting divine clove down with a hatchet. Foster was not a witty man ; but there was a certain dry humour about him, which he turned to profitable account. His sneer was a mighty one. It came down upon its victim, very quietly but very crushingly, like the paw of an elephant. We never rise from the perusal of one of his reviews of Scott Waring, without being haunted by a vision of that unhappy gentleman, flattened and forlorn, like a hat that has been sat upon, gasping in a state of semi-animation, and feebly articulating "quarter!"

Yet this Scott Waring held the chief place in the little army of pamphleteers that fought, with such good will, in defence of genuine Hinduism. On the other side, there was Mr. Owen, Secretary of the Bible Society ; and there was its President, Lord Teignmouth. The latter wrote with most knowledge upon the subject ; but he was not a brilliant writer ; he was in earnest after his kind, but he was not an earnest man. He was not an enthusiast ; he was not a hero. "India House traditions," writes Sir James Stephen, "tell, that when a young aspirant "for distinction there requested one of the Chairs to inform

"him, what was the proper style of writing political despatches,"
 "the Chair made answer 'the style we prefer is the *hum-drum*.'
 "This preference for the hum-drum, enjoined perhaps by the
 "same high authority, clung to Lord Teignmouth, even after
 "his return to Europe. He wrote as if to baffle the critics,
 "and lived as though to perplex the biographers. He was
 "in fact, rather a fatiguing man—of a narcotic influence in
 "general society, with a pen that not rarely dropped truisms;
 "sedate and satisfied under all the vicissitudes of life; the very
 "antithesis and contradiction of a hero."* But he was some-
 thing better than a hero; he was an eminently good and ho-
 nest man; and at a time when lies were being tossed about so
 prodigally, the truisms which dropped from his pen, were not
 without use and significance. It is something, doubtless, to
 make the printed page sparkle with wit, and glow with elo-
 quence; but we would rather have written the following passage,
 which we copy from a manuscript letter now before us, dated
Clampham, February 20, 1806, than all the brilliant essays of
 Smith, Macaulay, and Stephen:—"There is no other basis of
 "temporal and eternal happiness than religion, and there is
 "no other true religion than that which the Gospel teaches. I live
 "in a society, where these principles are avowed and cultivated,
 "and with the peculiar advantage of hearing them taught in a
 "most masterly and impressive style; and the only source of
 "discomfort which I suffer, is from the recollection of the
 "mode in which I passed my youthful years in India. In all
 "other respects I enjoy all the good which this life can afford,
 "and have not a wish towards opulence and ambition. My
 "religion has nothing of gloom; its tendency is to make me
 "cheerful, contented and happy, grateful for what I have, and
 "anxious to show and feel may gratitude to the Disposer of all
 "Good. Religion, which does not produce these effects, is pro-
 "fessional only." But all this savours of digression.

We have no intention to detain the reader with a long recital
 of the narcotic details of this war of pamphlets. A few speci-
 mens will suffice. Among other pamphleteers was Mr. Thomas
 Twining, "late Senior Merchant of the Company's Bengal Es-
 tablishment, whose patronymic has since become familiar to

* The ecclesiastical Biographer's sketch of the career of Lord Teignmouth is not
 as correct as that of his character. For example, it is said that he was promoted by
 Warren Hastings to "a seat in his Supreme Council of four." We need not tell any
 of our Indian readers that Mr. Shore was never a member of the Supreme Council
 during Mr. Hastings's administration, and that the Governor-General had no power to
 make any such appointment. Mr. Shore was a member of the Council of Revenue;
 and it is probable, that by this fact, Sir James Stephen has been misled.

the consumers of tea throughout the whole British world. His letter to the Chairman of the East India Company exploded like a shell in the enemy's camp. It consisted mainly of extracts from the Reports of the Bible Society and the publications of Claudius Buchanan. The original comments were brief, but pungent ; and, it was remarked by a controversialist on the other side, not without some show of truth, " that no such letter was ever before written in a Christian country, under a Christian king, by a gentleman professing the Christian religion."

It may be worth our while to exhume, and that of our readers to examine, a few passages of Mr. Twining's pamphlet. There is a fine antiquarian flavour about them. As relics of a by-gone age, as fossil remains indicating a pre-existent condition of the moral world, they will be pored over with wondering curiosity. The establishment of the Bible Society called forth the following explosion of horror and alarm :—

" I must observe, that my fears of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India have been especially excited by my hearing that a Society exists in this country, the *chief* object of which is the '*universal*' dissemination of the Christian faith ; particularly among those nations of the East to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall for the present make but one observation. I shall only observe, that, if a Society having such objects in view does exist, and if the leading members of that Society are also leading members of the East India Company—and not only of the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors—nay, Sir, not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Board of Control !—if, I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, are our *possessions in the East already in a situation of most eminent and unprecedented peril ; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our Eastern sovereignty commands us to step forth, and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.*

After twenty-two pages of extracts from the Bible Society's Reports and Mr. Buchanan's Memoir (the entire pamphlet consists only of thirty), Mr. Twining thus comments upon the latter :

" Here, Sir, ends the second chapter, which Mr. Buchanan has devoted to this subject, and here, Sir, my extracts from the work must terminate, for *I really cannot cut open the leaves, which contain the sequel sanguinary doctrine.* Again, and again, Sir, I must insist upon the extreme danger to our very existence in India, from the disclosure of such opinions and views to the native inhabitants of that country. Let Mr. Brown, and Mr. Buchanan, and their patrons at Clapham and Leadenhall street, seriously reflect upon the catastrophes of Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore ; and let them beware how they excite that rage and infatuation, which competent judges describe, as without an example among any other people."

And then we have the following ominous notice relative to the Buchanan Prize Essay, which Mr. Twining describes as a "most improper and a most alarming fact :"—

"What must the natives of India think, when they shall know, as most assuredly they will, that Mr. Buchanan has been permitted to engage the national universities of this country, in discussing and determining the best means of diffusing the Christian religion throughout India? It is a fact, and I think a most improper and a most alarming fact, that the Vice Provost of the Company's College at Fort William, has actually bestowed a prize of £500, at each of the Universities, for the best disputation on the following question, *viz* :—" *What are the best means of civilizing the subjects of British India, and of diffusing the light of the Christian Religion through the Eastern World?*"

The letter to the Chairman concludes with the following magiloquent peroration :—

"As long as we continue to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease; but if ever the fatal day should arrive, when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindústan to the other, and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind. But I still hope, Sir, that a perseverance in the indiscreet measures I have described, will not be allowed to expose our countrymen in India to the horrors of that dreadful day: but that our native subjects, in every part of the East, will be permitted quietly to follow their own religious opinions, their own religious prejudices and absurdities, until it shall please the Omnipotent Power of Heaven to lead them into the paths of light and truth."

This pamphlet called into the field a small regiment of rejoinders. We have now before us, "Cursory remarks on Mr. Twining's letter"—"A letter in answer to Mr. Richard Twining, Tea-dealer"—"An address to the Chairman of the East India Company, occasioned by Mr. Twining's letter," &c., &c. The last named of these publications was the production of Mr. Owen, one of the Secretaries of the Bible Society, and principally directed to the defence of that institution. In so far, it is a triumphant reply to Mr. Twining's tirade. Mr. Twining had especially commented on the fact, that Lord Teignmouth, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Thornton were on the Committee of the Society—the first being at its head; Mr. Owen, with reference to this, replied that neither Mr. Grant nor Mr. Thornton had once attended a meeting of the Committee, during the period of three years and a half, for which the Society had existed; and he successfully exploded a surmise to which some weight was attached, that a certain letter from Mr. Brown was addressed to Mr. Grant, by declaring that it was written to himself. Bishop Porteus followed Mr. Owen; and Scott Waring having taken the field on

the other side, Lord Teignmouth sat down to write his "considerations" on the duty and expediency of communicating a knowledge of Christianity to the natives of India. It was said at the time, and with undeniable truth, that if this pamphlet had appeared at the beginning of the controversy, no other need have been written. It was sensible, argumentative, and conclusive; and it showed that he had a more prophetic vision than the alarmists with whom he contended.

The Charter of 1793 wore to its close; and now the great question was about to be formally decided. It had virtually been decided before. Public opinion, before the dawn of 1813, had pronounced the doom of the abnegation system. But still that was a great year. The institution of an episcopal establishment in India was about to be formally proposed in Parliament (somewhat unwillingly, for Lord Castlereagh was to be the proposer); but the people of England were declaring so emphatically in favour of a more open recognition of Christianity by a Christian Government, and the concession of greater liberty to Christian ministers in the East, that it was no longer possible to withstand the tide of popular feeling. Petitions began to pour in from all parts of the country; from all classes of men; from all denominations of Protestant Christians. "On the subject of facilitating the diffusion of Christianity in India," wrote Mr. Simeon to his "dear friend and brother" Thomson, "there are going to be petitions from all quarters. Vast opposition is made to it: Lord Castlereagh is adverse to it; examination is making in relation to it at the bar of the House of Commons; Mr. Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, and others have given their evidence; Hastings is very adverse. Lord Castlereagh's plan is to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons; but whether it will be approved by Parliament I cannot tell.*" The war was now being waged in earnest. The resolutions had by this time been stated to the House; and,

* Lord Liverpool was at this time Prime Minister. Lord Castlereagh was Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons. The Earl of Buckinghamshire was President of the Board of Control. It is believed that the Premier was more liberally disposed than his colleagues towards the promotion of Christianity in India. "It is so good," wrote Buchanan in July 1812, "as to tell—and—that I have received a letter from Colonel Macaulay this morning, informing me that a deputation of Messrs. Wilberforce, Grant, Babington, &c., had waited on Lord Liverpool, on the subject of evangelising India, and that his Lordship surprised them by offering almost more than they wished. He intimated his intention to carry the three following important measures—1st. To establish a seminary at each presidency in India for instructing natives for the ministry; 2nd. To grant licenses to Missionaries, not from the Court of Directors, but from the Board of Control; 3rd. To consecrate Bishops for India." It is probable that Lord Castlereagh's punning knife was applied to this scheme; and thence the modified form, which it assumed in the resolutions.

a few days after Simeon's letter was written, the Protestant Dissenters of the country memorialised Parliament, setting forth that "to represent a system of idolatry and superstition as "tending to produce moral virtue and human happiness, "is no less contrary to the dictates of sound reason and "philosophy, than irreconcilable with the first principles on "which our faith is built; and that, entertaining a directly "opposite sentiment, the petitioners are anxiously desirous "that the light and blessings of Christianity should be gradu- "ally diffused over the immense empire of Great Britain in "the East, which, instead of being thereby endangered, would, "as they believe on the ground of fact and experience, derive "additional strength and stability from the spread of the Christ- "ian religion; and that the petitioners are fully aware of the "mass of ignorance and prejudice to be encountered, and that "the progress of knowledge must be proportionably slow; but "whilst the means of persuasion only are employed (and all "others they utterly deprecate), they are at a loss to discover "from whence any such apprehensions of danger can arise, as "to induce any wise and good government to discountenance "the attempt." Local petitions poured in both from England and Scotland. Glasgow put forth an emphatic appeal, both in behalf of the general dissemination of Christianity throughout India, and through its ministers and elders, of the claims of the Scottish Church to recognition in India. The Synod of Fife embodied both objects in one comprehensive petition. Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from "the Treasurer, Secretaries, "and Directors of a certain voluntary Society, known by the name "of the Missionary Society, instituted in 1795;" but, half ashamed of it, begged to be understood as giving no opinion on the subject. Warrington, Sunderland, Leeds, Weymouth, and other places in the north and south, too numerous to specify, poured in their petitions both to the Upper and the Lower House. And whilst the two Houses were receiving these indications of popular opinion out-of-doors, they were busily engaged in taking the evidence of experienced members of the civil and military services, and of the commercial community, regarding the different points embraced in the Charter of the great Company, which was now about to lose some of its dearest privileges, in spite of the most manful efforts to retain them.

Among the remarkable men, examined by the Parliamentary Committees, were Warren Hastings, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Lord Teignmouth. When Hastings was asked by the Commons' Committee, whether he recol-

lected any Missionaries in India in his time, he said that he remembered Schwartz, "a very worthy gentleman" in the Carnatic; and another in Calcutta, Kiernander, who might not perhaps be properly described as a Missionary. He stated also, that he remembered one conversion in Calcutta, effected by Kiernander, because it was announced "with great pomp and parade;" and that he remembered a Catholic priest at Dacca, who boasted that he had a number of Christian converts, but did not seem to understand Christianity himself. When he was asked, what would be the consequences, if persons were allowed to employ themselves as Missionaries, "unlicensed and subject to no restraint;" he answered, that he could not suppose such a situation: but, when told that the Committee meant "unrestrained, as to the mode they may think proper to adopt for effecting their object," he said, that if such people had demeaned themselves properly, he should have taken no notice of them; but that, if they had given out, that Government encouraged their designs, he should have exercised his authority in controlling them, or, if necessary, have sent them out of the country. To the question, "What is your opinion as to the political effect of the measure proposed respecting a Church Establishment for India?" he gave this answer:—

"The question is one of great intricacy, and of such delicacy, that I should almost fear to speak to it, but that my respect for this Honorable House enjoins it; because, though it specifically mentions only political effects, yet it intimates no allusion to the nature of the office itself. Of the religious uses, or present necessity, of such a creation I cannot be a judge, and therefore can say nothing to it; and, unless I knew both the circumstances and object of the creation, it would be impossible for me to conjecture in what way they could affect the peace of the country. May I say, without offence, that I wish any other time had been chosen for it? A surmise has gone forth of an intention in this Government to force our religion upon the consciences of the people in India, who are subjected to the authority of the Company. It has pervaded every one of the three Establishments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and has unhappily impressed itself with peculiar force upon the minds of our native infantry, the men on whom we must depend, in the last resort, for our protection against any disturbances which might be the effect of such surmises. Much would depend upon the temper, conduct, and demeanour of the person devoted to that sacred office. I dare not say all that is in my mind on this subject; but it is one of great hazard.

And thus expressing his fears, the fine old man stood * there,

* We ought to right *sate*. The accommodation of a chair was offered to Mr. Hastings, then in his eighty-first year; and it is on record, that the motion to afford him a seat, whilst delivering his evidence, was received with one of the loudest bursts of acclamation ever heard in the House. His own account of his examination is to be found in a letter addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Charles D'Oyley.

the embodiment of public opinion, as it was in India some twenty years before. Another Governor-General followed him ; he spoke also, according to the light that was in him—but how different that light ! Lord Teignmouth came forward, as the representative of a more enlightened era, laughing to scorn all these vague fears and idle apprehensions. The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme case :—“ Would it be consistent “ with the security of the British empire in India, that Missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of “ the native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or should “ speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious “ rights ? ” To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied, that there might be danger in such indiscretion ; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the natives of India by such means ; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, “ Is “ your Lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India, that “ it is the intention of the British Government to take means to “ convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion ? ” He answered, without a moment’s hesitation, “ *I never heard it, or suspected it.* ” One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically ; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the natives, the appearance of a Bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. “ I should think,” said Lord Teignmouth, “ it would be viewed with perfect indifference.” Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, “ *were* the Hindús possessed with an idea, that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all ? ” “ I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question,” said Lord Teignmouth ; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence elicited, throughout the enquiry, upon all points of the Company’s Charter :—

“ Both the Hindús and Muhammedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that in all the public acts of that Government, every attention has been paid to their prejudices,

“ By the Commons,” he said. “ I was under examination between three and four hours ; and when I was ordered to withdraw, and was retiring, all the members by one simultaneous impulse rose with their heads uncovered, and stood in silence, till I passed the door of their Chamber.”—The Duke of Gloucester took him in his carriage to the House of Lords, sat with him in the outer-room till he was called in to be examined, conducted him to the Chamber, and subsequently re-conveyed him home again.—*Gleig’s Life of Warren Hastings.*

civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed to them ; that there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances ; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions, would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country."

But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer ; so they assailed him again, by asking, "*Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the natives to Christianity,*" would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences ?" To this, of course, but one answer could be given ; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. "If a law were to be enacted," he said, "for converting the natives of India to Christianity in such a manner, as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in that case, it would be attended with very great danger." Who ever doubted it ? Who ever contended for anything so preposterous—so insane ? The Committee must have been *in extremis*, indeed, to have fallen back upon such sciomachy as this. They suppose a case, which the warmest advocate of Church-extension and Missionary liberty in India would never have contemplated in their most enthusiastic moments ; and which the leaders of the Christian party, men of eminently sound practical good sense, would, if suggested to them, have repudiated with scorn. Such hypothetical questioning—such fighting with shadows, was quite unworthy of a Committee, whose object ought to have been to direct men's minds to the truth, and not to bewilder and lead them astray. No one ever dreamt of forcing Christianity upon the people of India : but the tendency, if not the object, of such questions as we have cited, was obviously to induce an impression abroad that such intentions had absolutely existed. The Lords' Committee, when they examined Lord Teignmouth, did not touch upon the subject of religion, or Church establishments, at all.*

* But, knowing the kind of answers that would be returned by the two men, they had not shrunk from questioning Hastings on these points, though Teignmouth was discreetly left to himself. Warren Hastings was asked, "Would the introduction of a Church establishment into the British territories in the East Indies probably be attended with any consequences, that would be injurious to the stability of the Government of India ?" and he replied, "I have understood that a great fermentation

These samples will suffice. We come now to shew in what manner these questions were discussed in Parliament. It may not be uninteresting thus to exhibit, within a small compass, the conflicting opinions of the pamphleteers, of the witnesses, and of the Senate of Great Britain.

On the 22nd of March, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, the Resolutions were stated by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh. When he came to (what ten years before had been, and still were somewhat irreverently called) the "pious clauses," he seemed somewhat inclined to get over the ground with as much rapidity as possible. "Another resolution," he said, "which he should propose to the House, would be on the subject of religion. He was aware that it was unwise to encroach on the subject of religion generally, and that this, under the circumstances of our Government in India, was a most delicate question. But there was one regulation on the subject necessary, even for the sake of decency. The Company entrusted with the Supreme Government, in this as in other matters, had permitted the free exercise of religion at their settlements; but there was no sort of religious control; and the members of the Church of England could not receive the benefits of those parts of their religion, to which the Episcopalian functions were necessary,—for example, the ceremony of Confirmation. He hoped that *the House did not think he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only amount to one Bishop and three Archdeacons*, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. The Company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects in India were governed by British laws, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion." Charles Grant and Mr. Wilberforce both spoke (but briefly) on that evening; the latter complaining—"that the resolution of the 14th of May 1793, relative to the religious and moral instruction of India, had

"has arisen in the minds of the natives of India, who are subject to the authority of the British Government, and that not partial, but extending to all our possessions, arising from a belief, however propagated, that there was an intention in this Government to encroach upon the religious rights of the people. From the information of persons, who have recently come from the different establishments of India, your Lordships will easily know whether such apprehensions still subsisted when they left it, or whether the report of them is groundless; but if such apprehensions do exist, every thing, that the irritable minds of the people can connect with that, will make an impression upon them, which they will adopt as certain assurance of it. So far only, considering the question as a political one, I may venture to express my apprehension of the consequences of such an establishment, at this particular season; in no other light, am I permitted to view it. But I can conceive, that, in a proper time and season, it would be advantageous to the interests of religion, and highly creditable to the Company and to the nation, if the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India were rendered complete in all its branches."

“not been attended to.” He was unwilling, he said, to leave the same power in the hands of the Directors, for twenty years to come, who had set their face against the introduction of preachers into that country for twenty years past.

On the 9th of April, moving for certain papers, the Marquis of Wellesley, in an able and energetic speech, reviewed the whole question of Indian Government in the House of Lords. When he came to those especial points which we are now considering, he gave his opinion, but not without some qualification, in favour of an extension of the Church establishment, and delivered himself of a well-deserved complimentary tribute to the Missionaries. But he spoke as a man with a hobby of his own, which he was resolutely bestriding; and, thoughtless of any great comprehensive system calculated to advance the real glory of a Christian nation, he looked only to the carrying out his favourite project of an extensive Collegiate establishment, to be presided over by the dignitaries of the Church. The old bugbear of alarming the natives had possession even of his mind:—

“As to the last point,” he said, “which regarded the Ecclesiastical establishment in India, he always had thought that our Ecclesiastical establishment there, did not rest on a footing sufficiently respectable. He was of opinion that a suitable Ecclesiastical establishment would tend to elevate the European character in the eyes of the natives. Whether the proper establishment would be a Bishop or Archdeacons, was a matter of detail which could be better discussed out of that House. But if it were intended to place the Ecclesiastical establishment there on a more dignified footing, care should be taken to avoid all collision between the Government and the Church establishment, with respect to their authorities, by means similar to the connection between the Crown and the Church in this country and in Ireland. From recent events which had taken place in India, it would, however, be certainly a matter of considerable delicacy; and, although no mischief might result from it, yet there was a possibility that the introduction of a very considerable novelty of this description in India *might occasion some alarm among the natives.*”

He lamented the absence from the scheme of the new Charter of any provision for the education of the civil and military servants of the Company. He expressed his conviction that there could be no better means of disseminating Christianity in India, than by placing the head of the Church establishment there at the head of the Collegiate establishment of Fort William; and he augured much from “the gradual diffusion of knowledge, which would result from this intercourse between learned natives and the dignitaries of our Church in India.” He then went on to speak of the Missionaries:—

“With regard to the Missionaries, he must say, that while he was in India, he never knew of any danger arising from them; neither had he heard of any impression made by them, in the way of conversion. The greater number

of them were in the Danish settlements ; but he never heard of any convulsions, or any alarm being produced by them. Some of them, particularly Mr. Carey, were very learned men, and had been employed in the College of Bengal. He had always considered the Missionaries, who were in India during his time, as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body ; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He, however, had issued no order, nor given any authority for the dissemination of those translations among the natives. He had thought it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives, employed in the translation, the advantages of access to the sacred fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he believed that a British Governor ought not to do more.*

The President of the Board of Control and the Prime Minister spoke upon that evening, and Lord Grenville made a very long and very able speech ; but the religious points of the question were left untouched.

In the meanwhile the Commons had proceeded in their consideration of the resolutions. On the 31st of March, they had resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, (Mr. Lushington in the Chair). A lengthy debate ensued, principally remarkable for a very dull speech by Mr. Bruce, and a

* The influence of Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate personal friend of Lord Wellesley, had been exerted, in this direction, with good success. With admirable tact and *savoir faire*, he assailed the weak side of his Lordship, appealing to his particular sympathies and predilections, and almost persuading him that the Anti Christian party were attacking the Ex-Governor-General's own system. "I know not," he wrote "whether your Lordship has heard of the unreasonable clamour, that has been raised by the Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons against all, even the most prudent attempts to convert the natives of India ; and more especially against Missionaries. Now, let me hope—a hope, which I share with, I am glad to say, a considerable number of men in the House of Commons, and with many more out of it—that your Lordship will to-morrow use your just authority in putting to flight these vain fears ;—the rather, because the alarmists are enemies of the system, which your Lordship certainly established, and which, I trust, you will confirm and revive, that, I mean, of diffusing useful knowledge of all sorts among the natives of India ; and I confess, for my own part, that I have always held, and still retain, the opinion, that education, the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, and advancement in general knowledge, would be far the most powerful agents in the great work of Christianizing the natives of India. Your weight thrown into the right scale will make it preponderate." To this he adds a complaint, too applicable we fear to the Parliament of the present day, of the ignorance of both Houses—"I will only add, that your Lordship can scarcely conceive (if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons) how ignorant their Lordships in general are likely to be regarding India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in Committee." A wish was also expressed that the Marquis would attend that Committee, of which he was a member, but an ever-absent one. In replying to the speech, from which we have quoted in the text, the Earl of Buckingham, then President of the Board of Control, taunted Lord Wellesley with his non-attendance. A Select Committee had been formed, of which his noble friend was a member, but he never once had attended that Committee ; with all the knowledge and all the information he possessed on that subject, he had not condescended to cast one ray of light on their proceedings, &c., &c. Warren Hastings, Mr. Cowper, and Lord Teignmouth, had all been examined at this time.

very brilliant one by young Charles Grant.* Canning also spoke, characterising the free admission of Englishmen as traders in India, as a movement, to "allow a few pedlars to travel in the country with a pack of scissors, or other hardware at their backs;" and declared his conviction that "no system could be radically bad, which had produced such able and enlightened statesmen, as had been examined on the part of the Company." But the "pious clauses" were not then touched upon. It was not, indeed, until the 17th of June, that the 12th resolution—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance," came under discussion. It passed without a division; but, as that ordinarily minute reporter, Hansard, narrates, "after a long conversation." We confess, that, even at this distance of time, we should value some account of this "conversation." The Missionary clause came next. That was the field, on which the great battle was to be fought between the Christian and the Philo-Hindú parties. The resolution was thus worded:—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." A special day was set apart for the discussion of this clause. It was cautiously worded, so as to contain no direct mention of Missionaries and Christianity. The 22nd of June was fixed for the discussion. Wilberforce had girded himself for the conflict, and went down to the House with quite an encyclopædia of authorities in support of his favourite opinions. His whole heart was in the encounter. He spoke long and well, tossing about the testimonies of the learned with a prodigality that was quite overwhelming. He quoted the opinions of all the Governors-General, one after the other, to show that the people of India were the most abandoned people on the face of the earth. He quoted the historians: he quoted the Missionaries; he quoted the civil servants of the Company

* The present Lord Glenelg. It must have been a fine thing to have seen the two Charles Grants—father and son—fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons.

He quoted Orme, Verelst, Scrafton, Bolt, Malcolm, Grant, Mackintosh, Colebrooke, Kerr, Marshmen, Carey, Ward, and an infinite number of official reports. He piled up authority upon authority to demonstrate the claims of this unhappy and most benighted people upon the Christian sympathies of the British nation. It was a noble piece of special pleading, not exempt from exaggeration—that exaggeration, which is perhaps seldom absent from the addresses of a man very full of his subject, very earnest and energetic, thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and intensely eager to bring conviction to the minds of others. The grandeur of its aims, the high character and pure sincerity of the speaker, impart a dignity and a purity to the address, which it is impossible not to venerate. It made an impression upon the House; it made an impression throughout the country. “The dogmas of some men,” writes Sir James Stephen, who, in fulfilment of the mandate, *thine own friend and thy Father’s friend forsake not*, has borne touching and eloquent tribute to the worth of Wilberforce and his chosen associates, “the dogmas of some men are of incomparably more value (in the House of Commons) than the logic of others; and no member, except the leaders of the great contending parties, addressed the House with an authority equal to that of “Mr. Wilberforce.” Out of the House, too, his name was a tower of strength. Carefully corrected by the speaker, the speech, to which we now refer, was published by Hatchard, and found its way into extensive circulation. Its course was successful, but not unopposed. The resolution was carried that night by a majority of 89 to 36; but, after a day or two, the question was re-opened in another stage of the business. On the 28th, the elder Grant made a long and able speech in defence of the Company. Mr. Lushington followed, with a reply to Mr. Wilberforce, and a defence of the Hindús, to be answered by stout William Smith,* who, with Mr. Stephen, the father of the ecclesiastical biographer, had fought the battle of Christianity nobly, as the lieutenants of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st of July, the discussion was again resumed, and a very remarkable speech delivered on the wrong side of the question.

The speaker was Mr. Charles Marsh. This gentleman had

* Mr. Tierney was the next speaker. Mr. Tierney often said very clever things in a very bad spirit. But it appears to us that the following is a very stupid thing in a very bad spirit. “He now came to the consideration of a clause for the appointment of an Archbishop, who was never to apply himself to trade. Why, what was he to employ himself about? An arduous task—the jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to remote Cape Horn. It would have been well, had any explanation been given, concerning what the Archbishop was to busy himself about. He had no concern with morals and religion: these were confided in a separate clause to the Missionaries. It appeared to him a gross job, the object of which was Church patronage in India.” In such a spirit, and with such an amount of intelligence, was the episcopal question discussed by independent members of the House of Commons.

formerly been a member of the legal profession at Madras. He had taken a conspicuous part in the discussions which had arisen, a few years before, out of the unhappy dissensions at that presidency, during the administration of Sir George Barlow, distinguishing himself by the bitterness with which he assailed that misjudged statesman. He was a writer and speaker of eminent ability; bold, earnest, and impetuous; but he wanted judgment, temper, and consistency. He used strong language, and he used it well. His declamation was forcible, vivid, picturesque. But the impression left upon the minds of his hearers was of a transitory character. They admired his eloquence, but were not convinced by his arguments. The address, which he delivered on the 1st of July 1813—an elaborate protest against Christian liberty in India—even now that a second Charter has nearly expired since it was reported, cannot be read without the strongest feelings of regret, that such fine talents were turned to such bad account. With a more chastened fancy, a more calm and philosophic temperament, with a less dominant self-reliance, with less impatience, and with less intolerance, he might have taken a foremost place among the debaters of that epoch; but he wanted the steadiness and the more useful qualities, without which neither the Senate nor the Forum bestow their honors upon the competitor for distinction.

There was little or nothing in this address that had not been said before; but Mr. Marsh assuredly said it better than it had been said before. He said, indeed, everything that could be said upon the subject; and he said it extremely well. A dexterous allusion to the murder at Blackheath of Mr. and Mrs. Bonar by their footman Nicholson, which was to the year 1813 what the Manning murder was to 1849; and to the still mysterious affair of the alleged attack upon the Duke of Cumberland by his valet Sellis—two incidents which were then exciting the public mind—told with something of novel effect on the House, and must be regarded as an original illustration of the superior virtue of the native servants who sleep at our doors:—

“There is, however, one relation of life on which all its comfort and most of its security depends, and in this the Hindus are punctiliously faithful—I mean that of servants. I cannot help demanding the testimony of those, who have resided in India, to this fact; a fact which pleads for them, I should hope, with the more efficacy, from the dreadful occurrence which have of late destroyed the confidence, and impaired the safety of that most important of the social connections in this country. You entrust your servants in India without apprehension, with money, jewels, plate. You sleep amongst them with open doors. You travel through remote and unfrequented countries, and your life and property are safe under their

protection. Can all this be the fruit of a superstition, which morality and right reason require us to extirpate, as a nuisance and an abomination?"

We must give another sample or two of this speech. Here is a picture of the misery resulting from loss of caste:—

"The loss of caste is the immediate consequence of conversion; and it is the most dreadful ill with which a Hindu can be visited. It throws upon him every variety of wretchedness. It extinguishes all the wholesome charities and kindly affections. His very kindred desert him. It becomes an abomination to eat with him, even to speak to him. The hand is accursed that ministers to him. All mankind fly from him as from an infection. His only refuge from this overwhelming force of misery is death; a solitary, friendless, un comforted death, amidst the scoffs and scorn, and revilings of his species."

* It was of course the object of this party to exalt the Hindu character. It must, in all candour, be acknowledged, that Wilberforce and his associates had unduly depreciated it. There was considerable exaggeration on both sides; but it may be doubted whether the following eloquent picture of Hinduism is not more poetically untrue than anything that emanated from Mr. Marsh's antagonists:—

"Indeed, when I turn my eyes either to the present condition, or ancient grandeur of that country; when I contemplate the magnificence of her structures; her spacious reservoirs, constructed at an immense expense, pouring fertility and plenty over the land, the monuments of a benevolence expanding its cares over remote ages; when I survey the solid and embellished architecture of her temples; the elaborate and exquisite skill of her manufactures and fabrics; her literature, sacred and profane; her gaudy and enamelled poetry, on which a wild and prodigal fancy has lavished all its opulence; when I turn to the philosophers, lawyers, and moralists who have left the oracles of political and ethical wisdom to restrain the passions, and to awe the vices which disturb the commonwealth; when I look at the peaceful and harmonious alliances of families, guarded and secured by the household virtues; when I see, amongst a cheerful and well-ordered society, the benignant and softening influences of religion and morality, a system of manners founded on a mild and polished obedience, and preserving the surface of social life smooth and unruffled—I cannot hear without surprise, mingled with horror, of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize or convert such a people, at a hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions, which appear to have hitherto been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy."

This speech called forth a rejoinder from Wilberforce, distinguished by no common ability. Southey had ransacked his marvellous common-place book to supply illustrations, drawn from Portuguese history, of the little danger that attends interference with the customs of the people of India. And now the speaker, thus fortified by the erudition of the newly-appointed laureate, cited Albuquerque with good effect; entered into an elaborate explanation of the causes of the massacre of Vellore (an event which Mr. Marsh had of course emphatically dwelt upon, for it was the stock-in-trade of his party); spoke of the

suppression of female infanticide by Jonathan Duncan and Colonel Walker, and of the Sagor sacrifices by Lord Wellesley ; rebuked Mr. Marsh for speaking of the Missionaries as Ana-baptists and fanatics ; and compared the present contest with the great struggle, in which he and his friends had so long been engaged, for the suppression of the slave-trade. He was followed by Mr. Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and other speakers, among whom was Whitbread, who spoke out manfully in favour of the resolution : "I am charmed with Whitbread," wrote Buchanan to a friend, a few days afterwards, "when he sounds the right note." The House divided ; and there were fifty-four votes for the clause, and thirty-two against it. A hundred members could not be induced to sit out this important debate. Five hundred had divided a few weeks before on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The most important Indian questions were debated in thin Houses. The clause, however, was not carried less surely for that in the Commons. In the House of Lords it passed without a division.

And so the victory was gained. A Charter, embracing the establishment of an Indian Bishopric and the concession of greater liberty to Christian Missions, passed into law ; and those good men, who had fought so valiantly in the libraries of their suburban villas, and on the floor of the Commons' House at Westminster, rejoiced with an exceeding great joy over their success. "In the roll of names," writes Sir James Stephen, "most distinguished in that conflict, scarcely one can be found, which does not also grace the calendar of Clapham. It was a cause "emphatically Claphamic." They all lived to see the end of the struggle ; but, the contest over, some soon descended to their graves. "John Venn," says the ecclesiastical biographer, "to whom the whole sect looked up as their pastor and spiritual guide, was at that time on his death-bed. He had been the projector, and one of the original founders of the Society for sending Missionaries of the Anglican communion to Africa and the East—a body, which, under the name of the 'Church Missionary Society,' now commands a wider field of action, and a more princely revenue, than any Protestant association of the same character."* Nor was he the only one of that band

* The Church Missionary Society exerted itself to the utmost in this conjuncture. On the 21st April 1812, a special general meeting of the Society was held, at which 400 gentlemen were present, including several members of Parliament. Lord Gambier was in the Chair. By this meeting a Committee, or Deputation, was appointed to seek for interviews with his Majesty's Ministers, and to use all available means of obtaining a favourable reply to their petition. This deputation held various conferences with the Prime Minister and other leading members of the administration : but their success was mainly owing to the indefatigable labours of the Secretary of the Society the Rev. Josiah Pratt.

He made arrangements for large and influential meetings throughout the country,

of Christian athletes, whose days were well nigh numbered. Henry Thornton did not long survive his honoured friend and pastor; and Claudius Buchanan soon followed his early benefactor to the grave. Neither lived to receive the tidings of the arrival of the first Indian Bishop at the seat of his future labours. In January 1815, Henry Thornton entered into his rest. Claudius Buchanan, whose strength had been for some time visibly declining, came up from the country to attend the funeral of his revered patron and friend. The effort was too much for him. The inclement January weather told with deadly effect upon his decaying constitution, and he returned home only to die.

He was not an old man. He had not, indeed, entered his fiftieth year. But he had brought with him a debilitated constitution from India, and had encountered many severe trials since his return to his native land. The disappointments of worldly ambition were not, however, among them. He was not a disappointed man. If he had ever been ambitious, he had long outgrown his ambition. It was of course imputed to him that his zeal in behalf of the establishment of episcopal jurisdiction in India was fostered, if it was not actually generated, by a selfish desire to place the mitre upon his own brows. It would have been marvellous, if this charge had not been brought against him; for in polemics forbearance is a rare quality; but we believe, that there was no more truth in the accusation than in the ordinary shifts of defeated controversialists, who, when argument is lacking, betake themselves to abuse. Before leaving India, he had written to Mr. Grant,—“As to returning in order to receive episcopal dignity, my soul sinks at the thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear; it will do good among the Hindus. A spiritual Bishop will appear in good time.” True, this same *Nolo episcopari* has often been uttered before, and with no great amount of sincerity. But we believe that Buchanan was sincere. He had very large views of Episcopal Church government; but we do not believe that they

framed petitions, drew up resolutions, and himself appealed most effectively to the public, both from the platform and through the press; and with the most marked and happy effect, in January 1813, he published the first number of “The Missionary Register.” The admirable and judicious manner in which he brought the claims of the heathen before the public, his own high character, personal influence, and holy zeal in the cause, and the (already) high and well won reputation of the Serampore Missionaries, did much to win the battle. Nor was he, even in this life, without his reward. In one year, after the publication of the Register, the income of the Society rose from £3,000 to £14,000; and, what its subsequent course has been, all Christians know. He lived to see “a spiritual” Bishop: he lived to see his own pupil and friend at the head of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment; he lived to see his own son (the present Archdeacon of Calcutta) like minded with himself, labouring in the same great field; and he died, lamented by good men of every persuasion, full of years and honour.

embraced his own promotion. He was not the first to cry aloud for the appointment of an Anglo-Indian Bishop. More than a century before, Dean Prideaux had contended for the expediency of such a measure. Long before Buchanan lifted up his voice in behalf of the East, some of our Western settlements had been endowed with Episcopal establishments. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia was appointed in 1787 ; and in 1793, Quebec was erected into an Episcopal See. Buchanan's grand ideas of a fitting Church establishment for India were regarded forty years ago as the exaggerations of an enthusiast ; but we are not now very far from the realisation of his splendid dreams. "One observation I would make," he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "on the proposed ecclesiastical establishment. A partial or half measure will have no useful effect. An Archbishop is wanted for India ; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his Bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway ; a venerable personage whose name shall be greater than the transitory governors of the land ; and whose fame, for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every region." It is not wholly impossible that the next Charter may contain provisions for "an Archbishop, surrounded by his Bishops." We are not very far removed from such a consummation.

What was thought by Claudius Buchanan of the selection, that was made from among the clergy of Great Britain to fill the Episcopal chair, now first planted on Indian soil, his biographer has not informed us. The state of Buchanan's health was a sufficient bar to his promotion, had no other impediments existed. But there is no reason to believe otherwise than that, had his constitution been unimpaired, his claims would equally have been passed over. He was not in good odour in high places. His zeal and ability were admitted ; but, rightly or wrongly, he was supposed to be wanting in judgment and discretion. He was not a safe man. A safe man was wanted ; and one was found in the parish of St. Pancras.

Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, the only son of a country clergyman, was born in January 1769, at his father's rectory, in the village of Kedleston, Derbyshire. At the age of ten, he was sent to Christ's Hospital (the "Blue Coat School"), whence he emerged in due course to commence, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, his university career. In January 1792, he took his bachelor's degree—standing forth in the list of senior optimes. In the following March, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Pretyman, Bishop of Lincoln, and entered upon his duties, as a minister of the Gospel, in the quiet curacy of Gainsborough.

Bishop Middleton was one of many eminent men, who have owed their elevation in life merely to their connexion with the Press. At Gainsborough, having sufficient leisure for literary pursuits, he edited a small periodical, entitled the "Country Spectator," which, short-lived as it was, endured sufficiently long to recommend the writer of the principal papers to the good offices of Dr. Pretyman, brother of the Bishop, who took the trouble to lift the anonymous veil, and, having lifted it, was sufficiently well pleased with the result to secure Mr. Middleton's services for the domestic education of his sons. The Pretyman interest seems to have been the making of the young clergyman. It introduced him not merely to ordinary church preferment, but to such scholarly society, as under other circumstances, would not have been within his reach : and, from this attrition of erudite classical minds emanated that work on the Greek article, which laid the broad foundation-stone of his reputation and his success. In those days, a treatise on the Greek article was the surest stepping-stone to a Bishopric. Such, at least, was the received opinion. How far it may have assisted in the elevation of Middleton, we do not undertake to determine ; but his advancement, after that great feat of scholarship, was sufficiently rapid to warrant a conjecture that the Greek article was to some extent, a motive power. The Pretymans, as we have said, were his great patrons. Through them he obtained the livings of Tansor and Bythams, a prebendal stall at Lincoln, the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, the Rectory of Puttenham in Hertfordshire, and the great parish of St. Pancras, London. In the last of these, Dr. Middleton exerted himself to compass the erection of a new parish church. It was deplorably wanted, —but somehow or other he failed. The good work, which he could not achieve, was left to his successor to accomplish,* and St. Pancras now rejoices in one of the most capacious religious edifices in the metropolis of England.

His removal to London, which took place in 1811, enabled him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Christian Knowledge Society, to form many valuable clerical acquaintances, and to undertake the editorship of the *British Critic*—at that time a periodical of some repute in the literary and religious worlds. He was in a fair way now to the highest honors of the Church, and would, not improbably, have risen to the episcopal dignity in his own country, if the establishment of the Indian Bishopric had not opened the road to more speedy preferment. The nomination of the new Bishop was entrusted to the President

* Dr. Moore succeeded Dr. Middleton, and held the living for nearly five and thirty years. It is now held by Mr. Dale.

of the Board of Controul—then the Earl of Buckinghamshire ; and the choice, upon the recommendation (it would seem) of Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, fell upon Dr. Middleton, who held a prebendal stall in that diocese. “Overpowered by the vast magnitude and appalling novelty of such a charge, he was at first tempted to decline the offer. His maturer thoughts, however, condemned this determination as unworthy of a Christian minister ; and he found no peace of mind, until he had recalled his first decision, and had formed a resolution to brave the difficulties of the office and the dangers of a tropical climate in the service of his Saviour.”

On the 8th of May 1814, in the chapel attached to that venerable pile of buildings, which imparts something of interest to the dreary tract of river-bank, that lies between Westminster and Vauxhall—the archi-episcopal palace of Lambeth—the first Indian Bishop was formally consecrated. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. The subject was a suggestive one ; but what it suggested, it is not permitted us to write. There is no exhumation of the discourse practicable, search, as we may, in public libraries or old bookshops. It is customary to publish these things ; but good Dr. Rennell’s consecration sermon was *not* published. Christianity had triumphed ; but still, in spite of its triumph, Christianity was compelled to walk with discretion. There were thorns and briars, and broken glass and sharp flint-stones, to be avoided with cautious tread. The Bishopric had been wrung from Parliament ; but it was dangerous to make a noise about it. The least said, the soonest mended. The enemy had been beaten, but not annihilated ; and it was deemed prudent not to invite any new attacks. So the sermon was left to languish in the obscurity of manuscript, secure from the stolid assaults of the Warings, the Twinings, and other ingenious members of the same college of alarmists, who saw a massacre in every thread of the lawn-sleeves, which were now about, for the first time, to form an item of an Indian outfit.

Having been elected a fellow of the Royal Society—having been complimented by the Christian Knowledge Society, who placed £1,000 at his disposal for the promotion of their views in India—and having received from his friends a parting memorial in the shape of a superb silver inkstand, Bishop Middleton embarked for Calcutta. Among the passengers in the *Warren Hastings* were two of the new Archdeacons. It might be thought, and not unreasonably, that a selection for these subordinate offices might have been made from among those minis-

ters, who had long been bearing, in India, "the burden and heat of the day:" but, except in the case of the Madras Archdeaconry, which was bestowed upon Mr. Mousley, a resident chaplain, the appointments fell to the lot of new men—fellows of Oxford. The Simeonites were not much in favor in those days. Among the passengers, too, was Dr. Bryce, who had been appointed, under the new charter Scotch Chaplain, and who was destined afterwards to fill no inconsiderable part in the annals of Indian controversial literature.

During the voyage, Bishop Middleton devoted himself to the study of the Persian and Hebrew languages; and drew up a table of rules for his future observance, which are so characteristic of the man, that we cannot refrain from quoting them:—

"Invoke divine aid. Preach frequently and as 'one having authority.' Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste: nothing great can be accomplished without policy. Persevere against discouragement. Keep your temper. Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand. Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate. Keep up a close connection with friends at home. Attend to forms. Never be in a hurry. Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction. Rise early, and be an economist of time. Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride: manner is something with every body, and every thing with some. Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak. Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions. Beware of concessions and pledges. Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them. Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided. Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent. Be of no party. Be popular, if possible; but, at any rate, be respected. Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them. Advise and encourage youth. Rather set, than follow example. Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs. Practise strict temperance. Remember what is expected in England: and, lastly, remember the *final account*."

Middleton's biographer speaks of these, as "*golden maxims*," and it appears to us that they are so, in one sense—

For gold and grace did never yet agree,

as good old George Herbert phrases it. They are rather worldly, and very like the man. It is something that the rules, such as they were, were not lightly departed from; but there is the formalist in every line of them. They might have been written by a respectable pagan.

The voyage out was a prosperous and a pleasant one. Middleton fitted up a library in his cabin, "furnished with more than a hundred volumes, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French and English—theological, classical, mathematical, historical and poetical;" he preached, on Sundays, to an orderly and attentive congregation, and was well-pleased with his fellow-passengers and the captain. Stopping at Madeira, he was induced to preach to the Factory there; but, as there was no regularly con-

secrated Church, the mind of the formalist misgave him. "I rather hesitated at first about preaching in such a place; but I recollected that the Bishops in England preach in proprietary chapels, which are not a whit better, and have less excuse; for the Portuguese Government will not allow anything, having the interior of a church, to be built by Protestants." Why, under such circumstances, he should have hesitated to preach "in a room, with seats for the ladies, and a sort of desk for the clergyman," more than in the cuddy, or on the quarter-deck of the *Warren Hastings*, with the dinner-table or the capstan for a pulpit, it is not very easy to discern. And it is still less easy to understand how one, claiming to be a successor of the apostles, can have hesitated at all, about doing what the apostles did of old, and a greater than the apostles did before them.

On the 28th of November 1814, the first Indian Bishop ascended the steps of one of the ghâts of Calcutta. His landing, in his own words, "was without any éclat, for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives." On Christmas-day, he preached his first sermon, before a congregation of 1,300 persons, and administered the sacrament to 160 communicants, including the judges and the members of Council. "The day," he wrote to his friends in England, "will long be remembered in Calcutta."

And so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn. Offended Hinduism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Muhammedanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other on the course, or at the dinner-table, if they had seen the Bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindu society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the Bishop; he preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din*; and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds: securely next morning they went forth to their accustomed work. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. Chowringhee was not in a blaze; the waters of the *Lall Diggy* did not run crimson with Christian blood. The merchant took his place at his desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salamed meekly and reverentially as ever. In the Fort, the English captain faced his native company; and the sepoy, whatever his caste, responded to the well-known word of command,

with the ready discipline he had learned under the old Charter. Everything went on according to wonted custom, in spite of the Bishop and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas-day. No one looked differently ; no one felt differently ; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the East would survive the episcopal blow.

The truth is, that those of the natives—the better educated and more intelligent few—who really thought anything about the matter, thought the better of us for evincing this outward respect for our religion, and have thought the better of us and our faith ever since. All the trash that was written and spoken about alarming the Hindus, and weakening our hold of India ; all the ominous allusions to the Vellore massacre, and anticipations of new catastrophes of the same class, now appeared in their true light, and were valued at their proper worth. Mr. Buchanan's "sanguinary doctrines," as Mr. Twining ludicrously called them in one of his pamphlets, had now been fully reduced to practice ; and yet not a drop of blood had been shed—not a blow struck—not a menace uttered—not a symptom of disquiet had evinced itself. Our empire in India was then "not worth a year's purchase ;" and yet now, for thirty-five years, has it survived that first awful episcopal sermon on Christmas-day.

Of the condition of the Church on the arrival of Bishop Middleton, some idea may be gathered from the article on the "Ante-episcopal period" in a former number of this Review. "The total number of clergy," says Mr. LeBas, "both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814 exceed thirty-two ;" "in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes in 1814, that he found at that presidency, only one efficient clergyman on the establishment, and was compelled himself for some time to undertake the ordinary duties of a Chaplain. Mr. Whitehead says that this computation is too high, and makes the following statement on the authority of Mr. Abbott, the ecclesiastical registrar—"On the arrival of Bishop Middleton in 1814, he found effective resident chaplains in Bengal, eight ; in Madras, five or six ; and in Bombay, one. Missionaries, under episcopal jurisdiction, or licensed by the Bishop, there were none. India then possessed fifteen parochial clergy." We have now in the three presidencies, more than two hundred clergymen of the Church of England.

"The grand evil," writes Mr. LeBas, "next to the want of the regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; it is painful to add that, few as they were, the Churches, or places set apart for divine worship, were still fewer. At each presidency, or seat of the local Governments, there was one Church, and one only: for the second Church at Calcutta was private property, and the chaplain, who officiated there, was especially appointed to that service by the Court." (It was not less a church for all that). "In the country, there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but, in most of the places, where the clergy were called upon to officiate, no such provision was made. A mess-room, a barrack, or, in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty." Marriages were generally performed by commanding officers, or civil authorities; and the sacrament of baptism was often administered by laymen. But there were worse things still in the opinion of the orthodox biographer; for a minister of the Church of England—on one occasion certainly, perhaps on others—had "ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character higher than that to which he had been ordained!"

The Bishop soon began to busy himself about forms, and to exhibit much orthodox zeal in the matter of church-building, "You will be glad," he wrote to Archdeacon Barnes, "to hear that, including a chapel at the Gaol here, Surat Chapel will be one of four now building in India. *Pray, direct that it be placed with the altar to the East;*" and again, "pray, request Mr. Carr, to take care *that it be built in the proper direction, East and West; so that the altar be Eastward.* The architects in India seem rather to affect variety than uniformity in this particular. *There has been sad irregularity!*" Sad, indeed!—But Brown and Buchanan, Martyn and Thomason, had not been much distressed by it; or, at all events, had borne the affliction patiently and uncomplainingly. Perhaps, they had learnt no lessons in Church architecture at Mr. Simeon's college-rooms. The Simeon and Pretyman schools seem to have somewhat differed.

The Bishop was a martyr to the prickly heat. He complained piteously of it in his letters. "It has ignited," he said, "my whole frame; and what with the sensations of pricking, and burning, and itching, and soreness, and lassitude, and irritability, I am little qualified for anything that requires

"attention." But there was something that irritated even more than the prickly heat ; and that was Dr. Bryce. The same charter, which tolerated a Bishop, tolerated also two Scotch clergymen ; and the same ship, which conveyed the Bishop to Calcutta, carried also the Senior Scotch Chaplain. The ship-mates had not been long landed, before, as it is said, Dr. Bryce applied to the Bishop for the alternate use of the Cathedral ! The application, as might be expected, not proving successful, he obtained the use of the college-hall, and there preached a sermon, in which little quarter was given to the predominance of Episcopalianism ; and he published it as a "Sermon preached at the opening of the Church of Calcutta." And to crown the whole, when the first stone of St. Andrew's Church was laid with great national demonstration and Masonic ceremonials, Bishop Middleton was invited to attend.*

All this was gall and wormwood to the Bishop. It irritated him more than the prickly heat ; and the visitation was kept alive by the 'astounding presumption of the Presbyterian community of Calcutta, who petitioned Parliament for the privilege of being married by their own ministers, and according to the rites of their own Church. They gained their point, too. The Scottish ministers at the presidencies were permitted to perform the ceremony of marriage for members of the Scottish Church ; and "it will easily be imagined," writes Mr. LeBas, "that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton."† Calcutta, indeed, was found to be a very hot-bed of schism ; and the Bishop thought, as does his biographer, it was very hard that the State should have conspired to disturb the even tenor of the Church's existence at so critical a time.

A new source of inquietude arose from the defective provi-

* Speaking of the appointment of the Scotch Chaplains, and the erection of the Scotch Churches in the three presidencies, Mr. LeBas observes that "it was shown incontestably, that there was no occasion for such a movement, by the fact, that, when the new congregation was formed in Calcutta, it withdrew no more than 100 members from our communion, and that in the other presidencies the defection was still more insignificant." This is very inconclusive. There may have been many others, not withdrawn from Episcopal communion, because never in it. Mr. LeBas should estimate the want by the number, who joined the Scotch congregation, when the Church was erected.

† In the celebrated "steeple" controversy also, the pugnacious Dr. Bryce was again victorious. The vexation of Mr. LeBas, in relating this fresh instance of Presbyterian presumption, is not a little amusing. "St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta," writes he, "is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral, while the Scotch Church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan. It was built after the model of a Church in Italy, with two fine domes, and to these was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, towers very considerably above the steeple of every English place of worship !" The Bishop's biographer, however, consoles himself with the reflection, that the Court of Directors agreed to erect the Bombay spire as a matter of indifference, not as a matter of right !—p. 247.

sions of the letters patent. He was a Bishop without a clergy. There were clergymen in India, but there was no parochial clergy. There was no clergy, over which he had supreme authority. The chaplains were Government chaplains, amenable to the orders of the secular authorities, sent hither and thither, in general orders, like a Deputy Collector, or a Captain of Engineers. The Bishop had really no power over them; and of this complaint was not unreasonably made. The Governor-General, Lord Moira, decided in favour of the authority of the Bishop; but the Court of Directors repealed the decision; and the Bishop was no longer suffered to be commandant of the regiment of chaplains.*

In July 1815, the office of confirmation was performed for the first time in Calcutta; and December of the same year witnessed the Bishop's first visitation. On the 18th of that month, he left Calcutta for Madras. In the latter presidency, he found church affairs even in a less encouraging condition, than in that which he had just left. In his own words, "within two years, a clergyman of good character was put under arrest by his commanding officer. In another instance, a military officer chose to have notice of the sacrament inserted in regimental orders; and, in a third, an officer ordered a chaplain to do the duty in a place so offensive, that no body could attend." The secular authorities were getting the upper hand sadly. But there was consolation and encouragement for him, at all events, in one circumstance that greeted his arrival at Madras. There was a splendid new church (St. George's) to consecrate. "Yesterday," he wrote, "I consecrated a handsomer church than any, which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble; with a lofty and elegant spire, and standing in a field (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres, surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. I was assisted, on this occasion, by seven of my clergy, a great number to bring together in this country; and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants. This morning I confirmed nearly 300, of whom I rejoiced to find a large portion were adults. . . . A respect for the ordinances of our religion is gaining ground. To-morrow morning, I am to receive, at ten o'clock, a deputation from the Armenian

* A later order of the Court, however, directs the Government to attend to the Bishop's recommendations; and, we believe, that in Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces at least, this is invariably done.

"nation, who are numerous at Madras ; and at eleven, no less a "person than His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who re- "turns my visit, *and on which occasion, the guns will be fired "from the fort."* At these interviews the Nabob embraced him very affectionately, without, after the manner of Sivaji, sticking a knife into his bowels ; and it does not appear that His Highness, or any other potentate of heathendom, felt the least alarm for their hereditary faith, from the appearance of the Lord Padre Sahib of the Feringhis at their gates.

But the secular authorities of Madras were not equally confident. They had not forgotten the Vellore affair. Visions of blood were still floating before their eyes. They thought a Bishop a most dangerous, revolutionary personage—the representative of a pestilential heresy ; and they anticipated that his visit to the southward would be the signal for another massacre. But the Bishop started with his family and his suite ; visited the seven Pagodas, inspected the Capuchin Church and Jesuit's College at Pondicherry, where the Romanists, with courteous toleration, made him a present of books ; halted at Cuddalore, the seat of some of our earliest Protestant labours ; proceeded thence to the great Pagodas of Chillumbrum, where the Brahmans pressed forward to look at him, showed him the lions of their temple, and, instead of anticipating that he would demolish it, asked for a little money for its repair. It is not recorded in history, that the episcopal tour produced either a rebellion, or an earthquake.

At Tranquebar, he was received with open arms. The population went out to meet him in the streets, or greeted him from the windows and the housetops. "The place," he wrote, "is in great distress, and the people are living on incomes, which, in this country, appear still smaller by comparison ; but I never saw poverty more respectable. The mission there is everything, and the missionaries are the regular clergy of the place." Here he lived with the Governor, entertained him and the municipal officers in turn, contributed, at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society, two hundred pounds to the Mission ; and then pursued his journey towards Tanjore, the seat of the illustrious labours of the apostolic Schwartz. The Rajah, who had been educated by the Missionary, and who still called himself the good man's son, sent his minister to the Christian Bishop, invited him to the palace, where, descending from the musnud, he "received him at the steps of the durbār, embraced him "with the warmest cordiality and courtesy, and, after the customary enquiries respecting his health, expressed the grati-

"fication, with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in his country and his Court." "He subsequently," says Mr. LeBas, "assured an English officer, that no occurrence, since he had occupied the throne, had given him more lively gratification than this visit of the English prelate; and that, since he must so soon lose his society, he hoped to indemnify him by the pleasure of his correspondence."

At Trichinopoly, the Bishop consecrated a church, licensed the clergyman, confirmed about a hundred persons, including several officers, and preached twice on the Sunday. At Palamcottah, he was visited by a deputation of Brahmans from the Tinnevely Pagodas, who came to pay their respects to the Lord Padre Sahib, and to represent that their church lands yielded so little, after payment of Government demands, that the priests were in danger of starving:—such being their lamentable position, they hailed with delight the arrival of the English Bishop, feeling sure that he would interfere, as a brother, in their behalf. Having dismissed this deputation, he received another of native Christians, who sung a hymn in Tamil; and the two parties then quitted the camp together.

From Cochin, where the Bishop found "the Dutch church shut up for want of a minister; the school in the fort destroyed; the children left unbaptized, and the sick unassisted," and where the Syrian church was in an equally depressed state: he proceeded to Cannanore, and thence to Bombay and Ceylon. There we cannot follow him in detail. In spite of the ominous predictions of people, who ought to have known better, the first Episcopal visitation produced no sort of alarm or irritation throughout India, except in the puckah, well-verandahed houses of a few professing Christians. Native princes received the Christian Bishop with reverence, and embraced him with affection. Native priests came out from their temples to welcome him, and implored his assistance in their behalf. He came back to Calcutta again, as sound as he had quitted it. Not a hand had been lifted up against him; not a stone had been cast at him; not an affront had been put upon him. The natives of India thought the better of us and our religion, and the great question, which had been discussed in scores of pamphlets and speeches, was now set at rest for ever.

But the Bishop's troubles, which were of a different class, were not yet quieted. There was much—in Calcutta above all other places—to vex and to irritate one of his peculiar frame of mind. Schism and informality were the banes of his existence. It is melancholy to read his complaints, and to think how much cause of rejoicing there was, in at least some of the

circumstances which caused him so much annoyance. Unhappily, in the affections of Bishop Middleton, the Church was before the Gospel. Nay, even the Church itself was a source of vexation to him, where there was not proper episcopal control. The Church Missionaries were thorns in his flesh; he talked of either licensing or silencing them, but he found it was beyond him to do either. He tolerated the missionaries in remote regions; he could even rejoice in their appearances upon the outskirts of civilisation; but it was a different thing, when they toiled at the very seat of the Supreme Government, and preached the gospel without a license from any one but Christ, under the shadow of the episcopal residence itself. He did not recognise the value of the work done by Protestant ministers out of the pale of his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was not Establishment work. It had not the stamp of the mitre upon it. It was not made legitimate by letters patent, or rendered lovely by lawn.

It was not likely that such men as Corrie and Thomason should regard these episcopal peculiarities without feelings of lively concern. That they differed from him, on many points, is well known; but, situated as they were, it was only decorous that they should express themselves with moderation. "I was led," wrote the former in a letter to his brother, "last Thursday into a long conversation with the Bishop, respecting missionary proceedings in which the Church Missionary Society and its views were brought forward and discussed. The Bishop's chief objection was, that the sending out of English clergymen, as missionaries, would prevent the East India Company from making such a provision of chaplains as they ought to make. As far as it goes, the argument is just; but I think he ought rather to adopt such missionaries, and, by pointing out to Government the benefits produced by them, to draw forth Government support, which otherwise may not be afforded in any way."*

* See also the Bishop's own letters *passim*. "But the missionaries, in orders, of the Church Missionary Society," he complains in one case, "are coming out continually. Three arrived very lately; and they will become in a few years the parochial clergy. In one place the Society have lately built a neat church, and appointed their minister; and who can say anything against it? . . . Other cases of the same sort may be expected every day, and if the Church Missionary Society will supply ordained clergymen, wherever they are wanted, the Company may be relieved, indeed, of a heavy expense; but then what becomes of the Bishop's jurisdiction?" Again; "As to my recognising the missionaries, what can I do? They will soon have in India a body of ordained clergymen, nearly half as numerous as the Company's chaplains; and I must either license them, or silence them—there is no alternative. (The Italics are the Bishop's own). But how can I silence men, who come to India under the authority of a clause in the Charter?" It does not seem to have occurred to Bishop Middleton, that they came to India, not merely under the authority of a clause in the Company's Charter, but under the authority of a clause in the great Gospel Charter of Christianity.

Mr. Corrie had returned to England for the benefit of his health, a few weeks after the arrival of Bishop Middleton. Towards the close of the rainy season of 1817, he was again at his post. The Bishop had returned in the preceding cold weather. There being no vacancy at the Presidency, on Corrie's arrival, he was ordered to proceed to Benares.* At that time Brown and Martyn were dead; Buchanan was in England; Thomason was at Calcutta. At Benares, as at Chunar, he employed himself diligently: founding schools; correcting translations of the Scriptures; and doing incidentally as much missionary work as could be done without impairing his efficiency as a chaplain. Nothing could be more correct than Corrie's views of the relative claims to his services of the chaplaincy and of the mission. "If I were professedly a missionary," he wrote to Mr. Simeon, "and had the same prospect of entrance into "this very citadel of idolatry, I should consider it a call to live "and die in this place; but, as a chaplain of the Government, "am I not to consider the disposal of Government, as the voice "of Providence to me? I can truly say that, in the prospect "of leaving this place, I am oppressed; O Lord undertake "for me."

In the cold weather of 1818-19, Mr. Corrie was summoned to Calcutta, to take his place there as a presidency chaplain. There the characteristic kindness and hospitality of his nature found such vent, as was denied to them in the mofussil. The social charities were largely cultivated by him. His doors were ever open to the stranger. He was continually surrounded by his friends. To the young he was especially acceptable; and it was said of him "as long as he lives, and wherever he "lives, he will have as many people about him as fall in his way, "until every corner is occupied, and he himself left without a "corner."

It was about this time, that the Missionary zeal of Bishop

* On his way to Benares, he kept a journal, in which we find an entry, illustrative of the barbarity of those Ghât murders, to which we devoted a recent article:—
"During the 19th and 20th, we had an opportunity of witnessing two distressing instances of the unfeeling conduct of the Hindus towards the sick and dying. On one occasion, two women were employed at the river side, filling the mouth of a child with mud. Miss B. asked them, if the child were ill? One of them answered 'Yes'; Miss B:—'You are going to kill it outright.' On which they began to laugh, and talk with each other; and prosecuted their work of death. Further on, a sick man was laid, with several people sitting round. A young and handsome Brahmin was attempting to bind a weight round his neck, in order to sink him in the river, which the sick man was resisting, with marks of much remaining strength. Abdullah called out—'take him into some warm place, and he will recover;' to which the Brahmin answered with a significant nod: 'Aye, aye; we will put him into a warm place, on which the persons around laughed aloud."

Middleton began astonishingly to develop itself. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, in that year 1818, as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made a vigorous movement in favor of Indian Missions, by proposing to place £5,000 at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, to enable him to carry out the objects of the institution—good hope being entertained of the result, now that the affairs of the Society were to be placed under “proper Diocesan control.” A Royal letter had been obtained on application to the Prince Regent, and large collections made on the strength of it. The biographer of Bishop Middleton says, that “this intelligence “ was as the breath of life to him, as it showed that his urgent “ representations had at last succeeded in communicating a powerful impulse to the public feeling in England.” It appears to us, that it would have been more correct, if it had been stated that public feeling in England communicated a powerful impulse to Bishop Middleton.

These “splendid manifestations,” says Mr. LeBas, “confirmed him in the resolution to attempt the foundation of a Mission College at Calcutta.” Here was a noble commencement of the Fund, which he had long wished to accumulate, for the establishment of a Collegiate Institution under Episcopal superintendence. The project was soon sketched out and sent Home to the Propagation Society, the objects of the proposed college being thus represented:—

1. For instructing native, and other, Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school-masters.
2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge, and the English language, to Mussulmans or Hindus, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.
3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.
4. For the reception of English Missionaries, to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.

The proposal was readily accepted by the Propagation Society, and the promised £5,000 were placed at the Bishop's disposal. The Christian Knowledge Society also contributed £5,000 towards the undertaking. Other large sums flowed in from other quarters. Government granted a plot of ground for the erection of the building—as noble a site as could have been found in the whole country—and the work of construction was speedily commenced. It has now been completed for more than a quarter of a century, during which time it has

been in its comely "Collegiate Gothic," an ornament to the river-bank upon which it stands. There is not perhaps a nobler monument of an unaccomplished purpose in any part of the world.

Having devoted a special article, in a former number, to the consideration of this costly and most mortifying failure, we need but briefly allude to it in this place. On the 15th of October 1820, the first stone of Bishop's College was laid, "with all due and impressive solemnity." It appears that the nature of the undertaking was not very clearly understood. One party "a sensible man, and a Churchman, too," much scandalized the Bishop, by asking him if his new college was a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampore! Mr. Jones, the contractor, died suddenly, whilst the edifice was in course of erection; but, after a brief pause, it sprung up, none the less rapidly for this, under the superintendence of Captain (now Colonel) Hutchinson of the Engineers. But they were getting on still further at Serampore, and this made the Bishop a little anxious and impatient.

In 1821, Bishop Middleton went forth on a visitation-tour to Bombay and Ceylon. He arrived at the former place, towards the end of February, and remained there about five weeks; during which he held his visitation, consecrated two or three burial grounds, visited the caves of Elephanta, and received a vast number of visits of ceremony and invitations to dinner. Here he began to feel, more sensibly than before, that the climate was "telling" upon his constitution, and, in more than one letter, he complained of the lassitude which beset him, and of other distressing sensations, "symptomatic of decay." It was whilst at Bombay, that he received intelligence of the attempt made at Queen Caroline's trial to make light of the imputation that she had been present during an indecorous exhibition of dancing by a mountebank named Mahomet, on the plea that Bishop Middleton and his family had attended a natch at the Governor-General's:—the witness being a gentleman, who was a guest of the Bishop's at the time. The Bishop wrote to a friend, requesting him to deny the assertion in a London paper. "As his (the witness's) topic," he wrote, "was no better than that Mahomet must have danced 'decently before the Queen, because a Hindú woman had 'danced decently at Calcutta, his evidence might have been 'spared. *The fact*, however, of my being there is utterly untrue. He did me the favour of taking charge of the ladies of 'my family, while I remained with my books and business at

"home. I am not quite sure that I was asked ; but I could "safely swear that I was not there." The Governor-General, also, it would appear, thought it worth his while to deny the imputation—in a very curious manner, too, according to a statement in another letter from the Bishop :—"Lord Hastings "was very indignant at the dragging in of the subject of Gov-
ernment house ; and immediatly wrote to the Lord Chan-
cellor, explaining, as was the truth, that there was no *dance* at
his house—the mere movement of the woman's feet whilst she
was singing, not deserving the name." It may be a question
whether the singing, in such performances, accompanies the
dancing, or the dancing the singing ; but there are both singing
and dancing ; and it is generally supposed that the latter which
gives the name to the exhibition is, as grammarians say, "the
worthier" of the two. There are different styles of dancing ;
a native natch-girl does not dance like Carlotta Grisi ; but if
"movement of woman's feet" to music, under such circum-
stances, does not constitute dancing, we do not know what
does.

Touching on his way at Cochin, to glance at the Syrian
churches there, the Bishop proceeded from Bombay to Ceylon,
where he was hospitably entertained by Sir Edward Barnes,
whose sublime intentions were, however, somewhat frustrated
by the eccentricities of the weather. A magnificent fête had
been prepared, some miles out of Colombo, and a gorgeous
edifice, in the style of a large gothic Cathedral, had been
erected, "after the Cingalese fashion of embellishment," in
honour of the Bishop. Divers other preparations were made
on an equally grand scale for the occasion ; but, on the even-
ing before the fête, when the Bishop was dining at Govern-
ment house, a tremendous storm arose, and entirely demo-
lished the noble structure. Foreshadowing the destiny of
Bishop's College, the gorgeous gothic edifice, erected at so
much expense, proved nothing but a magnificent failure.
The Governor did the best he could under such circumstances ;
he substituted another kind of entertainment, but the disappoint-
ment was great and general. Better things, however, were done.
"During my stay," wrote the Bishop, after his departure, "I
"had a visitation—two confirmations—three consecrations of
"churches, or burying-grounds ; I preached four times, and re-
"suscitated the Promoting of Christian Knowledge District Com-
"mittee, and looked into the state of the schools ; and, what is of
"most consequence, I got together a body of information res-
"pecting ecclesiastical affairs, which will furnish matter for a

"paper to be addressed to His Majesty's Government." * In June he sailed again for Calcutta.

On his arrival there, he found that Mr. Mill, Principal of the new College, and Mr. Alt, one of the professors, had already made their appearance on the scene of their future labors. The walls of the College had risen to an assuming height during his absence; and so far there was much to cheer him. But there were sources of inquietude too. Rammohun Roy was entering boldly the field of controversy: the press—"that monstrous despotism, and tremendous instrument of corruption, which some call the liberty of the Press"—was growing audacious; and he was troubled about the question of precedence, the authorities having given to the Chief Justices of the three presidencies, a place, on the social ladder, higher up than that assigned to the Bishop of Calcutta. Serampore, moreover, was flourishing in its rank soil of heterodoxy; and a body of Christians had actually built a chapel at Howrah, open to the ministration of Protestant divines of all persuasions. His correspondents, too, in England were very lax. Anxiously expected communications, public and private, did not arrive. All these evils—real and imaginary—preyed upon his spirits, and affected his health. The hot weather of 1822 found him in an irritable state, both of body and of mind. On the 2nd of July, he visited the College at an early hour of the afternoon; and, on the following day, went out with Mrs. Middleton, before the sun was down, for an evening drive. The slant rays of the sun shone full upon him, dazzled his eyes, and sickened him. He said, that he was struck; and returned home. He passed that night, and the following, in a state of extreme anxiety and irritability: but it was not until the 4th, that the fever having increased to an alarming height, Dr. Nicolson was called in. It was then too late. All the skill of that eminent practitioner could not save him. At one time certain favourable symptoms developed themselves; but they were only those delusive signs which so often are the precursors of immediate death. And so it was. On the evening of the 8th of July, those favourable symptoms were

* Besides this he ordained Mr. Armour, of whom an interesting account is to be found in Mr. LeBas's book. "This extraordinary man," he says, "originally came out to Ceylon, as a private soldier; but subsequently he took upon himself almost the work of an evangelist among the natives, who maintained a mere nominal profession of Christianity, always conducting his ministrations in strict conformity with the services and doctrines of the established Church. . . . His heart's desire was that at some time he might be thought worthy to be received as an ordained missionary. . . . His whole soul was devoted to the service of God, and his truly Christian demeanour had won for him the cordial esteem of all ranks of men."

followed by an alarming paroxysm of fever, attended with the most appalling agitation of mind. About nine o'clock, he was in a state of violent delirium; "his thoughts wandering, his articulation gone; his faculties,—in short, a melancholy wreck, at the mercy of the tempest that had shattered them." To this succeeded a state of perfect serenity; and, a little before midnight, he died.

Such, briefly narrated, was the career of the first Indian Bishop. It will be gathered, perhaps, from the manner of our narration, that we are not among the most ardent admirers of the prelate, whom Mr. Le Bas, with no great felicity of expression, describes as "the father and the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic Empire." He was the father of Protestant Episcopacy in India, but he was not the father, and most assuredly he was not the founder, of the Episcopal Church. We do not know that he was the founder of anything, but Bishop's College.

With every disposition to speak charitably of the prelatical character of Bishop Middleton, we are constrained to express our opinion that he was a cold and stately formalist. There may have been something in this very fact, especially to recommend him for employment, at a time, when it was apprehended that Christian zeal would bring down upon us a sanguinary revolution, involving the forfeiture of our Indian Empire. The alarmed party may have been somewhat appeased by the appointment of so safe a man as Bishop Middleton; and his subsequent episcopal proceedings must have greatly confirmed the sense of security, which his nomination induced. Nothing was to be apprehended from the burning zeal of the first Bishop of Calcutta. He was the man, of all others, to uphold the dignity of our ecclesiastical establishment, without exciting the fears, or offending the prejudices, of the natives of India. He took little interest in conversion-work; and would have silenced the whole Missionary body, if he could. Brahmanism was scarcely more offensive to him than Protestant sectarianism; and even a minister of the Church of England, not on the Company's establishment, was a thorn in his episcopal flesh. Puseyism and Tractarianism were not known by those names, when Bishop Middleton went out to India; but he was of the number of those, who esteem the Church before the Gospel, who have an overflowing faith in the efficacy of certain forms of brick-and-mortar, and who believe that a peculiar odour of sanctity ascends from prayers, offered up in an edifice, constructed with due regard to the points of the compass. No

man could have had a higher sense of the external importance of his office, or stickled more rigidly for the due observance of the ceremonials which he conceived to belong to it. He had a decided taste for salutes, and struggled manfully for precedence. In all this he was sincere. It was not personal vanity that inflated him. Self was not dominant over all. But he had an overweening sense of the dignity and importance of his office. He believed that it was his first duty to suffer nothing to lower the standard of episcopal authority, or to obscure its exterior glories. His zeal as a Bishop shot ever in advance of his fervour as a Christian. This peculiarity was not without its uses. The externals of religion had been too much neglected in India. It was desirable that something more of dignity should be imparted to the priestly character. Lord Wellesley was described by Sir James Mackintosh as a *Sultanised* Anglo-Indian; Bishop Middleton would have *Sultanised* the episcopal office. He was not without a motive—and a good one—in this. But we would fain have seen in his career a little less of the Bishop, and a little more of Catholic Christianity. He was an able and an active labourer in his way, blameless in the relations of private life, and, as a man, to be greatly respected. In Mr. Whitehead's book he stands labelled as "India's first and greatest Bishop." India's greatest Bishop is her *last*; and we thank God that he yet remains to labour amongst us.

ORIENTAL ASTRONOMY.

BY REV. T. SMITH, D.D.

The Oriental Astronomer;—being a complete system of Hindu Astronomy, accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes. With an appendix. Jaffna, 1848.

THE subject of the Hindu Astronomy is one, which, both on the ground of its intrinsic importance, and on account of the many curious questions that have originated in connexion with the study of it by the Western philosophers, claimed a prominent place in our pages. The claim was allowed; and it was one of the earliest subjects that we thought proper to bring to the notice of our readers, in the days when the *Calcutta Review* was very young—*animosus infans*. (See vol. I, p. 257). In the article to which we now refer, we treated the subject, and various questions connected with it, at considerable length; and our present purpose is not to go afresh over the ground that we then traversed, or to renew the discussion of any of the disputable matters, that we then either considered at length, or barely hinted at;—but simply, and *bonâ fide*, to give a notice, and not a very long one, of the volume now before us.

The *Oriental Astronomer*—our typographical resources do not enable us to present the alternative title in the Tamil language—is a work, or more properly a collection of works in Tamil, with an English translation and numerous explanatory and corrective notes, by the Rev. H. R. Hoisington, an American Missionary, who has long been at the head of an important Educational Institution established at Batticotta in Ceylon. The work has been prepared for the use of the students in that institution; and, at the outset of this notice, we cannot but congratulate them on the privilege they enjoy—of being directed in the study of this important science by so capable an instructor, as Mr. Hoisington's annotations in the volume before us evince him to be. One of the very questions, as we remember, that we considered in the course of the article to which we have just referred, was the suitableness of native works on astronomy to occupy the place of text-books in the educational establishments designed for the education of native youth. We shall, however, strenuously adhere to the promise we have made, and not re-open that question on the present occasion. In fact, it does not legitimately come before us at present, as Mr. Hoisington's object, as stated by himself, is a very different one from the system advocated by Mr. L. Wilkinson, which we then controverted. The purpose of the present volume is not to serve as a text-book, to the super-

cession of European treatises ; but to furnish those who have made good proficiency in the European system, with the means of instituting a comparison between that system and the native one. This we reckon not only a legitimate object, but a highly desirable one.

But, apart altogether from the merits of the work as an educational manual, and from any consideration of the place that its study should occupy in an academical course, we feel it due to Mr. Hoisington to express our cordial thanks, in which we are sure that many who take an interest in the study of a highly important subject, will as cordially concur, for the achievement of a laborious task. We cannot but think that he has laid the scientific world under no small obligation, by rendering accessible one of a class of works, that have been hitherto almost unknown ; and by presenting in so clear a form the merits and demerits of a system, that has been extravagantly lauded on the one hand, and unduly depreciated on the other, by those who had not the means of estimating it aright. Mr. Hoisington has well merited a place in the honorable list of those who, having come to India for the purpose of proclaiming the blessed gospel, and elevating the minds of the people of the land, have done much to diffuse, amongst their own countrymen, correct and important information respecting the people amongst whom it has been their lot to labour, their religions, their languages, their customs, their history, and their sciences.

The volume before us consists of four parts:—1. An introduction in Tamil and English. 2. A treatise on Astronomy, according to the system of Ullamudian, with an English version. The epoch of the treatise is A.D. 1234. 3. A modern treatise on Eclipses, by a native astronomer, with an English translation. 4. An appendix, containing certain tables, astronomical problems, and a glossary of Hindu astronomical terms. We cannot do better than take a cursory review of these parts in their order, briefly noticing any thing that strikes us as meriting attention. And, at the outset, we must so far violate editorial etiquette as to confess ignorance—total ignorance of the Tamil language. It is with the translation only that we can occupy ourselves ; and we shall take for granted, as in such a case we may pretty safely do, that, when any passage in the translation contains *sense*, it is *the* sense of the original.

The introduction is chiefly historical, and contains a very brief notice, abridged from Bentley, of the various eras in Hindu Astronomy. Although we agree in the main with Mr. Bentley, as to the comparatively recent date of this branch of

Oriental Science, and the utter groundlessness of the pretensions advanced on behalf of the Hindu treatises and tables, to a remote antiquity ; yet we do not feel our sympathies quite going along with Mr. Hoisington, when he states didactically, as if they were unquestioned and unquestionable verities, the conclusions which Bentley deduces from most ingenious, and generally very convincing, reasonings. We would not have recommended that, in such a work, matters should have been introduced controversially ; but we think that the actual state of our knowledge of the subject scarcely warrants so dogmatical a statement of various chronological matters, as Mr. Hoisington has made.

We shall refer to one passage in the sketch of the history of the Hindu astronomy, which will at once illustrate our meaning, as to the too dogmatical character of the statements, and will give us an opportunity of pointing out what we conceive to be a misapprehension on Mr. Hoisington's part of Mr. Bentley's meaning. We shall first give at length the passage from Bentley, and make a few remarks upon it ; and then we shall give Mr. Hoisington's abstract of it, and make a few more remarks upon it.

The passage in Bentley is as follows :—

"Early in this period, that is to say, about the year A.D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by St. Thomas. This circumstance introduced new light into India, in respect of the history and opinions of the people of the West, and concerning the time of the Creation, in which the Hindus found they were far behind in point of antiquity, (their account of the Creation going back only to the year 2352 B. C. which was the year of the Mosaic flood) ; and that, therefore, they would be considered a modern people in respect of the rest of the world. To avoid this imputation, and to make the world believe they were the most ancient people on the face of the earth, they resolved to change the time of the creation, and carry it back to the year 4225 B. C.—thereby making it older than the Mosaic account, and making it appear, by means of false history written on purpose, that all men sprang from them. But to give the whole the appearance of reality, they divided the Hindu history into other periods, carrying the first of them back to the autumnal equinox in the year 4225 B. C. These periods they called *Manwantaras*, or patriarchal periods, and fixed the dates of their respective commencements by the computed conjunctions of Saturn with the sun, in the same manner as those of the former ages, already given, were fixed by the conjunctions of Jupiter and the sun. This, no doubt,

"was done with a view of making the world believe, that such conjunctions were noticed by the people, who lived in the respective periods ; and therefore might be considered as real, genuine, and indisputable periods of history, founded on actual observations.

"The following table contains the periods, with their respective dates of commencement, &c.

<i>Patriarchal Periods, or Manvantaras.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Moon's age.</i>	<i>Errors in the Tables used.</i>
1st	25th Oct. 4225 B.C	9th Tithi of Aswin ...	30° 58' 42"—
2nd	13th Nov. 3841 "	12th do. of Kartik ...	28 12 17—
3rd	11th Apr. 3358 "	3rd do. of Chaitra ...	24 43 14—
4th	29th Aug. 2877 "	3rd do. of Bhadra ...	21 14 38—
5th	25th Mar. 2388 "	30th do. of Falgun ...	17 42 55—
6th	23rd Dec. 2043 "	11th do. of Pausa ...	15 13 6—
7th	2nd July 1528 "	10th do. of Ashadh ..	11 30 8—
8th	8th Jan. 1040 "	7th do. of Magh .	7 58 22—
9th	28th July 555 "	23rd do. of Sraban ...	4 28 28—
Do. ended.	23rd June 31 A.D.	15th do. of Asadha ...	0 13 34—

"The mean annual motion of Saturn was $0^{\circ} 22' 14'' 28''$, and the error in the mean annual motion = $26'' +$; therefore the year, in which there would be no error in the position of Saturn, would be A.D. 64 ; shewing the time when this division of the Hindu history was invented."

We have various remarks to make upon this extract. First of all, we do not reckon it an ascertained point that the Apostle Thomas was ever in India. It is certain that the gospel was preached in India at an early period by one Thomas ; but it is not certain, that that period was the first century, or that that Thomas was the Apostle. To us it appears, that the preponderance of evidence is in favor of another Thomas, a Nestorian of the fifth century. And then, supposing the fact to be as stated, and that the extension of the Hindu chronology was made for the purpose indicated, is it at all likely that the Hindus would have been contented with extending it only two centuries beyond the period assigned by the Mosaic account to the creation? Would it not have been much more in accordance with Hindu usage, to have thrown it back to an overwhelmingly remote period, as, according to Mr. Bentley's own shewing, was done five centuries later, when he says, "the Creation was thrown back 1,972,947,101 years before the Christian era?"

* So in Bentley ; a misprint for 12° .

Now, let us turn to Mr. Hoisington's abstract of the above passage. It is as follows:—

"About A. D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by "St. Thomas. This gave rise to the periods called *Manwan-taras*, or patriarchal periods; the dates of their respective "commencements being fixed by the computed conjunction of "Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the "four ages given above were fixed by the conjunction of "Jupiter and the Sun.

"This was done in order to extend the numbers in the Hindu "chronology beyond those of the Christian."

Now this abstract is liable to both the exceptions that we have taken to the passage from which it is abstracted, and to one or two more. Be the reason of the extension of the Hindu chronology what it might, Bentley gives a reason—which can scarcely fail (his data being admitted) to commend itself to all who are capable of appreciating such evidence,—for believing that the extension took place at the period stated, *viz.*, near the beginning of the latter half of the first century. The only uncertainty is as to the correctness of the estimate of Saturn's mean annual motion. We question whether, even now, it is so accurately ascertained as to serve as the basis of so delicate an argument. But as Mr. Hoisington states the matter, we have nothing for it but a bare assertion. It would no doubt have extended his introduction too far, had he given a full statement of the reasons on which his historical assertions are based; but he might at least have introduced them with such a phrase as—"There is good reason to believe,"—or "Mr. Bentley has shewn,"—or words to the same effect.

We suspect also that Mr. Hoisington has considerably misapprehended Mr. Bentley's meaning. At all events, he has stated the matter so, that all his readers, who do not refer to Bentley's work for themselves, will certainly misapprehend it. Mr. Bentley states, that the Hindu chronology was extended in order to evince that the Hindus existed as a people, and had a history, 'before the period assigned to the Creation by the Mosaic chronology; and that, *this extension being made*, the astronomers determined the commencement of nine epochs, by calculating the times of certain conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun. But, as Mr. Hoisington states it, it would appear that the substitution of Saturn for Jupiter was made with the view of *effecting this extension*: as if the Synodic period of Saturn, or the time between two of his conjunctions with the Sun, were longer than that of Jupiter, whereas it is in reality

shorter, in the proportion of 378 to 399. Probably, however, this may be an inadvertence, not an inaccuracy ; and we are sure that if our present notice should fall into Mr. Hoisington's hands, he will regard as a kindness our pointing it out.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended upon the introduction to the volume, which occupies only 19 pages in both Tamil and English. It is, therefore, full time that we should proceed to notice the next department of the work,—the PARAKITHAM, or system of Hindu astronomy.

As the main object of the Hindu astronomy was the rectification of the calendar, and the ascertainment of chronological epochs, the present work, as might be expected, sets out with rules for the calculation of various periods of time ; and, indeed, this seems to be the main object that has been in the author's mind throughout. There is an apparent inconsistency in the second and third problems, of which not only the third assumes the result of the second to be known, but the second seems, in like manner, to proceed upon the result of the third. Thus the second teaches to find what year of the "*Salivakana era*" any given year is : and the rule is to multiply by sixty the number of "*cycles of sixty years*," passed from the introduction of that cycle, to add the number expressing the given year's place in the current cycle of sixty ; and then to add 349, the year of the *Salivakana* era corresponding to the introduction of the cycle of sixty. Thus, the present year 1850, is the forty-third year of the twenty-fourth cycle of sixty. Hence, its place in the *Salivakana* era is $23 \times 60 + 43 + 349 = 1772$. By the converse process, the place of a given year in the current cycle appears to be found from its place in the *Salivakana* reckoning. But this, as we have stated, is not the case. The third problem is not merely the converse of the second ; for, the "*cycle of sixty*" years, spoken of in the third, differs very materially from "*the cycle of sixty*" years spoken of in the second. That employed in the second is a cycle of sixty *solar years*, commencing with A. D. 427, or the 349th year of the *Salivakana* period : while that spoken of in the third is a cycle of sixty *mean periods of Jupiter's remaining in a sign of the Zodiac*, (or sixty twelfth-parts of his revolution) commencing two years three months and thirteen days before the *Salivakana* era, or A.D. 78. We know not whether in the original these two cycles are called by precisely the same name. The translator, in a note, furnishes us with a hint of the difference ; but so obscurely expressed, that it required no small expenditure of thought to enable us to reconcile what seemed so glaring an inconsistency at the very outset of the system. It is well worthy of remark, that these

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years, (or rather twelfth-parts of Jovian years) are taken, as implied in the technical rule, to be to Solar years as 1875 to 1897; in other words, 1897 of these are equal to 1875 Solar years. Now, taking the Solar year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, this makes Jupiter's revolution be performed in 4,332.2 days nearly, whereas Laplace gives it at 4,332.6 *à fort peu près*. This, it must be acknowledged, is a tolerable approximation to correctness on the part of the Hindu Astronomers, and creditable to them withal, when we consider the paucity of instrumental aids that they enjoyed in the ascertainment.

We are next instructed to ascertain the place that we have reached in the Kali Yuga, which dates from 3179 before the *Salivakana*, or from B.C. 3101. Here, also, we have an opportunity afforded us of testing the accuracy of the Hindu determinations. We are directed to reduce years into days by multiplying the number of years by 1,416,106, and dividing the result by 3,877. This gives us the length of the year = $\frac{1,416,106}{3,877}$ days = 365*d.* 6*h.* 11*m.* 47½*s.* Now as the Hindu year is determined by the entrance of the Sun into a sidereal sign, we must compare this, not with the tropical, but with the sidereal year, the length of which, as given by Laplace, is 365*d.* 6*h.* 9*m.* 11½*s.* nearly. Hence, supposing the most accurate European determination to be correct, the Hindu errs by 2*m.* 36*s.* in excess. Another method makes 576 years equal to 210,389 days; but this is less accurate than the preceding, and is probably meant only as a rough approximation. It should be stated, however, that the sidereal year is subject to a very small secular variation, so that it may have been somewhat longer in 3101 B. C. than at present.

The next subject is the method of finding the moon's true longitude for any given day. As this is a very fair specimen of the Hindu methods of proceeding, we shall explain it at length; and this, we believe, will be best accomplished by means of an example. Let it be required, then, to find the moon's true longitude for the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga. It is first assumed that the moon's mean motion in longitude is 13° 10' 35" per day, and that the mean daily motion in longitude of her apogee is 6' 41"; the difference of these = 13° 3' 54" is the mean daily motion of the moon from her apogee. Now it is assumed that, at the instant of the Kali Yuga, the moon was in the first point of Aries, and that her apogee was in longitude 6 29° 43'. The next assumption is, that, after a period of 1,565,411 days, the moon and her apogee return to the same position with reference to each other and the ecliptic. Consequently, at the end of this period, we have the longitudes of the

moon and apogee precisely the same as at the beginning. We have therefore now only to find the change of longitude in $(2,000,000 - 1,565,411 =) 434,589$ days. Next, we find that, at the mean daily rate of motion of the moon and her apogee, the former in a period of 3,031 days passes over 110 complete revolutions, and $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$; and that, during the same period, the apogee passes over $11^{\circ} 7' 37'' 11''$. They therefore, at the end of this period, come within $54''$ of the same relative position, which they occupied at the beginning. Now this small difference may be neglected, and we may consider that they return to the same relative position at the end of each successive period of 3,031 days. In 434,589 days there are contained 143 such periods, and 1,156 days over. Consequently 1,156 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga, the *relative* positions of the moon and her apogee were the same as at the beginning of the Kali Yuga; although their *actual* position differed by upwards of 11. Once more, we find that in 248 days the moon goes through 9 complete revolutions, and $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$, while her apogee passes over $27^{\circ} 37' 28''$. These differ by $7' 12''$ —a considerable difference certainly—but this is neglected, and we consider that the moon and her apogee return to the same relative position, after each successive period of 248 days. In 1,156 days there are contained four such periods, and 164 days more. Hence we conclude, that 164 days before the given day, the moon was at the same distance in longitude from her apogee that she was at the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Now we have a table giving the true motion in longitude of the moon in any number of days up to 248—her mean motion corrected by the equation of her centre. Referring to this table, we find that in 164 days the moon gains $2^{\circ} 25'$ of longitude. As the difference of longitude at the Kali Yuga was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$, we have the actual distance of the moon at the two millionth day thereafter, from the apogee at the $(2,000,000 - 164 =) 1,999,816$ th day $= 6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, the moon being by that amount behind its apogee. We have now to find the actual longitude. Now the longitude of the apogee at the Kali Yuga, and at the 1,565,411th day thereafter, was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$. In 3,031 days the apogee advances $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$ of longitude; multiplying this by 143, and rejecting the complete revolutions, we get an advance of the longitude of the apogee of $1^{\circ} 11' 46''$. Again, in 248 days the apogee is supposed to advance $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$; and consequently in four such periods it advances $3^{\circ} 20' 58' 40''$. These three quantities added together will give the longitude of the apogee 164 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga; thus, $6^{\circ} 29' 43'' + 1^{\circ} 11' 46'' + 3^{\circ} 20' 59'' =$ (re-

jecting a complete circle) $0^{\circ} 2' 28'$. From this we have now to subtract $6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, above found; and the result is $5^{\circ} 5' 10''$, the true longitude of the moon on the given day. Although the process seems tedious, when thus explained in detail, it is in reality very short in practice.

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the use of making so many successive rejections of complete periods, since it would evidently be a much neater operation to calculate the motion at once, by multiplying the mean daily motion by the number of days elapsed? But the periods rejected serve the purpose of corrections; inasmuch as it appears from the example, that the first and third periods differ from the numbers that would be deduced from the assumed rates.

We may notice, in passing, the following estimates of various important elements in the moon's revolution, comparing them with the European determinations of the same quantities.

	<i>Ullamudian.</i>	<i>Laplace.</i>
Moon's Anomalistic period	27d. 13h. 18m. 8s.	27d. 13h. 18m. 49s.
—Tropical revolution	27d. 7h. 43m. 6s.	27d. 7h. 43m. 11s.
Revolution of Apsides	3231d. 22h. 5m. 5s.	3232d. 13h. 48m. 53s.*
Greatest equation of centre	$5^{\circ} 3'$	$6^{\circ} 17' 54''$.

The latter column of the table we have calculated from the data furnished in Laplace's *Système du monde*. It has been ascertained that the moon moves more rapidly now than she did formerly—the acceleration amounting to nearly 11 seconds in a century. At this rate the Hindu tables are very considerably in error. It is to Lagrange that we owe the important knowledge that this acceleration is secular, and that it will ere long reach its maximum. As to the third item in the above table, we have deduced the Hindu estimate of it from the mean daily rate of the motion of the moon's apogee ($6' 41''$): but we have already stated that various corrections are introduced; and in a subsequent part of the work, we find these corrections comprehended in a single one, the application of which makes the revolution of the Apsides to be accomplished in 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.; differing from Laplace's estimate by only twenty-four seconds. There is a large error in the maximum equation of the moon's centre, which will affect all the equations, and will render the determination of the moon's place erroneous, at all times, except at apogee and perigee. This will of course render the determination of eclipses erroneous, excepting when they

* Sir J. Herschell makes it 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.—agreeing exactly with the estimate of the Hindus.

occur very near the apogee or perigee of the moon. This error proceeds from under-estimating the eccentricity of the moon's orbit.

We have next rules and tables for determining the longitude of the sun and the planets, corresponding with those that we have spoken of for the moon. As the principles of all these are identical, it is not necessary to say aught about them. We shall only state a few of the elements assumed. The greatest equation of the sun's centre is taken at $2^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{2}'$: at the beginning of the present century it was $1^{\circ} 55' 16''$. It diminishes at the rate of about $17''$ in a century; so that it would correspond with the Hindu estimate about 50 centuries ago. But it were too rash to conclude that this is the period when the equation was ascertained; as it is much more likely that the ascertainment was made at a much later period, and made erroneously. The sidereal period of Mars is taken at 687 days; but a correction is introduced of $46'$ of arc in 230 years, or $12''$ a year, which will reduce it by a very minute period. Laplace gives it as 687 days *à fort peu près*. Mercury's sidereal period is reduced by a correction to 87.9621 days, which is very accurate. The period of Jupiter's revolution has been already stated, and compared with the corresponding period as given by Laplace. The periods of Venus and Saturn are also sufficiently correct.

We must pass over all else relating to the planets, the nodes of the moon's orbit, and several other subjects, and reserve what remains of our space for some notice of the methods given for calculating eclipses, the grand *terminus ad quem* of Hindu Astronomy.

There are three methods given in the volume before us, for calculating an eclipse, whether of the sun or moon. They do not differ very widely from each other; but as the last, while it is essentially native in its method, is yet very considerably improved, in consequence of the knowledge of the European system that its author had picked up in the course of intercourse with individuals connected with the Batticotta seminary, we shall confine our attention to it. It may be regarded as a very fair specimen of the mode in which Mr. Hoisington expects the influence of the seminary to operate, in stirring up its students to enquire into the *reasons* of the empiric rules contained in the native treatises, and so to discover in what respects these are defective or erroneous, and to introduce the necessary improvements and corrections. The treatise, to which we now refer, is that of which we have formerly spoken, as forming the third part of the volume before us. It is compiled by Visvanatha Sastri, son of Narayana Sastoir,

Batticotta, near Jaffna, Ceylon. It is for the epoch 1759 A. D., which seems to have been the year of its author's birth, although it was not actually composed until 1788; and seems to have been constantly improved, as its author acquired more accurate information, up to the time of his death in 1845. Like all other native treatises, this consists of detached rules, or precepts, each directing merely the performance of an arithmetical process, without the slightest hint of the reason why the process should be performed. Mr. Hoisington has, by his notes, generally made the matter pretty intelligible; and we believe we shall do an acceptable service to some of our readers by sketching a detail of the process prescribed.

The treatise consists of thirty-three of these precepts, of which the first twelve relate to principles common to eclipses of the sun and moon, fourteen to solar, and seven to lunar eclipses. We shall give these precepts in detail with such explanations, as may seem necessary for making them intelligible to those who possess a moderate amount of knowledge of astronomical subjects.

1. An eclipse may be expected in those months, when the sun is in or near to the sign in which Rahu or Kethu is. If, in those months, a conjunction of the sun and moon occur in the day time, there may be a solar eclipse; but if an opposition occur at night, there may be a lunar eclipse.

Rahu and Kethu are the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit. From this precept, we see, what will appear more clearly hereafter, that the treatise takes account only of eclipses visible at the place for which it is composed. European astronomers first ascertain whether an eclipse will occur, and then, whether it will be visible at a given place, or, more generally, over what portion of the earth's surface it will be visible. But the Hindus proceed strictly on the principle, *De non apparentibus, ac de non existentibus, eadem est ratio*.

2. Set down the *Sutta Tinam* to the time of sun-rising on the day in which the conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon occurs. From this subtract 1,774,192; the remainder is called *Kandam*. This *Kandam* has been considered as beginning on Monday.

The *Sutta Tinam* is the number of days, hours, minutes, &c., from the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The 1,774,192 is the *Sutta Tinam* of the epoch for which the treatise is composed, *viz.*, some Monday in 1756; for which day the places of the sun, moon, and moon's nodes are known, and from which their motions up to the given day are to be ascertained.

3. Divide the *Kandam* successively by 12,372; 3,031 and 248; and set down the quotients, marking also their respective divisors. The last

remainder will be the *Kethu Vakya*, i.e., an argument for the *Panchanka Vakya*.

Multiply by the quotients (found above) the following numbers respectively, viz., $9^{\circ} 27' 48'' 10'$; $11^{\circ} 7' 31'' 1'$, and $27^{\circ} 44' 6''$.

Take the sum of these three results, and add it to $2^{\circ} 1^{\circ} 14' 27''$ (which is the *Mula Druvam*, or moon's epoch longitude) and you obtain *Sasi Druvam*, i.e., the longitude of the moon's apogee at the beginning of the *Panchanka Vakya*.

This is precisely the process which we have already explained and illustrated by an example, for finding the longitude of the moon's apogee for a given time; the only difference is that another divisor (12,372) is introduced, but exactly on the same principle on which the other divisors are used.

4. To the *Sasi Druvam* add the *Attei Vakya*, (the moon's tabular longitude,) and the correction, called *Maniyathi*; the sum will be the moon's longitude.

The *Sasi Druvam*, being the longitude of the moon's apogee for an ascertained number of days, less than 248, before the given time, the *Attei Vakya* is the progress that the moon make in that number of days. The correction is for the difference of meridians. The result of this precept will be the moon's longitude, when the sun rises at the first meridian. The table gives the correction for the place where the system was constructed. It will not be difficult to form a table for any other place, whose longitude is known.

5. To make the correction called *Senakulu*.

As this correction is merely on account of the numbers 12,372; 3,031 and 248, not being strictly accurate multiples of the period of the moon's anomalistic revolution, we need not give the precept at length, nor make any remark upon it. The result is of course the moon's true longitude at sunrise on the first meridian, called *Sutta Santiran*.

6. To calculate the sun's longitude;

Set down the number of months passed, and the day of the month, as so many signs and degrees. From this sum subtract the *Sankrama Nalikeis*, and *Vinalikeis*, considering them as minutes and seconds, if the beginning of the month happen in the day time; but if the month begin at night, add to that sum the difference between these *Nalikeis*, &c., and sixty *Nalikeis*.

From the *Yokyathi Vakya* take the equation corresponding to the given day, and subtract it from the above result, if it falls within seven signs of *Pisces*; but if it be within five signs of *Libra*, it must be added to the same. The result obtained will be the sun's *Pudam*, or true longitude.

A month is the period of the sun's continuance in a sign;

the number of months passed is the number of months passed in the *Kandam*. The *Sankrama* is the precise period elapsed between sun-rise of the given day, and the beginning of the month. The *Yokyathi* is a table containing the correction of the sun's daily motion, which is to be added or subtracted, according as the motion for the given day is greater or less than the mean motion of 1° .

7. Subtract the sun's true longitude from the *Sutta Santiran* (see No. 5), and find the number of complete *Tithis* passed; reduce the remainder to minutes, and multiply them by 60. Divide this product by the difference of the daily motions of the sun and moon, and the quotient will be *Nalikeis*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, for *Vinalikeis*. The *Nadis* and *Vinadis*, thus obtained, are called *Pratham Nadi* and *Vinadi*. The difference between this result and 60 *Nalikeis*, will be *Satta Paruva Nadi* and *Vinadi*; i. e., the time of conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon.

This precept requires little or no explanation. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or a thirtieth-part of a lunation. The precept therefore amounts simply to this;—divide the difference of the true longitude by the difference of motion in longitude; the result will be the time elapsed since last conjunction or opposition; and the complement to a lunation will be the time to elapse till the next.

8. To calculate the longitude of Rahu, i. e., the ascending node :

Divide the *Kandam* in No. 2 by 6795, and reject the quotient. Multiply the remainder by twelve, and divide by the same divisor; the quotient will be signs. Reduce the remainder to degrees and minutes by multiplying by thirty and sixty, and dividing by the same divisor. Divide the same *Kandam* by 813, and the quotient will be minutes. These minutes must be added to the above found result.

Take the sum of this quantity, and $7^{\circ} 18' 45''$ which is Rahu's epoch longitude, and subtract it from 12° ; the remainder will be Rahu's longitude for sun-rise of the given day.

Divide by 19 the number of *Nalikeis*, intervening between the time of sun-rise and the time of conjunction or opposition; the result will be minutes. Subtract these minutes from the longitude above found; the remainder will be the longitude of Rahu for the instant of conjunction or opposition.

This precept is sufficiently distinct. The period of revolution of the moon's nodes is assumed at 6795 days; and a correction is applied, which reduces it to 6792.37;—as thus, a being any number of days, we have, for the number of revolu-

tions $\frac{a}{6795} + \frac{a}{813 \times 60 \times 360} = \frac{17567595 a}{119325636000}$. Hence we have, for the length of a revolution, $\frac{119325636000}{17567595} = 6792.37$ days. At the commencement of the present century, it was, according to Laplace, 6793.39 days : but it is subject to great variation. As it is an important element in the determination of eclipses according to the present method, its erroneous estimate must considerably vitiate the results. As the motion of the nodes is retrograde, it is the complement of the fraction of a revolution that is to be taken. The motion of the nodes is assumed to be $1'$ in 19 Nadis.

9. To calculate the precession of the equinoxes :—

Divide the number of years passed in Kali Yuga by 615, and the quotient will be signs. Multiply the remainder by thirty and sixty successively, and divide each product by the same divisor ; the result will be degrees and minutes.

Reduce the signs, &c., to *Bhuja** as usual ; and take out the equation from *Yutta Nathi Vakya*.

This equation, raised to the higher denominations, will be the *Ayana Pudam*, i. e., the precession of the equinoxes.

YUTTA NATHI VAKYA.

3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.
1	91'	9	783'	17	1284'
2	182	10	859	18	1324
3	274	11	933	19	1359
4	362	12	1002	20	1388
5	450	13	1068	21	1410
6	537	14	1129	22	1426
7	621	15	1185	23	1436
8	703	16	1238	24	1440

On a comparison of the precept with the table it will be observed that the precession of the equinoxes is made to be (1440'=) 24° in (615 × 3=) 1845 years. This gives the mean annual precession = 46."8.

Now it ought, according to Laplace, to be 50."1. The error has been introduced, we doubt not, in this way. The Surya Siddhanta proceeded on the supposition that the Zodiacal and Sidereal signs coincided at the beginning of the Kali Yuga :

* It is elsewhere explained that *Bhuja* means the first or third quadrant, and *Kodi* the second or fourth. To reduce the result, we have therefore, if it be in the second quadrant, to subtract from 180° ; if in the third quadrant, to subtract 180° from it ; and, if in the fourth quadrant, to subtract it from 360°. The table embraces a quadrant of the epicycle, or 1845 years, taking 3° 45' as the unit : thus 3° 45' × 24 = 90.

but this was not the case. The author of that treatise, in order to absorb the error, supposed the annual precession to be 54," which gave him the correct position of the equinox for his own epoch. Now the author of the present treatise, finding that an error would accrue if he calculated the position of the equinox at the rate of 54," set himself to correct the rate. He must have assumed that the increase in precession, which he found to exist, had accumulated from the Kali Yuga, whereas it had in reality accumulated only from the era of the Surya Siddhanta ; accordingly he made the rate too small.

10. To calculate the ascensional difference :—

To the sun's longitude (No. 6) add the precession of the equinoxes above found, and ascertain whether this quantity falls within six signs of Aries or Libra, and reduce it to *Bhuja*, if it be in *Kodi*.

If this reduced quantity be less than a sign, multiply it by 48 ; then reduced the product to the higher denomination, and divide by 30. The resulting quotient is called *Sara Vinadi*, or ascensional difference.

When the reduced quantity is greater than one sign, but less than two, multiply the degrees and minutes of the same by 38, and find out the *Sara Vinadi*, as before, remembering to increase the result by 48 *Vinadis*. When it exceeds two signs, the degrees and minutes of the same must be multiplied by the 16, and the result, found as before, must be added to 86 *Vinadis*.

The ascensional difference is the quantity by which the semi-diurnal arc of the sun is greater or less than a quadrant. As this depends upon the latitude of the place, as well as the sun's declination, the numbers given in the text are therefore applicable only to the place for which the system is constructed, or places of the same latitude. It is not the ascensional difference, but double of that quantity, that the precept directs us to find.

11. For the duration of the day.—To 30 *Nalikeis* add the ascensional difference found, if the sun's longitude be within six signs of Aries ; but subtract the same, when it is otherwise. The sum, or difference, will be the duration of the day, called *Tivamanam*.

This requires no explanation. The length of a day is equal to 30 *Nalikeis* (12 hours), increased or diminished by twice the ascensional difference, according as the sun is to the north or south of the equator. This confirms the correction, that we noticed under the preceding precept.

12. Multiply the *Sara Vinadi*, found as in No. 10, by the true daily motions of the sun and moon, and divide each of the products twice by 60 successively. Add the last found quantities respectively to the true

longitudes of the sun and moon. The sums are called the *Samakkrakam* of the sun and moon.

On reference to No. 6, it will be seen that an element in the determination of the sun's longitude is the *Saukrama*, or time from sun-rise to the beginning of a month. In that article the sunrise is considered to be at 6 o'clock; and the present is a correction to reduce the longitude to its value at actual sun-rise.

SOLAR ECLIPSES.

13. Take the difference between the time of conjunction and half the duration of the day, and with it, as an argument, take out the equation from the *Lampitha Vakya*, and divide it by 60; the result will be *Nalikeis* and *Vinalikeis*. To the time of conjunction apply the equation, by addition, or subtraction, according as it is in the afternoon, or forenoon. The result will be *Lampana Puruvam*, or the apparent time of conjunction.*

The *Lampitha Vakya* is a table of the moon's parallax in longitude, reduced to time; that is, the equation, contained in the table, is the difference between the time, when the moon appears to be in a given longitude, and the time, when she is there. The parallax of the sun is neglected. The rule seems to proceed on the supposition that, on the day of conjunction, the moon is on the meridian at noon; and consequently, her parallax depending on her altitude, the parallax at conjunction will be a function of the time of the conjunction before or after noon.

14. Apply the same equation, as directed in the preceding article, to the *Samakkrakam*, regarding the *Nalikeis* as minutes, and the *Vinalikeis* as seconds. The result is called *Lampana Ravi*, or the sun's apparent longitude for the time of conjunction.

Rather, the sun's longitude at the time of apparent conjunction. This is evident. The *Samakkrakam*, being the longitude of the sun and moon at the time of actual conjunction, must be corrected by the amount of the parallax of the moon, in order to give the longitude at the time of apparent conjunction.

15. Take the difference between half the duration of the day and the time of apparent conjunction, and convert the remainder into degrees, &c., by multiplying by 6, and dividing by 60 and 30. Subtract the result from *Lampana Ravi*, if the time of conjunction occur in the forenoon; but, if it occur in the afternoon, add it to the same. The sum of this result and the precession of the equinoxes, is called *Sayani Ravi*, i.e., the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

* Rather, time of apparent conjunction.—ED.

The reason of this is evident. The sum, or difference, of the sun's apparent longitude at a given time and his distance from the Nonagesimal, or intersection of the ecliptic with the meridian of the place, is of course the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

16. If the *Sayana Ravi* be within six signs of Aries, mark it as northern; but if it be within six signs of Libra, mark it as southern.

Having reduced the *Sayana Ravi to Bhujā*, as usual, find out the equation from the sun's *Manta Jya Vakya*, and divide it by 7; the quotient will be *Ankulas*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor; the quotient will be *Viankulas*. These *Ankulas* and *Viankulas* are called the northern, or southern, (as the case may be *Ravi Vikshepan*).

This is the moon's parallax in latitude, which is assumed, for no good reason that we can imagine, to be equal to one-seventh part of the equation of the sun's centre.

17. Multiply by 13 the quotient found in art. 13; and the product divided by 60, will be minutes and seconds. Subtract this result from the *Samakrakam*, if the time of conjunction be in the forenoon, but if it be in the afternoon, it must be added. The last result is called *Lampana Sama Santiran*, i.e., the apparent longitude of the moon at conjunction. (*Long. of D at app. conj.*)

This corresponds exactly with the precept No. 14, assuming that the moon's motion in longitude is 13 times that of the sun.

18. From *Lampana Sama Santiran*, subtract the longitude of Rahu, and mark the remainder as northern or southern, according as it is less or greater than six signs.

Reduce the same remainder to *Bhujā*, if it be in *Kodī*, and bring it to minutes. Divide these minutes by 13; the quotient will be *Ankulas*; multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, and the quotient will be *Viankulas*. The result is the moon's *Vikshepan*, or latitude, either north or south, according as before marked.

This is on the supposition that the moon's latitude, when very near her node, is one-thirteenth part of her distance in longitude from the node. It were much more nearly correct to make it one-eleventh part. To find the latitude accurately requires nothing more than the solution of the right angled spherical triangle, of which the sides are the distance of the moon from her node along the orbit, the difference in longitude of the moon and node, and the latitude. The first of these sides is the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle: and the angle, contained by the moon's orbit and the ecliptic, is known, being $= 5^{\circ}8'$ nearly, according to Laplace. Hence we have, by Napier's rule,

Sin. of diff. of long. = tan. of lat. \times cot. $5^{\circ} 8'$;
or tan. of lat. = Sin. of diff. of long. \times tan. $5^{\circ} 8'$.

But, both the latitude and the difference of longitude, being necessarily so small at the time of a solar eclipse, we may consider the tangent of the one, and the sine of the other to be equal to the arcs themselves; hence we get

lat. = diff. of long. \times tan. $5^{\circ} 8' = .09 \times$ diff. of long. = $\frac{1}{11} \times$ diff. of long. nearly.

The error of the author proceeds from under-estimating the inclination of the moon's orbit, and taking the sine of that inclination instead of the tangent. He makes the inclination of the moon's orbit to the ecliptic only $4^{\circ} 30'$ which is fully $38'$ too little.

19. The *Nitya Vikshepam* is always south, being equal to $8'$.

We are indebted to the translator for the explanation of this precept, which otherwise we should not have been able to understand, as we do not think we have previously been told the meaning of the term *Nitya Vikshepam*. With Mr. Hoisington's help, however, we make out that it is a correction for reducing the moon's equatoreal parallax to the parallax for the place for which the treatise is composed. This place being in northern latitude, the moon's apparent place is always further south, than if viewed from the equator. It corresponds to $9^{\circ} 45'$ north.

20. If the three *Vikshepams* be of one kind, *i. e.*, either northern or southern, add them together; but, if they be of different kinds, take their difference. The sum, or difference found is called *Pada Vikshepam*, being northern or southern, according to the quality of the greater of the *Vikshepams*.

The three *Vikshepams* to be added (algebraically) being the moon's latitude (No. 18), the moon's parallax in latitude (No. 16), and the correction of this parallax for the place of observation (No. 19), the result must be the moon's apparent latitude.

21. Multiply the sun's true daily motion by 5, and divide the product by 18; the quotient will be *Ankulas*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor, for *Viankulas*. The result will be the *Ravi Mandalarttam*, *i. e.*, the sun's apparent semi-diameter.

As the sun's daily motion is greatest in perigee, and least in apogee, and as his apparent diameter is greatest and least at the same times respectively, and as both the daily motion and the apparent diameter increase from apogee to perigee, and decrease from perigee to apogee, it appears that the one of these quantities may be regarded as a function of the other. The average daily motion being 1° , the rule will give the mean semi-diameter = $16\frac{3}{4}$. According to Laplace, the mean diameter is $32' 3'' .3$, or the semi-diameter = $16' 1'' .6$.

22. Divide the moon's true daily motion by 50; the quotient will be *Ankulas*; reduce the remainder to *Viankulas*. The result will be the *antira Mandalarittam*, i. e., the moon's apparent semi-diameter.

This is precisely on the same principle with the preceding. The average daily motion of the moon being $13^{\circ} 10' 35''$, the rule gives the mean semi-diameter = $15' 48''$. Calculating from the data furnished by Laplace, we make it $15' 43''$.

23. The sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon is called *Sampatkarittam*. If from this the *Puda Vikshepam* cannot be subtracted there will be no eclipse. But if it can, then subtract the *Puda Vikshepam* from the *Sampatkarittam*; and the remainder is called *Krasangulam*, being northern or southern, as is *Puda Vikshepam*.

This requires no explanation. If the sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon be not greater than the distance of their centres, they will not overlap each other. It should be noticed that the latitude of the sun is not taken into account. As it never exceeds $1''$, it was not appreciable by the Hindu observers. The neglect of it will not produce any material error.

24. From the *Krasangulam*, subtract successively 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 and 12. The number of subtractions will be *Nalikeis*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the number next greater than the one subtracted, the quotient will be *Vianlikeis*. The result is called *Tithi Nalikeis* and *Vianlikeis*. Half of this result is called *Tithiarttam*.

This is an empirical rule, most probably, founded on observation. The *Tithiarttam* is half the duration of the eclipse. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or thirtieth part of a lunation. A *nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a day, consequently a *tithi nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a lunar day, or an eighteen hundredth part of a lunation. It is assumed that when the disks overlap by $1'$, the duration of the eclipse is one *tithi nalikei*.

When they overlap by $3'$, the duration of the eclipse is 2 *Nalike*.

	6'	.....	3
"	12'	.....	4
	20'	.....	5
	32'	.....	6

These results, as we have said, have probably been derived from the observation of one or two eclipses. The supposition that two eclipses will necessarily last precisely the same time, if they be of precisely the same magnitude, is not quite correct. However, the error will not be great.

25. Add *Tithiarttam* to *Lampana Ravi* for the beginning, and subtract the same for the end, of the eclipse. *Lampana Paruvam* is the time of the middle of the eclipse.

This is surely a mistake. The processes for finding the beginning and end respectively of the eclipse are the reverse of those stated.

26. The sun's apparent semi-diameter doubled will be the apparent diameter of the sun. Ascertain what part of this is the *Krasankulam*; and it will give the magnitude of the eclipse. If $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the sun's disk is eclipsed, while the *Krasankulam* is northern, the eclipse will commence on the north-west limb of the sun, and end on the north-east limb. But if the *Krasankulam* be southern, it will commence on the south-west, and end on the south-east limb. If the eclipse be total, it will begin on the western, and end on the eastern limb.

This requires no explanation.

LUNAR ECLIPSES.

27. The same as 18.

28. The same as 22.

29. Multiply the moon's apparent semi-diameter by five, and take half the product for *Rahu Mandalarttam*, the apparent semi-diameter of the shadow.

This is on the assumption that the diameter of the earth's shadow, at the distance of the moon, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the moon. This is but a rude approximation, assuming that the earth's distance from the sun has a constant ratio to her distance from the moon.

30. The sum of the semi-diameters of the moon and shadow is called *Sampatkarttam*.

If this be less than the moon's latitude, there will be no eclipse. But if greater, subtract the latitude from the *Sampatkarttam*, and the remainder will be *Krasankulam*; which is to be considered northern, when the moon's latitude is south, and southern, when that is north.

This requires no remark.

31. From the *Krasankulam*, subtract successively 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 7 and 16. If any of these numbers cannot be subtracted, the remainder must be multiplied by 60, and divided by the number next to the last subtracted; the quotient will be *Vianlikeis*. The number of the above subtractions will be *Nalikeis*. These *Nalikeis* and *Vianlikeis* express the duration of the eclipse. Half of this is called *Tithiarttam*.

For the beginning of the eclipse, subtract *Tithiarttam* from the true time of opposition, and for the end, add the same to it. The true time of opposition is that of the middle of the eclipse. In order to ascertain the time from sunset, the duration of the day must be subtracted from the time of the eclipse.

The remark, we have made on No. 24, is equally applicable to this.

32. Multiply the apparent semi-diameter of the moon by 2, and ascertain what part of this is the *Krasankulam*. The result will be the magnitude of the eclipse.

This is evident.

33. If the *Krasankulam* is northern, while the eclipse is partial, the eclipse will commence on the north-eastern limb, and end on the north-western. If southern, it will begin on the south-eastern, and end on the south-western. If total, it will begin on the eastern, and end on the western limb.

This also is evident.

Thus have we gone over the treatise, and commented upon it at length. We trust that this labor will not have been mis-spent. Although we do not expect any considerable proportion of our readers to honour this article with a perusal, yet we hope that those who have patience to go through with it, will acquire a definite knowledge of a subject, of which they have hitherto had but a vague notion. The operation is much shorter than the most improved European method, as shewn in Mr. Woolhouse's treatise, appended to the Nautical Almanac for 1836; but the greater complication of that process is due only to its greater accuracy. The Hindu method will not give a result that can be confidently depended upon. There may be a small eclipse, when this method will indicate none; or there may be none, when this method will indicate a small one; and, in every case, the eclipse may be greater or less than indicated. And this is in strict accordance with the fact, as ascertained by the comparison of the Native almanacs, with the eclipses that actually occur. But still, with all its imperfections, we cannot but regard the method as highly creditable to the ingenuity of those who devised it. To calculate an eclipse, without the aid of those tables, which furnish the data, and that Spherical Trigonometry, which is the great instrument in the hand of the European Astronomer, is a "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," in which it is no discredit to be occasionally "thrown out."

It is quite unnecessary to say a word as to the concluding part of Mr. Hoisington's volume. We shall therefore end, as we began, by expressing our conviction that the work is fitted to be useful, not only for the purpose for which the translator intends it, but also for the purpose of making known the state of astronomy amongst the Hindus, more accurately than it has hitherto been known to the Astronomers of the West. In order that it may be more useful for this purpose we would recommend that Mr. Hoisington, who is now in America, should reprint the translation apart from the Tamul original. This would not occupy more than 100 pages of letter press, and would not fail to be acceptable to many.

EARLY BENGALI LITERATURE AND NEWSPAPERS.

BY REV. J. LONG.

1. *Samāchar Darpan*. Serampore. 1818.
2. *Sambād Kaumadi*. Sanskrit Press. 1821.
3. *Brāhman Sebadi*. Calcutta. 1821.
4. *Samāchar Chandrikā*. Calcutta. 1822.
5. *Bangā Dut*. Calcutta. 1829.
6. *Gyādnāshwan*. Calcutta. 1831.

THE publication of Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, and of Du Tassy's History of Hindustani Literature, together with other valuable works of a similar class issued of late years, indicates that a taste is springing up for bibliographical studies, and that the statistics of literature are considered to be worthy of investigation, even in this age so fond of seeking after mere material objects. In this field, as in others, France and Germany have taken the lead. What works has England ever produced of a bibliographical kind, equal to the writings of Mabillon and the Fathers of St. Maur?

While notice has been taken at different periods of Sanskrit and Arabic works, very little attention has been paid to a history of the rise and progress of the different vernacular literatures in India. We should be glad, for instance, to see a synopsis and sketch of the books published in Tamul, Canarese, and Mahratta. Monsieur du Tassy has supplied the desideratum for Hindustani; and we are glad to learn that his work is being translated from French into Urdu; it will form as excellent a guide for the study of Hindustani, as Horne's Introduction does for Biblical pursuits. We purpose in the present article to take a cursory range over the state of early Bengali literature, particularly with reference to the periodical press, which is indirectly exercising a considerable influence on the Hindu mind; we shall also give a short notice of Bengali works, printed previously to the era of the Bengali newspapers.

It is difficult to gain any precise information respecting the language that was used at the Courts of Gaur and Nadiya; nor is this surprising, when we reflect on the cloud of obscurity that hangs over the ancient history of Bengal. It is true, we have certain landmarks. Dacca and Satgan flourished, as commercial emporia, in the days of Pliny; Gaur, according to Rennel, was the capital of Bengal, 750 B. C.; Tamluk, or Tamralipta, was the Benares of Buddhism

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in Bengal, eighteen centuries ago;* and a temple was erected in honor of Kapil Muni in Sagar Island, as far back as A. D. 430. We therefore conclude, on this and various other grounds, that the hypothesis, started by Ram Komul Sen in the very able preface to his Dictionary, is utterly without foundation, *viz.*, that a considerable portion of Bengal, as for instance, the district of Jessore, has been reclaimed from the sea within the last three centuries. So far from the Sunderbund districts being of such recent origin, we believe, that evidence can be adduced to shew that they formed a cultivated tract of country, at a period when England was only emerging from a state of barbarism. We ourselves saw a couple of years ago, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, through the kindness of Monsieur Jomard, a map of Bengal, made in the fifteenth century, in which we observed five large cities marked off on the borders of the sea, in what are now the Sunderbunds: but these have been subsequently laid waste through Portuguese buccaneering, the effects of inundations, and a sinking of the land owing to volcanic agency. We conclude, therefore, that Bengal was a civilised country long before the light of refinement dawned on Britain. And there are various data to confirm this position; for instance, the notice of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*—the long standing fame of Tribeni, near Hugly, as a place of pilgrimage—and the mention of Gunga Sagar in the Ramayana and Mahabharat. Kali Ghát is referred to as existing in the days of King Bhagirath. The *Vrihat Katha* alludes to various events of a very ancient date connected with Bengal; and, in one of the stories contained in that highly interesting work, the scene is laid in Tamluk, and one of the chief dramatis personæ is a Buddhist priest.

Mention is also made of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*. At the period of the composition of that work, probably the whole body of the Ganges flowed down by way of Satgan, Sankhrál Reach, and Báripur to the sea, instead of taking its present course, *viz.*,

* In proof of this, we would refer to an excellent volume, published under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian, from the French, with additional notes. Calcutta. 1848." Professor Wilson has commented very favourably on this work in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Colonel Sykes in his valuable "Notes on the Ante-Muhammadan period of India." In Fa Hian's days, *viz.*, A. D. 399, Tamluk is described as near the sea, and as a place of great traffic; 1,000 Buddhist monks lived in it. At the close of the 5th century before the Christian era, Dharmasoka, sovereign of all Jambudwipa, is said to have sent to the King of Ceylon an ambassador, who embarked from Tamluk; and, as late as the 7th century, it was a town of considerable importance. We have a lively recollection of the danger we encountered lately in passing it, owing to the sands and shallows, with which the river is now filled. Like Satgan, it has fallen into decay, partly owing to that silting process of the river, which may eventually block up even the port of Calcutta.

the Padma. From these, and various other data, we infer that Bengal may have been a comparatively civilised country for, perhaps, 2,500 years. Whether the aboriginal tribes ever occupied the plains of Bengal, we know not; perhaps the researches, which Mr. Hodgson is making respecting the aborigines, may throw light on this point: but these facts are well ascertained;—that, Tamluk, in the third century, was famous for its Buddhist colleges, in which Fa Hian, a Chinese priest, spent two years; that one of the towers of Asoka stood there; that, as late as the 12th century, the Pal Kings of Gaur were Budhists; that Adisur brought Brahmins from Kanauj to Bengal in the 10th century, as Budhism had infected the Hindu priesthood in the latter country; and that the Jains, whose system is a scion of Budhism, were formerly very numerous in Bengal. They were probably a lingering remnant of the Budhists.

We offer the following suggestion as a point for inquiry. Considering that the Pali language is as invariable an accompaniment of the Buddhist rulers and priests, as Latin is of the Romish, or Sanskrit of the Brahminical hierarchy; and that the Pali bears as close an affinity to Sanskrit, as the Bengali does,—is it not probable, that the ancient language, spoken on the plains of Bengal, was a mixture of the Páli Prákrit, which might then have served, like the Prákrit, or Apabhransa, generally, as a kind of transition-dialect between the ancient Sanskrit and the modern Bengali, or the Gauriya Bháshá? The Páli was pre-eminently the language of the people. It was the organ of the itinerant preaching system of the Buddhist priests:* it was once the vernacular of Magadha, or Bahar; and it bears the same relation to the Sanskrit, as the Dutch does to the German, or the Italian to the Latin.

In support of the assertion, that Páli, or Prákrit has been the language of the people, while Sanskrit was used by the Brahminical class, we have the authority of Dr. Muller, in his "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and aboriginal languages of India." He remarks, "The author of the most famous Prákrit Grammar, Katyayana, was the same who wrote additional notes on the great work on the Sanskrit Grammar by Panini, his contemporary, or immediate predecessor: and we find in one branch of Sanskrit literature, which was more than any other destined for the higher, as well as the lower, classes, *viz.*, in the dramatic compositions, a constant mixture of Sanskrit and Prákrit dialects, which unfold there an un-

* Buddhist Missionaries employed in China, Nipal, and the Eastern Archipelago, the machinery of the vernaculars and itinerant preaching for diffusing their doctrines.

expected wealth of melodious poetry. Strange as such a combination of similar dialects may seem, we find a similar fact in Italy where each of the masked persons in the *Commedie dell'arte* was originally intended as a kind of characteristic representation of some particular Italian district or town." Dr. Muller, however thinks, that, "while other modern dialects of India are of Prakrit origin, the Bengali is almost a direct off-shoot from the Sanskrit, superseding the simple and concise forms of ancient declensions and conjugations by modern paraphrastic formations." *

What the language of Bengal was 1200 years ago, when Gaur, its capital, was in the zenith of its glory, with its two millions of inhabitants and its princely buildings, we know not. Some suppose it to have been the Sanskrit, not in its present highly artificial form, but in a simpler one; others consider that there was an aboriginal language, traces of which remain still in such words, as *ultá, eman, ekhan, chál, chhari, dhámá, pet, bhari, sojá, holá*. In the admirable preface to his Bengali dictionary, Ram Komal Sen gives a list of 128 original Bengali words, derived from no other language, "which must have been peculiar to the aborigines," and are still in general use among the lower classes; he also appends sixty-five words, spoken among the Koles, and which may be heard at present in the Thakurpúkur and other districts to the South of Calcutta.

Previous to the introduction of Bengali typography into this country in 1778, there were about forty works composed in the Bengali language. Among these the chief were the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*, a work popular among the Vaishnavas, written in 1557, by Krishna Das Kabiraj, a follower of Chaitanya; † the *Mansa Mangal* by Khemananda; the *Dharma Gana* published by order of Layu Shen, a Raja near Burdwan; the *Mahabharat, Ramayan, Subankara, and Guru Dakhina*; the *Bhandi*,

* The Bengali characters according to Colebrooke, "is nothing else but Devanagari deformed, for the sake of expeditious writing." See a valuable paper of the late James Prinsep on this subject, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

† Ram Komul Sen, in the preface to his Dictionary, p. 14, states, "The composition of bibliographical and historical works in Bengali commenced on the appearance of Chaitanya in Nadiya, about 307 years ago; his disciples wrote various books on the doctrines of the Vaishnava sect. In 1557, Krishna Das wrote the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*: his brethren also produced several works on mythology and theology; their dramatic works are moreover excellent." One-fifth of the population of Bengal have embraced the doctrines of Chaitanya: and one cause of the rapid spread of this sect was probably owing to the activity with which they availed themselves of Bengali literature to disseminate their tenets. We have no account of any Bengali work previous to the period of Chaitanya: and yet it is singular that in Telugu, certainly not superior to the Bengali in richness and expressiveness, we have books, still extant, which were composed previous to the Moslem invasion.

by Kabikāṅkan, and the *Annada Mangal*, by Bharat Chandra, both written under the patronage of the Mæcenas of Hindu literature, the illustrious Raja Krishna Ray of Naba-dwip.

Though the Musalmans in other countries came with the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other, yet in Bengal they generally granted toleration: but like the English, when they conquered Ireland, they acted with a depressing weight on every effort to create a national literature; and hence, though there are many MSS. extant, yet a search, in order to obtain any clue to ascertain the early formation of the language, or to procure any historical information respecting Bengal in the Ante-Muhammadan period, ends in complete disappointment. Either the Hindus were afraid to write, or the Muhammadans destroyed their documents.

It may not perhaps prove uninteresting to some of our readers to peruse the following curious extract, relative to the early settlement of the Muhammadans in Bengal at Pandúa, a place 15 miles from Hugly on the road to Burdwan, given by the correspondent of an old periodical, now very scarce, the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* for 1824.

"Traditional Account of the Minaret at Pandúa."

The minaret at Pandúa is certainly one of the most ancient monuments of Muhammadan bigotry in Bengal. I was given to understand by the people of Pandúa, that, about 600 years since, Shah-Suff-uddîn Khan Shahîd, undertook the invasion of Bengal, pursuant to the representation made by a certain Mussulman, who had a little before been invited over by the Hindu rajahs to reside there, for the purpose of interpreting to them the messages, or mandates, of the Emperor of Hindustan, respecting the politics of the times. This man being childless, he made a vow, "that should God grant him a son, he would make a splendid sacrifice to his honour." His prayer was granted; and he proceeded to celebrate the happy event, in the first instance, by slaughtering a cow by way of sacrifice, in fulfilment of his vow. This circumstance gave great offence to the Hindus, and exasperated them to such a degree, that, by the orders of their rajahs, they not only punished him in the severest manner imaginable, but they also brought forth the son of his vow, and offered him up a sacrifice to appease their deities. A short time after this cruel affair had transpired, the Mussulman escaped to Delhi, and petitioned the Emperor to revenge him, by punishing the murderers of his son. The Emperor, shocked at the circumstance, immediately issued a proclamation throughout his dominions, offering a magnificent reward to any person that would undertake to head an army, and proceed to Bengal to revenge the outrage.

"Prince Shah-Suff-uddîn Khan volunteered his services; and, having assembled an army of the most devout Mussulmans, marched towards Bengal, carrying fire and desolation wherever he came. Having subdued all the rajahs of the intermediate places, he came to Pandúa, a strong fortified place, the residence of a powerful rajah, called Pundraja, and besieged it. This rajah was aided by the rajah of Munad, who was a powerful ally. But what, above all things, according to tradition, tended to the success of

the besieged in repelling the attacks of the invaders for a long time, was a wonderful pool at Munad, called Jhínch-khúnd. It is said, that this pool had the virtue of restoring the dead to life again, and of healing the wounds of those, who were engaged in the war with the Mussulmans. The latter made repeated assaults on the besieged, but were invariably repulsed with great slaughter. Shah-Suff (being a little surprised to find, that after so many battles had been fought, and thousands of the enemy carried out of the field dead or wounded, their numbers still suffered no diminution,) offered a handsome reward to any person who would trace out the cause of such a circumstance in favour of the besieged. A certain person undertook to procure him the requisite information, and, approaching the neighbourhood of some of the enemy's stations in disguise, found out the secret relative to the miraculous efficacy of the Jhínch-khúnd. Next, taking upon himself the disguise of a Hindu jogí, he arrived at Munad, where was the celebrated pool, and begged permission to bathe in it. Having obtained his request, and while in the act of performing his ablutions, he threw a piece of cow's flesh in the pool undiscovered, which at once destroyed the virtues of Jhínch-khúnd for ever. Having achieved this enterprise, he returned, not a little elated at the success he had met with, and informed the General of the circumstance. The news soon spread through the army, and elated them to such a degree, that they took up their arms immediately, and rushed upon their enemies. The conflict was dreadful. That the healing virtues of the pool had been destroyed was a disastrous event to the Hindus, who in vain cast into it their dead and dying; for as they were cast in one after another, so they remained. Struck with astonishment and shame at this circumstance, and appalled with fear, they were no longer able to withstand the impetuosity of the Mussulman troops, and were routed with a dreadful slaughter. Thus the Mussulmans got possession of Pandúa, and its adjacent towns. They next erected a fortress at Pandúa, and built a minaret to perpetuate the signal victory they had obtained over the infidels. Many Hindus were compelled to be circumcised, and to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

"The conquerors having established themselves in the country, built a large mosque at Pandúa within the walls of the fort, which they had previously erected. This mosque has sixty domes, supported upon two rows of dark grey coloured stones, carved in a very curious style. The outer walls are ornamented with a kind of Mosaic architecture. The bricks, of which they are built, are neatly and curiously moulded into a variety of chequered-work flowers and leaves. The domes, however, are not lofty. They increase the sound of the voice greatly; as a person speaking at one end of the wall enables those who stand on the opposite side, a distance of upwards of a hundred feet, to hear every word distinctly, though spoken with a voice but moderately elevated.

"The minaret is the most worthy of notice. It is upwards of 80 cubits in height by actual measurement. To arrive at its summit, a person is obliged to ascend by means of a narrow, dark, spiral flight of stairs. In the days of the prosperity of this place, the Muazzin, or inviter to prayers, used to ascend to the highest standing place of this minaret, and proclaim the *uzan*, or invitation to prayers.

"During a former visit, which I had paid to this place, I was told of a circumstance of a most lamentable nature, which had taken place a short time before my arrival. The particulars were related by a resident of the place. It is usual for multitudes of Mussulmans to come to this place on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Martyr Shah-Suff, from the remotest parts of Bengal. At such times (January, and April,) extensive fairs are held

for the accommodation of the pilgrims. It is an invariable practice of the visitors to ascend to the highest stage of the minaret, for the purpose of seeing an iron bar, which runs evidently through the middle of the spiral steps from top to bottom. This, the pilgrims say, was the walking staff of the martyr. Hundreds ascend at the same time, and throng each other in a miserable manner. On one of these occasions, while multitudes were pressing through this spiral staircase, a person stumbled midway up the steps, and fell upon those who attempted to push on; and these again being propelled upwards by others following hard at their heels, could not avoid trampling on the person who had fallen, and, as is supposed, killed him on the spot. This created great confusion and uproar, but the cause could not be ascertained, either at the foot of the steps, or at the top. Both those below, and those above, heard the noise, but knew not the reason of it. Struck with alarm, those, who were uppermost, essayed to descend as fast as possible; and those, who were at the foot of the steps, or a little above, being shoved upwards by a multitude following from below, a most distressing struggle ensued in the middle of the stairs, in which upwards of seventy persons were crushed to death.

"Shah-Suff, the conqueror of Pandúa, was celebrated for the sanctity of his life. It is said, that on a certain day, he went to sleep, after having ordered one of his slaves to wake him precisely at an hour specified, perhaps the hour of prayer. The slave fell asleep likewise, but awoke after the appointed hour had elapsed. Filled with dread at the neglect of which he had been guilty, and his lord being yet in bed, he drew his sword, plunged it into his heart, and killed him; but immediately killed himself likewise. Thus Shah-Suff became a martyr: since which he has been held in great veneration; and his shrine, which is always kept in repair, is annually visited by multitudes of pilgrims, as related above. In and about Pandúa, there are also the shrines of the heroes that fell in the battles against the infidels, and who are also held in a degree of respect, next to adoration, by the Mussulmans. They are all martyrs; so that when a person visits Pandúa, he treads holy ground. The sanctity of the place is made the means of great pecuniary emolument to thousands of fukirs, and to the mútu-wullis, or successors of the representatives of Shah-Suff, in whose hands the lands attached to the religious institution are retained, as well as the amounts of sacrifices collected at the fairs; which they dispose of to such purposes, as best suit their views and inclinations."

Religious reformers in all ages, whether we refer to Luther in Germany, Wicliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, Marot in France, or Sankar-Acharjya in India, have always availed themselves of the vernaculars, as the media for influencing the masses; and, in so doing, have refined the "vulgar tongue," and rendered it a more powerful vehicle for inculcating new ideas. We observe a similar process in Bengal, which may be divided into four stages; that of Chaitanya about A. D. 1500, when the first Bengali works were composed; that of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, about A. D. 1750;* that of

* This Raja aspired to be a second Vikramaditya, and to make Nadiya another Ujain. He gave an immense stimulus to native literature. Under his patronage, Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*, a highly popular work in praise of Durga; and Bharatchanda composed the *Annada Mangal*. Learned men from all parts of the country were collected at Nadiya, and supported by rich endowments granted by the Raja, who made Nadiya as

Dr. Carey and his Scrampore contemporaries ; and that of Ram Mohan Ray, and the *Tatwabodhini Sabha*.*

Muhammadian influence had exerted itself in checking every development of a national literature. The officers of the revenue courts under the Mogul regime, as a general rule, would not even receive a petition in Bengali : it had to be written in Persian, which was the avenue to all places of trust and emolument. Yet it is surprising that, even under the British Government, the Persian held its ground, until the memorable 1st of January 1839, when, by the orders of the authorities, the Bengali was substituted for the Persian in all the courts of the Lower Provinces, and this Moslem language was deposed from its unjust ascendancy. On the other hand, though the Pandits (like those subtle trainers of the intellect, the school-men of the middle ages) kept the Hindu mind in a certain state of activity—yet it was the activity of a *class*, not of a nation ; and no man dared to encroach on the preserves

celebrated for logic as Oxford now is—the Raja being very partial to Nyaya studies, which still retain the ascendancy at Nadiya. The Raja set an example of correct diction, “ which encouraged the people to study Bengali with unusual diligence.” He is said to have once, on the occasion of the Durga Puja, offered a sacrifice of goats and sheep to the goddess ; he commenced with one, and, doubling it by the process of geometrical progression, at the end of sixteen days, he had slaughtered 65,535 animals. He sent the carcasses as presents to the Brahmans. He was a regular Alva in defence of his own religion, and once put a Sudra to death for having intermarried into the family of a Brahman. Such was caste ! Even as recently as forty years ago a case occurred near Calcutta, when a Brahman, as a punishment for having received a gift from a goldsmith (one of the lower castes), was sentenced to fast two days, to repeat a holy text 100,000 times, and to have his mouth, which had been polluted through the food received from the goldsmith, purified by filling it with cow-dung.

The grandson of the Raja was equally superstitious. Mr. Ward relates the following anecdote of him :—“ About twenty years ago (1790), Ishwara-Chundia, the Raja of Nadiya, spent 100,000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, when all the parade common at Hindu marriages was exhibited. In the marriage procession were seen elephants, camels, horses, richly caparisoned palanquens, lamps and flambeaus. The male monkey was fastened in a fine palanquien, having a crown upon his head, with men standing by his side to fan him : then followed singing and dancing-girls in carriages ; every kind of Hindu music ; a grand display of fireworks, &c. Dancing, music, singing, and every degree of low mirth, were exhibited at the bridegroom's palace for twelve days together. At the time of the marriage ceremony, learned Brahmans were employed in reading the formulas from the *Shastras* !” At that period none of these monkeys were to be seen about Nadiya ; now they are so numerous, that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards, as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them.

Those, who are anxious to know any further particulars respecting the Raja, will find various interesting details in a little work published at the Serampore press, and sold for eight annas, called *Raja Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*. The author, Rajib Lochan, on account of the purity and polish of his Bengali style, is well entitled to be called the Addison of Bengal.

* Ram Mohan Ray professed to be a follower of Sankar Acharjya. His acquaintance with Sanskrit contributed very much to polish his Bengali style. His writing, as well as those of his followers in the *Brahma Sabhâ*, have given a powerful impulse to the study of classical Bengali, and have imparted nerve and expressiveness to the language. To those, who wish to know what the expressiveness of the Bengali language means, we would recommend the perusal of the *Tatwabodhini Patrika*, a monthly publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles.

of the twice born castes.* The vernacular was consequently neglected by both, and even despised, while the saying was strictly acted on, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Hence a writer, well acquainted with native attainments, forty years ago, states :—

"If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another; and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*."—*Friend of India*, vol. ii. p. 392.

In tracing back the progress of improvement during the last half century in Bengal, there is nothing more striking than the development and finish given to the language of the people during that period. It was contemned by the Pandits as a *Prakrit* dialect, fit only for "demons and women," though "it arose from the tomb of the Sanskrit." And, even in the early days of Fort William College, it was so despised, that the attention of students could with difficulty be directed to its study, so that Dr. Carey could scarcely muster a class there. Yet it has burst through all these obstacles: and the era of Missionary enterprise has been also the era, when the rich resources of the

* We quote the following anecdotes as illustrative of the thralldom of the *pro-fanum vulgus*. "It came to our knowledge, that the dust from the feet of a thousand Brahmans, and even of a lakh, has actually been collected, and drachms of it disposed of, from time to time, as a specific against various diseases. There is now living at Calcutta, a spice-seller named Vishnu-sah, who believes that, by a pinch of the dust shaken from the feet of a lakh of Brahman, worn as a charm, he was cured of the leprosy; and this poor infatuated man comes into the street (at Chitpore) daily, both in the forenoon, and afternoon, and stands and bows in the most reverential manner to every Brahman who passes by him. Should a Brahman pass by without receiving this honour, he calls out to him, and says, "Oh! Sir, receive my salām." He has now for years paid these honours to this tribe, firmly believing that he owes his deliverance from the most dreadful of diseases to the virtues imparted by them to the dust shaken from their feet. Amongst others, who have gathered and preserved the dust from the feet of a lakh of Brahmans, are mentioned the names of Gunga Govinda-sing, and of Lala-bahú, his grandson. The former, preserving this dust in a large sheet, as often as he was visited by Brahmans, took them aside, and made them shake the dust from their feet upon this sheet for the good of mankind. Even the dust collected from the feet of single Brahmans is given away in pinches, and is inclosed in gold, silver, and brass caskets, worn on the body, and carried about as a charm against diseases, evil spirits, &c. When a poor Hindu leaves his house to proceed on some difficult business, he rubs a little of this dust on his forehead; and if it remain on his forehead till he arrive at the place, where the affair is to be adjusted, he feels certain of success. In addition to this mark of superstitious devotion to this tribe, we have heard that it is common, six days after the birth of a child, to rub the dust from the feet of the Brahman guests, upon the forehead, the breast, and other parts of the child's body, as a security against disease. The Sudra is even taught to believe, that by eating constantly from the plantain leaves, which have been used at meals by Brahmans, he shall lose the degradation of continuing a Sudra, and in the next birth be infallibly born a Brahman.—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. ii., pp. 69 70-71,

Bengali have been developed, in spite of the genius of Brahmanism, which excludes the masses from the temple of knowledge.* It is a singular contrast, that while Budhism encourages the study of the Pali among its votaries, and Islam the study of the Arabic—among the Hindus, the Sudra's sole prospect of acquiring knowledge lies in being born a Brahman in another birth.† “The separation of the soul from intellect, which the Hindu philosophers have for ages attempted to establish in theory, they practically accomplished in the case of the Sudra.” But as the press, in the hands of Voltaire, Condorçet, Rousseau, and the encyclopedists, shook the fabric of despotism, both priestly and aristocratic in France, so it is destined to discharge a similar office in this country. Already the people are less dependent on the oral instruction of the Brahmans, who feel as strong an aversion as Free Masons to have their arcana disclosed to the vulgar gaze. An able writer in the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., p. 152, makes the following judicious remarks on this subject:—

“As the priesthood derived all their importance from the general ignorance of the people, it became their interest to neglect their language. A pandit, who twenty years ago, should have written the Bengalee language with accuracy, would have been treated with contempt. So far indeed did the literati carry their contempt for their own mother tongue, that, while they cultivated the learned language with the greatest assiduity, they, in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy. They even discouraged the use of it among the people, and set their face against its improvement. When Kirtibas, about sixty years ago, translated the Ramayana into Bengali, the literary conclave at the Court of Raja Krishna Chundra Raya, is said to have denounced it in the following rescript, copied from the Sangskrit. “As it is not the work of a Pandit, let it not be read.”‡ As the Bengali language is totally dependent on its parent for philological strength and beauty, and even for the principles of orthography, this system was fatal to every prospect of its improvement.

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengali, that we

* We are happy to state that, of late years, the Pandits have rendered their knowledge of Sanskrit eminently conducive to forming a standard of style and orthography for the Bengali. We have just received a work, translated by a Pandit of the Sanskrit College, Ishwar Chandra Sarma, from Chambers's Biography, containing the lives of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Herschell, Grotius, Linnæus, &c. This translation reflects the highest credit on the ability of the translator; and, we hope, that he will proceed with a series of works on the same plan.

† Young Bengal seems to retain a spice of this old leaven still. No Kulin frowns with deeper indignation at the notion of imparting knowledge to the people, than he does at communicating information through the vernacular.

‡ Bidyûnath, who translated an indelicate work into the popular dialect, apologizes in the preface for the use of it, which he ascribes to the imperious necessity created by his pecuniary embarrassments. He is in fact so greatly ashamed of countenancing such an innovation, that he blushes to name his ancestry whom he has disgraced. He then proceeds to compare the Bengali language to the hideous notes of a crow, sounding amidst the melody of the kukil.

have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hugly in 1778. Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengali, that he has been known to disguise himself in a native dress, and to pass as a Bengali in assemblies of Hindus. The types for this Grammar were prepared *by the hands* of Sir C. Wilkins, who by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal. He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan, in type cutting, and all the native knowledge of type cutting was derived from him. He was the editor of the *Bhagavat Gita* and of a Sanskrit Grammar, and was one of our first Sanskrit scholars.

One of the earliest works printed in Bengali, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801. Though written according to the English idiom, and in a Bengali style, that would be considered disreputable in the present day, yet it was a great work for its time, considering the few books in the language. He received considerable assistance in the translation from one Ram Basu, who had been recommended to him by Mr. W. Chambers. This man was the author of the life of Raja Pratapaditya, and was a good Persian scholar. To Carey the Bengali language is as much indebted, as the Urdu was to the untiring zeal of Gilchrist. He published a useful grammar of the language: and his dictionary, in three volumes quarto, containing 80,000 words, will long remain as a monument of his skill and industry in investigating the resources of the Bengali tongue. He had in fact to pioneer his own way; and Bengali then lay before him as shapeless as was Italian, when the plastic hand of Dante undertook the moulding it into form and beauty. The clumsy Bengali characters of this Testament present a marked contrast to the beauty of the existing Bengali typography.

The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last king of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampur, was one of the first works written in Bengali prose. Its style, a kind of Mosaic, half Persian, half Bengali, indicates the pernicious influence which the Muhamadans had exercised over the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Raja Pratapaditya lived in the reign of Akbar at Dhumghat near Kalna in the Sunderbunds: his city, now abandoned to the tiger and wild boar, was then the abode of luxury, and the scene of revelry. Like the Seer Mutakherin, this work throws some light on the phases of native society, and enables us to look behind the curtain. The following is a summary of the contents of this interesting work.

Ram Chandra was a Bengali Kayastha from the East of Bengal, who obtained employment in an office at Satgan, where he

had three sons, Bhabananda, Gunananda and Shibananda, who, in consequence of a quarrel, retired to Gaur, which was then flourishing under Suliman, where Shibananda obtained influence and employment. Daud, the son of Suliman, succeeded to the Musnud ; but, puffed up by prosperity, he determined not to pay tribute any longer to Delhi. Ram Chandra's family saw the storm impending, and quitted Gaur for a retirement in Jessore, a place full of swamps and wild beasts, which they soon reclaimed. After a few years they erected a city there. In the meantime Akbar sent an army of 200,000 men against Gaur under Raja Tarmahal, and Daud was defeated. Daud gave orders to remove the most valuable property in Gaur to Jessore, and fled, with his family, to the Rajmahal hills, while his two brothers assumed the garb of Vairagis. In the meantime, the Mussulman Generals, Tarmahal, and Amra Sing, entered Gaur, and plundered it of whatever was left. Daud's two brothers, induced by bribes, surrendered themselves, and gave information respecting the revenue papers that had been concealed ; and one of them received as a recompense the zemindary of Jessore.

Daud himself was betrayed by his Khansamah to Amra Sing, who cut his head off. Vikramaditya then obtained a firman to be Raja of Jessore, and went and settled there. He gave on his arrival a lac of rupees to the poor, and fed a lakh of Brahmans. Many Kayastas came and lived in the place, who obtained large grants of land, extending from Dhakka to Halishar ; and the Raja established a Samaj, unequalled in the country for the number of learned men attached to it, while Chaubaris and Patshalas were formed in the different villages, as well as inspectors to dispense charity every month to the poor. To this king a son was born, named Pratapaditya, who, as the astrologers predicted, would revolt against his father. He was instructed in the Persian and Sanskrit languages, music, wrestling, &c., but the king, becoming jealous of Pratapaditya, sent him to Delhi, where he received a khelat from Akbar on account of his skill in poetry. After a residence of three years there, the Raja of Jessore not paying his tribute, Akbar ordered him to be deposed, and Pratapaditya was appointed by Akbar as his successor. Pratapaditya finding Jessore too small selected a spot at Dhumghat, south-west of Jessore, where he built a city on a magnificent scale, and a palace furnished with every convenience of luxury, several miles in extent ; the gates were so high, that an elephant and howda could enter without stooping. At his inauguration, the nobles from Rarhi, Gaur, and all parts of the country, were present. There

came also hundreds of palankins, filled with high caste females from Jessore, attended by their dancing-girls. An elaborate account is given of the magnificence of the city, and the munificence of its founder. Undeterred by the fate of his father, he too rebelled against Akbar. A Mussulman army was sent against him, which came as far as Sulkea, and Rajah Pratapaditya, being warned by his tutelar goddess, that destruction was near, surrendered himself to the Mussulman General, and was put to death. The work concludes with an account of his descendants.

On the list of early benefactors to vernacular literature may be enrolled the name of a man, little known to fame, but whose deeds are recorded in the memory of thousands—the late John Ellerton of Malda. Though following an occupation (indigo planting), which at that time led men too generally to regard the natives as little better than a herd of cattle, he was the first European who established Bengali schools: and, as the school-master requires the press as his artillery, he commenced a translation of the New Testament into Bengali, which he discontinued for a time, on learning that Dr. Carey contemplated the same. In 1816, however, his translation of the Gospels was printed at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Gospel of John had been previously printed at the expense of the Countess of Loudon, for the use of a school, founded and endowed by her Ladyship at Barrackpore. In 1820, Ellerton's New Testament was published, and has been greatly valued for the simplicity of its style; though the Bengali language has since that period acquired such a finish and polish, that his version has been superseded by that of Dr. Yates. Mr. Ellerton has rendered valuable service by his publishing a work called *Guru Shishya* or conversations between a disciple and scholar, which has been very useful both for its matter and style. The author attained a standard of proficiency in Bengali, which very few Europeans have reached—he thought in the vernacular.

Among the institutions, which, by their employment of the press, and by pecuniary encouragement, gave an impetus to Bengali literature and to translations, we would give a prominent place to Fort William College, founded the 4th of May in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley, whose masterly minute on the subject* points out the importance of an oriental training for the servants of Government, and its reaction on the vernaculars; for, as the noble Marquis remarks, "the

* Roebuck's Annals of the College of Fort William,

Sanskrit dialect being the source and root of the principal vernacular dialects prevalent in the Peninsula, a knowledge of the Sanskrit must form the base of a correct and perfect knowledge of those vernacular dialects." Hence patronage was afforded to several eminent Pandits, among whom appears the name of Mritunjay Vidyalkar.

In the work, called *Primitiæ Orientales*, we have the theses of the students, delivered in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, &c., at the public disputations. We give an extract from one, delivered by Mr. Hunter in 1803, in Bengali, on the subject of caste :—

“ অন্য শাস্ত্র যদি ভাষাতে তর্জমা করে তবে সংস্কৃত শাস্ত্রের গৌরব হানি প্রযুক্ত তাহার অখ্যাতি হয় যেমন মহাভারতের তর্জমা ভাষাতে কাশী দাস নামে এক শূদ্র করিয়াছিল সেই দোষেতে ব্রাহ্মণেরা তাহাকে শাপ দিয়াছিল, সেই ভয়েতে অন্য কেহ এখন সে কর্ম করে না ।

“ হিন্দুলোকেরা যদি ও আপন শাস্ত্রের নিশ্চয়েতে থাকে তবে অন্য দেশের বিদ্যা ও ব্যবহার যদি ভালও হয় তবু তাহা গ্রহণ করিতে পারে না যদি অন্য দেশের বিদ্যা ও ব্যবহার দেখে কিম্বা বুঝে তথাপি তুচ্ছ করিয়া আদর করে না অতএব অন্য লোকের ব্যবহারেতে তাহারদের জ্ঞান লাভ হইতে পারিবে না ।

“ অত্র দেশের গমন ও অন্যদেশের ব্যবহার দর্শন ও অন্য দেশের বিদ্যাভ্যাসেতে লোকের বুদ্ধিরুদ্ধি হয় হিন্দু লোকেরদের শাস্ত্রেরমতে পশ্চিমে আটক নদী পার হইলে জাতি যায় উত্তরে ভোটাঙ্গুর এবং শ্বেচ্ছদেশে ও সেই মত এবং ব্রহ্মপুত্র পার হইলে পূর্ব্বধর্ম নষ্ট হয়. দক্ষিণে সমুদ্র পথে জাহাজে থাকিয়া ভোজন পান করিলে জাতি যায়. হিন্দু শাস্ত্রের মতে গোখাদকের সংসর্গ করিলেও দোষ ; হিন্দু হাড়া যত লোক সকলেই গোমাংস খায় অতএব হিন্দুরা তাহাদের সহিত সহবাস করিতে পারে না এবং যেমত নির্জন উপদ্বীপে কোন ব্যক্তি একাকী থাকে সেই মত এই একসাড়িয়া রীতিতে তাহারদের বুদ্ধিপ্রতিভা জড়িভূতা হইয়াছে এবং তাহাদের উদ্দেশ্য শিখিল হইয়া অবিনীততা স্তম্ভতা হইয়াছে ; এই ইয়ুরোপীয়েরদের মধ্যে দম্ভ্য প্রভৃতি অধম লোক হইতে ও অধম ; কেননা ইহারা স্বস্থান ত্যাগ করিয়া সুক্রিয়ান্বিত হইলে তাহাদের সুখ্যাতি পুনর্বার হইতে পারে কিন্তু ইহাদের কখন ভাল হইতে পারে না হিন্দুরা শাস্ত্র ব্যবস্থা কিম্বা মান্য লোকেরা যাদৃচ্ছিক আজ্ঞা লঙ্ঘন করিলেই অপার দুস্ম সাগরে পড়ে ” ॥

The following is a translation of this passage :—

“ Again, the Hindu, who translates any part of the Shastras, is considered as insulting the sacred volumes, and is punished accordingly. It is well known, that a Sudra named Kasi Ram Das, translated the Mahabharat, and that the Brahmans immediately issued a curse against him and his family to all eternity. This has proved sufficient to deter any other from following his example.

Further, no Hindu can appropriate to his use the sciences and customs of another country ; since his Shastra not only prejudices his mind against any thing foreign, but absolutely shuts up from him that fund of improvement and knowledge, which might be obtained from travelling. It confines him on the West by the River of Attock ; on the North by Bhutan and the country of the Mlechas ; to the Eastward by the Brahmaputra, and to the South by the Great Ocean. It also forbids all intercourse with the eaters of beef ; though they are found in every other country in the world. And in this unsocial state, like a solitary being in a desert isle, his energies are cramped, his industry becomes relaxed, and apathy and indifference naturally succeed. More wretched than the most guilty criminals of European nations, who expiate their crime, and often retrieve their character, by a salutary absence for a given period from their mother country, the Hindu, who has committed no crime, but only transgressed the laws of regularity, or the injunctions of arbitrary power, must undergo an endless banishment, and be for ever tantalized by the sight of those, who were once his equals or inferiors.”

The visitor of 1815, in remarking on the encouragement held out by the college to the study of the leading oriental languages, observes, that, previously to the foundation of the college, “ the language of Bengal was generally neglected and unknown.” And even in its early days, as we have already observed, the Bengali language was so despised, that Dr. Carey could scarcely form a class ; however, in 1816, Lord Moira congratulated the college on an altered state of things ; attributing as one reason for the change the attention paid at Hertford to the Bengali. In fact, Persian and Urdu had been the languages studied, to the most unwarrantable neglect of the language of thirty millions of people ; and this neglect has hung as an incubus over our mofussil courts in Bengal ever since. The civilians, from the tone given to their education, interlard all their documents and phrascology with Persian terms to such a degree, that the language of the courts is not now the language of the peasantry, but has become a jargon suited to the purposes of the Amias, who wish to mystify every thing for their own advantage.

A list of oriental books, published under the patronage of Fort William College between 1800 and 1818, comprises besides thirty-one in Urdu, twenty in Arabic, twenty-one in Persian, and twenty-four in Sanskrit, the following Bengali works—Carey’s Bengali *Grammar and Dictionary* ; *Pratāpāditya Charitra*, the last Raja of the Island of Sagar, by

Rámram Basu, 1801 : *Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*, by Rájib Lochan, 1801 : *Rájávall*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálinkar; *Hita-padasha*, by Goluk Natna, 1801 ; the same work, by Ramakishor Tarkalankar, 1808 ; *Batrish Singhásan*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálinkar, 1808 ; *Totá Itihás*, by Chandi Charan, 1805 ; *Purush Parikhá*, by Hara Prasad Ray, 1815 ; *Lipi Málá*, by Ramram Basu, 1802 ; *Bengali Dialogues*, 1801. In 1808, Mr. Serjeant, a student of the College, translated the first four books of the Æneid into Bengali : Mr. Monckton, another student, translated the Tempest of Shakespear. The first book of the Mahabharat was printed in 1802, and the Ramayan in 1801. Various works, such as Carey's Dictionary, &c., &c., were issued from the Serampore press, which would never have seen the light, were it not for the liberal patronage afforded by the authorities of Fort William College ; though, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Gilchrist, Urdu works obtained an undue share of patronage.

In 1811 the Calcutta Bible Society originated. This Society, by the stimulus it gave to the cause of vernacular translation and verbal criticism, elicited at an early period the well-merited eulogium of the Asiatic Society of Paris. It issued from its Calcutta Depository (between 1811 and 1849,) 602,266 copies of *Vernacular* Scriptures, in whole or in part ; of which about one-fourth were in the Bengali language. Whoever compares Ellerton's and Carey's Bengali New Testament, published and circulated by this Society, with the finished and elegant composition of Yates, will see the important influence of Bible criticism on a language generally : while the ideas of the Bible elevate the notions of the readers, the languages of it accustoms them to the disuse of a vulgar *patois*. What Wicliffe has done for the English language, and Luther for the German, in point of craning up their respective tongues to a certain status, the patronage of the Bible Society has done for Bengali. In Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, and Henry Martyn's Journals, we see the philological qualifications required in a good translator, involving the highest critical powers on intricate questions relative to the standard of style ; to interpretation ; to the transferring or translating technical terms ; the spelling of proper names, &c. All the resources of a language, grammatical and lexicographical are called out, in order to express ideas so foreign to the Bengali mind, as those of the Jews : the language itself is elevated along with the new ideas it has to express ; new words have to be coined, and thus a larger infusion of Sanskrit terms takes place. It was thus, that Luther by his

version of the Bible, raised a provincial dialect to be the language of Germany. Typography has of late been improved; and prices also have been very much cheapened: a Bengali Bible cost in 1811, 24 rupees; in 1849, only six.

With a vernacular education, such as is represented in Adam's Reports, we could expect little from a vernacular press; to use the language of Douglas of Cavers, "without education, printing can effect nothing; the former is to the latter, what the female deities of India (Shaktis) were to the gods with whom they were mated; the recipients of their power, and the medium by which their energy flowed into operation." The following ratio, deduced from Adam's Reports, shews the proportion which the various classes of readers in Bengal bear to one another:—

The proportion of Musalman to Hindu youths, under instruction, is as 1 to about 10½. Of the educated (*i. e.*, reading) adult population, the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is about 1 to 7½. Taking the mean of these two data, we find that, in Bengal generally, there are to every educated Musalman about 9 educated Hindus.*

The proportion of readers of the Persian character to readers of the Bengálí is about 1 to 12½ or 12½ †

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengálí is as 1 to 19 or 19½.

The proportion of Musulman readers of Bengali to Hindu readers of Bengálí is as 1 to 23½ or 24.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Persian is about 1½ to 1.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Musalman readers of Bengálí is as 1½ to 1.

The proportion of Hindu readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengálí is as 1 to about 31½ or 32½.

The dawn of improvement, in this respect, dates from 1814, when Mr. May had flourishing schools around Chinsura, for the support of which the Marquis of Hastings allowed 600 Rs. monthly—the *first* grant made by Government in Bengal.

*The Report does not afford data for estimating the entire proportion of these two great classes of the community to each other throughout Bengal. In page 105, Mr. A. gives the following table:

In the city of Murshedabad there are 100 Hindus...	to 48.4 Musalmans.
In tháná Daulat bázár (Mushedabad Zillá).....	to 86.8 ditto
In tháná Nángliá (Bírhmú Zillá).....	to 20.5 ditto
In tháná Culná (Burdwan Zillá).....	to 23.9 ditto

"These proportions," however, he adds, "must be considered as strictly limited to the localities mentioned—because the proportions differ, not only in different districts, but in different thánás of the same district."

† This latter estimate is on the supposition that the Hindu readers of Persian are also acquainted with Bengálí, which is very likely, as it is their own vernacular.

for the promotion of vernacular education. In 1816, the Serampore Institution for native schools was formed.

The press and the school both stood in need of each other :—

“ Most disastrous would it be, if the schemes of education now on foot should serve only to create readers for idolatrous publications, from a lack of more useful works : yet this is likely to be the case, if we permit year after year to elapse without multiplying treatises, which may serve to fill the vacant hours of students after the season of elementary instruction is closed. We owe it therefore to the consistency of our character ; we owe it to our superior civilisation, and to the plans of improvement which have been commenced under British influence, not to suffer minds which have been partly enlightened at school, to relapse into the grossness of superstition. * * * * * In four years more perhaps thirty thousand additional volumes will be thrown into circulation, and unless their influence be corrected by books of a higher description, the thousands of youth, to whom the numerous schools are now imparting the faculty of reading, will have gained little by our efforts, and must grow up with an increasing attachment to idolatry.”

The Calcutta School Book Society, which has contributed so much to infuse a healthy tone into native literature, was established in 1817,* chiefly by the Marchioness of Hastings ;† who herself prepared and sent to press several elementary works, at a period when it is stated that “the country itself could not supply a single native child’s book, although schools, in almost every considerable village, had existed for ages.” This is too sweeping a remark, as we have now before us a list of sixty-five indigenous works, which had issued from the native presses previous to 1819 : half of these are on mythological and amatory subjects, but the other half contain matter for more useful reading. Works of fiction are of benefit to society in a certain stage ; indeed, one of the greatest orientalists of the time, the late Dr. A. Clarke, acknowledges how much he was indebted to the reading of “the Arabian Nights.”

Among the early contributors to the book list of the Society was Captain Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission. He compiled Elementary Bengali Tables, the *Upadesh Kathā*, and contributed very much, by his example and influence, to raise the standard of vernacular education in the Burdwan district, by the introduction of such subjects as natural history and geography into the schools.

* The year 1817 was a memorable year : while on the one hand, this Society then came into existence, on the other hand, the Hindus, in order to avert the pestilence of Cholera, which broke out for the first time that year, added *Uta Bibi*, or the goddess of Cholera, to the catalogue of their Divinities.

† The Marquis of Hastings gave a donation of 1,000 Rs. and subscription of 500 Rs. to the Institution, and patronised it in other ways also,

Mr. May, the active superintendant of vernacular schools at Chinsura, wrote arithmetical tables for the Society. He laboured enthusiastically in the cause of popular education in the villages on the banks of the Hugly; and very probably the desire for studying English, which is now so strong there, received its first stimulus from his labours. Mr. Pearson, also of Chinsura, compiled for the Society a collection of easy Bengali lessons, and the *Bakya Bali*: the latter work has been one of very great utility to those anxious to acquire the colloquial idioms of Bengal.

The name of Ram Komul Sen stands foremost, as one of the early co-operators with the School Book Society, and as a warm friend to vernacular translation. His dictionary—the result of 20 years labour—will long remain as a monument of his diligence and critical acumen, and entitles him to the epithet of the Johnson of Bengal. He commenced his studies, at a period when “the Tales of a Parrot,” and the Arabian Nights, were the chief class books in schools. He began his career, as compositor, on a salary of eight rupees a month, in the Hindustani press of Dr. Hunter. At the close of life he was in the receipt of 1,500 Rs. a month, as Dewan of the Bank of Bengal,* and bequeathed ten lakhs to his family. Brougham like, he was a most zealous friend to the diffusion of useful knowledge. He planned the Sanskrit College, and the Patshalá; and, with the view to diffuse medical knowledge through the vernacular, he composed, and published at his own expense, the *Ausadabali*. Rajah Radhakant Deb also compiled a spelling book, part of the *Niti Katha*, and a treatise on Female Education. In common with several other leading natives, he was a warm friend to the institution. Out of 200 subscribers in 1818, no less than eighty were Babus: but, a few years subsequently, there was a great falling off in this respect.

Previously to 1821, the following works in Bengali had been printed by this Society:—

- Stewart's Elementary Tables, 10 Nos. in sets, 3,850 copies.
- Pearson's ditto, or Introductory Lessons, (cards,) 3,000 ditto.
- Keith's Bengali Grammar, (by Question and Answer), 500 ditto.
- Pathsalár Bibaran, or Pearson's School-master's Manual, 500 ditto.
- Bengali Vocabulary, of Ram Chandra Sarma, (Abhidhan,) 4,400 ditto.
- Pearson's Familiar Letters. (Patrikaumádyá,) 1,000 ditto.
- Arithmetic, Native model (May's Ganita,) 2,000 ditto.
- Harle's Arithmetic (mixed model,) 1,000 ditto.
- Nitikatha, or Moral Tales, Part I., 7,000 ditto.

* The Babus of Calcutta are generally *parvenus*, and have, for the most part, risen from humble circumstances. One of our *millionaires* began life on a salary of 10 rupees monthly, and the father of another on 5 !

Nitikatha ditto, Part II. (Pearson's Reading Lessons,) 4,000 ditto.

Nitikatha ditto, Part III (Ram Comul Sen's ditto,) 5,000 ditto.

Tarachund Dutt's Pleasing Tales, (Manaranjan Iihas,) 2,000 ditto.

Stewart's Tales of History, (Apodes-katha, &c.,) 2,000 ditto.

History of England (Goldsmith's), by F. Carey, 500 ditto.

Pearce's Geography, in Nos. (1 to 5 printed—6th in press,) long form, 10,000 ditto.

Account of the Lion, &c. (Singher Bibaran.) 2,000 ditto.

It has taken the lead in being *the* society for diffusing useful knowledge among the Bengali-speaking population. To appreciate the value of its labours, it is only necessary to examine Adam's reports on vernacular education, or to look into the class of books, which have been used by Hindus, either as translations from the Shastras, or adapted for the occupiers of a bazar.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* in Bengali was commenced at Sefampore. Its plan was similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of late days. It embraced subjects of the following kind; the discovery of America; the Load Stone and Compass; Columbus; the Commerce and Productions of India; Ancient History; Sketches; Steam; Notices of England; Metals; Natural History, &c. It was continued for 3 years; and has proved a very useful work, calculated to open and expand the minds of young Hindus. We have at present no work of a similar class.

When we contrast the improvement in euphony and expressiveness, that has taken place in the Bengali language within the last thirty years, though it has had no Dante to raise it at once to its full powers—we must ascribe much of this progress to the periodical press, which has afforded such scope to young writers. Compare the *Pratpaditya Charitra* of 1802, and its semi-Persian style, with the exquisite beauty and elegance of the *Betâl Panchabingsati*, published by a Pandit of Fort William College, and one would scarcely suppose that it is the same language: or contrast the grammars of Halhed and Yates, and a similar observation can be made. In the days of Halhed, people “scarcely believed that Bengal ever possessed a native and peculiar dialect of its own, distinct from that idiom, which, under the name of *Moors*, has been supposed to prevail over India.” And to the perpetuation of this error the influence and untiring advocacy of the Urdu language by Gilchrist greatly contributed. He published his Urdu dictionary in Calcutta in 1787; and, by editing a series of useful works, he gave the impression that the Bengali was a mere patois, and that the Urdu was to be the only medium of literary and social intercourse between natives and Europeans.

The present may be characterised as the age of “the Press,”

as contrasted with former days, when in Bengal, as well as in Europe, knowledge was doled out to a few through the costly channel of MSS. : and so scarce had even these become in this country, that of the *Rajtarangini*, which enshrines so much historical information concerning the early settlement of the Brahmans in *Ariavarta*, only two copies escaped destruction. The days of Vikramaditya and of Raja Krishna Ray—though called an Augustan age,—were, like the oasis of the desert, or the time of Louis Quatorze, surrounded by blackness and desolation as far as the masses were concerned. We look therefore to the vernacular press as a grand means for working on the *masses* in this country, and quite concur in the following sentiments of Douglas in his *Advancement of Society* :—

“ Newspapers communicate to a whole country the advantage, which was formerly peculiar to a city ; and spread the same impulse from province to province with as much rapidity, and more precision, than it could formerly have been circulated from one quarter of a large town to another. But the power of newspapers consists, not only in the rapidity of the transmission, but in the reiteration of their statements. Burke, thirty-years ago, had the sagacity to perceive, that they, who can gain the public ear from day to day, must, in the end, become the masters of public opinion : and the rapid increase of the numbers, and of the influence, of newspapers more than justifies his prediction. It was no bad observation of Fletcher of Salton, that, whoever made the laws of a nation he cared not, provided he had the making of their ballads. But now that nations are less addicted to ballad-singing, and more to the reading of newspapers, the high office of moulding institutions and amending manners, is devolving upon the editors of daily or weekly journals.”

When we consider that the vernacular press continues the instruction of the school ; that it is, in fact, an adult school-master ; that even in the poorest of the Bengali newspapers there is a considerable amount of geographical, political, and historical information imparted, which must form an intellectual link between Hindustan and the land of the Mlechhas ; and that the editorials, though very feeble, yet, by the process of perpetual reiteration, are producing a strong and deep impression on the native mind, and are moulding the opinions of thousands of intelligent and influential Hindus ;—we cannot consider it an uninteresting subject to trace the rise and progress of this new power, which seems destined hereafter to play an important part on the stage of Indian society. It presents no stirring events, such as the cases of Buckingham and Arnott, who, in defence of what they considered the freedom of the press, braved the strong arm of Government. The editorials of the native papers are never noticed by the authorities ; yet they work their own way quietly and gently, forming a public opinion among na-

tives, but, we must say this, there has been far less of personality, railing against Government, scandal, and scurrilous remark in the native press of Calcutta, than there has been in the Calcutta English journals.

We believe the native newspaper press is destined to have a mighty influence hereafter in this country, and that the language of Bulwer will be applicable to it: "The newspaper is the chronicle of civilisation—the common reservoir into which every stream pours its living waters, and at which every man may come to drink. The newspaper informs legislation of public opinion, and it informs the people of the acts of legislation. The newspaper is the familiar bond that binds together man and man—no matter what may be the distance of climate, or the difference of race. The newspaper is a law-book for the indolent, a sermon for the thoughtless, and a library for the poor. It may stimulate the most indifferent: it may instruct the most profound."

The first Bengali newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Darpan* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd of May 1818.* The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of the enemies to a free press, or continuing the previous policy of Government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Darpan*.† On the publication of the first number, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper: a considerable number was subscribed for, and sent at the public expense, to different native courts; and the editor was encouraged to publish a Persian edition to circulate for one-fourth of the postage charged to English papers. The Marquis avowed in public, that "it is salutary for the Supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny."

The plan of the *Darpan* embraced news (both Indian and English) likely to be interesting to natives, as well as local descriptions. The Bengali style was simple. When we consider the

* The year 1818 was remarkable in various respects. The School Society was formed, which introduced a new class of vernacular books into its schools; and Serampore College was founded. As long as it continued in operation, it gave a considerable stimulus to the study of Bengali, by making it the medium for conveying information on various subjects.

† Under the regime of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper press. He himself afforded every encouragement to native education, as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance. He was a man that did not shrink in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment, "It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured; but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man."

amount of historical, political, and geographical information, that this, along with other Bengali papers, poured in on the Hindu mind, which previously seldom extended its range of inquiry beyond the affairs of the neighbouring pergunna, or at furthest beyond the land bounded by the Indus, and "within the antelope's range," we must assign a very prominent position to the native newspapers, and to the *Darpan* in particular, in having roused the adult mind from its long continued state of apathy. We have perused the *Darpan* with much pleasure, and quite concur in the following eulogium passed on it; "through means of its correspondence, it elicited a great deal of valuable information regarding the state of the country in the interior. An agrieved man felt half his burden removed, when he had sent a statement of the oppressions he lay under to the *Darpan*, and thus brought them to the knowledge of the public. The native officers of Government felt it as a check on their misconduct, and dreaded its exposures. It was also the only channel of information to the natives in the interior, and has in its day done some service to Government, by counteracting unfavorable rumours, and strengthening the principle of loyalty." Religious controversies were avoided.

In the early volumes we have various topographical notices: as a specimen, we insert the following account of Sagar island. We give the original, in hopes that some of our antiquarian friends may be able to throw light on this difficult but interesting subject:—

“গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপ।

পূর্বের সমাচার দর্পণে লিখা গিয়াছে যে গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপে লোক বসতি ছিল এমত অনুমান হয়। এইক্ষণে পদ্ম পুরাণের অন্তর্গত ক্রিয়াযোগশারে দেখা গেল যে গঙ্গাসাগরে চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুবেণ নামে রাজা রাজধানী করিয়াছিলেন। তাহাতে দিব্যন্তী নামে নগরের গুণাকর রাজার কন্যা সুলোচনা দায়গ্রস্তা হইয়া ঐ রাজার আশ্রয়ে পুরুষ বেশে কাল ক্ষেপণ করিয়াছিল। পরে তালধ্বজ নগরের রাজা বিক্রমের পুত্র মাধব পূর্ব সূত্র ক্রমে সেই স্থানে আসিয়া সুলোচনাকে বিবাহ করিয়া এবং ঐ চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুবেণ রাজার এক কন্যাকে বিবাহ করিয়া ঐ রাজ্যের অর্দ্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়া ঐ গঙ্গাসাগরে রাজধানী করিলেন ও অনেক কালপর্যন্ত বসতি করিয়া পরে পুত্রাদি রাখিয়া মরিলেন”।।

The meaning is to the following effect; that Ganga Sagar was formerly inhabited; that the Padma Purana mentions that Sushen, a King of the Lunar race, erected his metropolis on it;

and that Sulochona, the daughter of the king of Dibyanti, being oppressed with misfortune, disguised herself as a man, and went there ; where she afterwards married the son of the king of Táladjya, who also made it his residence.

Ram Mohun Roy commenced in 1821, a Bengali periodical, the BRAHMANICAL MAGAZINE. " Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared." It was mainly an attack on Missionaries ; thus p. 10 it states—" that it is ungenerous to do, as Genghis Khan " and the Arracanese did—abuse the religion of the conquered. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmans of learning generally reside, and the simple food, such " as vegetables, &c., which they are accustomed to eat, and " the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the " missionary Gentleman may not, I hope, abstain from controversy through contempt of them ; for truth and true religion do " not always belong to wealth and power, to high names, or lofty " palaces." He endeavours to argue for human responsibility on the following grounds :—" As the reflections of the sun, though " without light proper to themselves, appear splendid from their " connexion with the illuminating sun, so the soul, though not " true intellect, seems intellectual, and acts as it if were real " spirit, from its actual relation to the universal intellect : and, " as from the particular relations of the sun to the water placed " in different pots, various reflections appear, resembling the " same sun in nature, and differing from it in qualities ; and " again, as these cease to appear on the removal of the water, " so, through the peculiar relation of various material objects to " one supreme spirit, numerous souls appear, and seem as performing good and evil works, and also receiving their consequences ; and, as soon as that relation ceases, they at that very " minute cease to appear distinctly from their original. Hence " God is one ; and the soul, although it is not in fact of a " different origin from God, yet is liable to experience the " consequences of good and evil works ; but this liability of the " soul to reward or punishment cannot render God liable to " either." ' He next proceeds to argue, that though God created the world by *máyá*, as the wind raises the bubbles on the water, yet that God is not subject to *máyá* : for, " though God pardons " the sins of those that sincerely repent through his attribute " of mercy, this cannot be taken as an admission of the Deity's " subjection to his own mercy. The followers of the Vedant " say that *máyá* is opposed to knowledge ; for when a true " knowledge of God is obtained, the effect of *máyá*, which makes

"the soul appear distinct from God, does immediately cease." He then reasons that the Hindu incarnations are as little opposed to our notion of God, as the Christian incarnation ; and that " if we admit that the worship of spirit possessed of a material body (i.e., of Jesus Christ) is worship in spirit, we must not any longer impute idolatry to any religious sect."

The lamentable defects of the Native Vernacular Schools excited the attention of various friends of education, and gave rise to the Calcutta School Society. The following remarks of one, who well knew the state of the country, will shew the need for such a Society ; he observes respecting the Hindus :—

" If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another, and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the handwriting is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*.

The first Annual Meeting of the Calcutta School Society was held in 1820 ; the report was read both in English and Persian. At that period the total number of indigenous schools in Calcutta amounted to 188, containing 4,146 children ; the subscriptions and donations reached 15,910 Rs. The Society continued in operation for several years.

The *Friend of India* gives the following list of works that were printed previously to 1821 :—

" *Ganga-bhakti-tarangini*, History of the descent of Gunga.

Jaya deva, History of Krishna.

Annada-mangal, Exploits of several of the gods.

Rasa-manjari, Description of the three kinds of men and women in the world.

Rati-manjari, On the same subject.

Karana nidan bilas, Account of a new god recently created by an opulent native.

Vilwa mangal, Exploits of Krishna.

Daya bhag, A treatise on law.

Jyotish, An astronomical treatise.

Chanakhya, A work containing instructions for youth.

Sabda-sinda, A dictionary.

Abhidhan, ditto.

————— A treatise on the materia medica of India.

Rag-mala, A treatise on music.

Batrish-singhasan, The thirty-two-imaged throne.

Betal Pachisi, Account of Raja Vikramaditya.

Vidya-ninda, A treatise ridiculing physicians.

Bhagavat gita, A translation in Bengali of the work formerly translated into English by Wilkins.

Mahimani-stava, The praises of Shiva.

Ganga-stava, The praises of Gunga.

Shuchi charitra, The duties of men.

Santhi satuk, On contempt of the world.

Shringar-tilak, A treatise on women.

Usuha-panchali, A treatise on the days termed impure by the Smṛiti.

Adi ras, A treatise on women.

Chandi, The praises of Durga, &c.

Chaitanya-charitamrita, Account of Chaitanya.—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, p. 124.

He makes the following observations on the subject :—

“If we admit that 400 copies have been printed of each of these works, including the second and third editions of some (and this will be considerably within the mark), we shall have *Sixteen Thousand volumes printed and sold among the natives within the last ten years*—a phenomenon, to which the country has been a stranger since the formation of the first, the incommunicable, letters of the Vedas. Many of these works have been accompanied with plates, which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers. Both the design and execution of the plates have been exclusively the effort of native genius; and had they been printed on less perishable materials than Patna paper, the future Wests and Laurences, and Wilkies of India, might feel some pride in comparing their productions with the rude delineations of their barbaric forefathers. The figures are still and uncouth, without the slightest expression of mind in the countenance, or the least approach to symmetry of form. They are in general intended to represent some powerful action of the story; and happy is it for the reader that this action of the hero or heroine is mentioned at the foot of the plate: for without it the design would be unintelligible. The plates cost in general a goldmohur, designing, engraving, and all; for in the infancy of this art, as of many others, one man is obliged to act many parts. Thus Mr. Hari Har Banerjya, who lives at Jorasanka, performs all the requisite offices, from the original outline, to the full completion; but though he, with true eastern modesty, styles himself, in one corner of his plates, the best engraver in Calcutta, we doubt his ability, when left to his own resources.”—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, pp. 125-6.

These books serve as an index to the popular taste, and, as such, though composed chiefly of tales, they are not to be despised; as straws they pointed out the course of the current: nor must we forget that, even in England itself, the press in its early days multiplied principally copies of the old romances.

“The taste for works of this description,” continues the editor, “was then in its maturity, and successive editions were printed, till a superior taste, produced by the operation of that very press, transferred them from the libraries of the people to the shelves of the antiquary. We may fairly expect a similar regeneration in India; more especially when we consider the approximation of that great body of scientific and philosophical knowledge possessed by the European community, and their anxiety to bring it fully to bear on the natives.

“The very increase of mythological tales has a tendency to stifle the avidity for them. Being now placed within reach of the great body of the people, they lose much of that veneration, with which they were invested by their being scarce; and, though the flame may for a time burn with

increasing ardour, this very circumstance naturally leads to its final extinction. Printed works will gradually constitute a powerful source of influence; works of real utility will be brought into the lists to combat with those of vain amusement,—and the issue cannot be doubtful. Even in the infancy of the Indian press, it has not been exclusively occupied with works of trifling value; two dictionaries of the Bengali language, a treatise on the law of inheritance, another on the materia medica of Bengal, one on music, two or three almanacks, and a treatise in Sanskrit on astronomy, which have all issued from the press within the last ten years, are indications of improvement not to be despised, if we consider the darkness and ignorance of the community among whom they have found patrons."

These works are all *sold*; and the observations on this point we commend to the notice of the friends of Bible and Tract Societies in this country:—

"One work of real utility, purchased by the natives, will produce a greater change than five distributed gratis. What a native purchases he wishes to read; and thus his very avarice is turned to the account of general improvement. A work, obtained without any pecuniary sacrifice, he is disposed to underrate and neglect; but such is the reluctance with which he parts with his money, that he is anxious to draw an equivalent value from every book it procures him."

In 1823 a book was published in Calcutta, called the *Prān Toshana*, being a compilation of the precepts and doctrines of the Tantras, selected from eighty-four works, by Pran Bishwas of Kharda. We give our readers the following extracts in order to shew what the nature of the Tantra doctrines is:—

"The vowel *ॐ*, is an astonishing letter. It is bright as the shell of Vishnu; it is full of the three gods, and of the five souls; it is in fact Bhagavati herself. Of the letter *ॐ*, the stroke on the left is Brahma; the lower stroke is Vishnu; the perpendicular line Shiva; the horizontal, Saraswati; the curve is Bhagavati. The space in the centre is Shiva. The color of the left stroke is red, like the Juba flower; the right is the color of the moon in the month Ashwini; the lower stroke, the color of the great Múni Mahamurkut; the horizontal line is white, like the pubescent jasmine flower; the curve resembling the hook used in guiding the elephant, is like ten millions of flashes of lightning; the vacant space is brilliant as ten millions of moons. It bestows liberation; it produces wealth and holiness; it is the root of all letters; it is the feminine energy of nature, and the mother of all gods. In the upper angle resides the wife of Brahma; in the middle angle Vishnu's wife, Jaistha; in the lower Shiva's wife, Rudri. It is, the soul of all knowledge; the soul of the four castes; the origin of Brahma's power to desire, of Vishnu's power to know, and of the active energy of Shiva; therefore it is to be perpetually praised. * * * * *

"Write not letters on the earth, or the muntras in books; never leave a volume open, nor receive one open from another person. He whose books or letters happen to be on the ground at the time of an earthquake, or of an eclipse, becomes ignorant through every future transmigration. He who writes with a bamboo pen, will undoubtedly suffer. He who uses a copper pen, will enjoy undecaying splendor; a golden pen procures prosperity; a Brahman nul, ensures wisdom and knowledge; a wooden

pen, ornamented with figures, bestows children, grandchildren, and wealth. He, who writes with a brass pen, obtains immortal prosperity; but the use of a kasa* pen, occasions death. The pen must be either eight or ten fingers in length; he, who uses one only four fingers long, loses as many days of his life as he writes letters. A manuscript, written according to the directions of the Shastras, will secure knowledge. It must be in length either one hand (equivalent to a cubit), or one hand deducting the fingers, or a whole arm; and either twelve or eight fingers in breadth, but never less. * * * *

"He who studies a volume of the Veda, which he himself has copied, commits a sin equal to the murder of Bramha; and he, who having copied a work himself, deposits it in his library, or keeps it at home, his dwelling will be struck with lightning."

His analysis of the name of Guru equals in absurd refinement any thing penned by the Jewish Cabalists:—

"Of this word, the *g* is the cause of fruition; the *r* destroys sin; the *u* is Shiva himself; the whole word *guru* is the eternal Brahma, excellent and inexplicable. He, whose lips pronounce the sound "guru," with what sin is he chargeable? The articulation of *g* annihilates the sin even of killing a Brahman; the sins of birth are removed by pronouncing *u*; of ten millions of birth by the pronounciation of *ru*. Parasarama murdered his mother, and Indra destroyed a Brahman; yet they both obtained absolution by pronouncing the word *guru*.

And yet, as a writer in the *Friend of India* remarks respecting this Guru:—

"This religious guide, invested with so awful a responsibility, on whom the Tantra shastras have devolved the task of piloting men through the sea of this world, and conducting their steps to final bliss, the only teacher of men, is allowed five kinds of wives. He is permitted to seize a female in open day, and detain her at his house; he is allowed a plurality of prostitutes, and even to revel in a brothel, without the least diminution of his spiritual authority; and to complete this system of morals and virtue, which Shiva sent down to the holy sages by his son Ganesh, for the benefit of the human race, the woman, whom the spiritual guide has debauched, or the prostitute, whom he retains, is to receive from the disciples that adoration and worship which is due to God alone."

He directs that the letters of the alphabet should be worshipped:—

"The first vowel अ, is to be adored as a female divinity, of the color of the Ketaki flower, with two hands, the one elevated, as though with the intention of dispelling fear, the other stretched out as in the act of bestowing a blessing, adorned with a necklace of *pudma* flowers, and clothed in white garments made of hemp, with a serpent for a *pita*. The letter क, is to be worshipped, under the form of a woman of the colour of blood, with four hands, three eyes, her bosom swelling like the bud of the *kudumba* flower, and her person ornamented with precious stones."

He further directs that the cat should be adored, and also the jackal:—

"On the day of the new moon, let the disciple catch a jackal, and strike him dead with one blow; then seat himself on the carcase, and continue

in divine meditation, repeating the holy text, appropriated to the jackal, till he return to life, and the goodess, who was the object of worship, manifest herself in bodily shape. He may then ask and receive whatever he desires, even a beautiful wife; and hear of past, present, and future events, and above all, understand the meaning of every howl of the jackal."

In contrast to this mass of literary rubbish, in the same year 1823, a Society, which exercised a beneficial influence on native literature, and which will ere long, we trust, provide a Christian vernacular literature for Bengal—the Calcutta Tract Society—came into existence. In 1823, it had published the following tracts in Bengali :—

- " Memoir of Phutick Chand.
- Mental Reflection, and Enquiry after Salvation.
- Christ's Sermon on the Mount.
- Harmony of the Four Gospels, Part III.
- _____ Part IV.
- _____ Part V.
- _____ Part VI.
- Life of William Kelly.
- Dialogue between a Durwan and Malí.
- History of Christ, the Saviour of the World.
- Dialogue between Ramharí and Shaddha.
- On the Nature of God.
- Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentlemen.
- Extracts from the Gospel Magazine, No I.
- _____ No II.
- Reward Book for Schools.
- Scripture Extracts—Parables.
- The Picture Room.
- Catechism, First.
- _____ Second.
- Watts's First Catechism."

But, in the same year, the cause of Bengali translations sustained a severe loss in the death of Felix Carey, who was one of the best Bengali scholars of the day, and edited the following works :—

Vidyahara Vali, in Bengalee, a work on Anatomy, being the first volume of a Bengali Encyclopædia, in octavo, with plates. A large Bengali Dictionary in the press, edited by Mr. Carey and Sri Ram Komul Sen. A work on Law, in Bengali, not finished. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Goldsmith's History of England, printed at the Serampore press for the School Book Society. The Pilgrim's Progress, translated into the Bengali, and printed at Serampore. Translation into the Bengali of a Chemical Work, by Rev. John Mack, for the students of Serampore College. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Mill's History of British India, for the School Book Society.

We give the following statistics of the number of tracts and other publications, printed and published by the Calcutta

Tract Society, between 1823 and 1835,* in the Bengali, Urdu, Hindui, and Uriya languages:—

"It extends from 1823, when the first tracts were printed, to June 1835, the date of the last Report; and, including second or third editions of the same publications, gives a total of *A Hundred and Thirty-one* publications, containing *Four Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-two* pages, and printed in editions, which give an aggregate of *Four Hundred and Eighty-four Thousand Three Hundred and fifty* Tracts, and *Eleven Millions, Five Hundred and One Thousand Four Hundred* pages of letter press, in the following proportions:—

	Tracts.	Pages.	Copies.	Pages.
In Bengali	78	3,222	331,700	7,593,500
„ Hindustani	30	1,003	100,000	3,043,000
„ Hindui	10	265	42,150	591,300
„ Uriya	2	92	5 50	154,000
Total,	120	4,532	579,350	11,381,800

ALMANACS form a class of works, that were compiled at an early period in Bengali. The almanac, issued from the court of Raja Kristna Ray of Nadiya, was the one held in highest repute; next to that the Bali one. There were almanacs published also at Gunpur, Khanakul-Krishnaghur, Digsui, Bikrampur, Bakla, Chandra-dwip, Berhampur and Bagri. Previous to 1820, those almanacs were in manuscript, and were copied and sold by the Daivagya Brahmans, for two annas each; but they have been superseded by the printed almanacs, though the latter often sell for one rupee a number. These Daivagya Brahmans are a kind of itinerant astrologers, who vend their knowledge of futurity, as the bards of old derived a profit from

* For the following account of the Press between 1820 and 1835, we are indebted to certain data in the *Quarterly Friend of India*. The native newspapers had increased from one to six, viz., four in Bengali and two in Persian, the latter "chiefly occupied with extracts from the pithless Ukhbars, or papers issuing from the native courts, and detailing with minuteness the daily uninteresting and unimportant actions of the native princes." These six papers had probably about 100 subscribers, and five readers to each paper, with a subscription of one rupee monthly. The following books were printed:—*Punchanga Sundari—Din Kaumadi—Ananda Lahari—Rati Manjari—Tarpan—Radhika Mangal—Gunga Bhakti Tarangini—Padanka Dut—Milakshara Darpan—Batrish Singhasun—Chanakya Tutti Nama—Kakharitra—Bidya Sundar—Nala Damayanti—Kalanka Bhanjan—Prabodh Chandraday—Gyan Chandrika—Pran Toshan*. Other works of the same class, to the number of thirty-one, were published: of these eleven works were of a useful kind, that would afford profitable reading: the rest were mythological, astrological, &c.—

"The number of copies, which have been printed of each, is not so easily ascertained. Of some more, of others less, than a thousand, have been sold; but if we take that number as the general average, we shall be near the truth. It is a general remark among the printers and publishers of the native press, that no work remains long on hand; and we have reason to believe that they have, in no instance, suffered a loss by the printing of any of the works above named. Nearly thirty thousand volumes have thus been sent into circulation within the last four years.

It is calculated that, in 1822, thirty works were published, 1,000 copies of each of which were sold, giving 30,000 volumes in Bengali in one year."

their skill in song. They may be known by their having under their arm an almanac wrapped in cloth. They receive contributions from the poorest, and are admitted even into the recesses of the female apartments—as the women, true daughters of Eve, are very fond of prying into the future.

We find that the Hindu Almanac for 1825 was printed by one Gangadhar at Agardwip (where the first press was established that was conducted by natives), and is dedicated to the Raja of Krishnaghur. It gives the events of the year in the following proportions; Rain 8, Corn 6, Grass 4, Cold 5, Heat 7, Wind 5, Kings 11, Diseases 15, Cures 6, Flies 9, Mosquitoes 17, Poison 13, Holiness 3, Unholiness 15, Truth 2, Falshood 12. Among the presiding regencies of the year are *Mars*, who will cause war, bad crops, and disease; *Venus*, who will multiply the number of subjects; *Sambarta*, the ruling cloud, which will increase the fruits of the earth; *Kulera*, presiding among snakes, who will cause men to be destroyed by their poison; *Pundurika*, the regent of elephants, through whose influence men will be destroyed both in the West and East; *Nakula*, the regent of doctors, “and under his influence the words of men will be excellent as the waters of immortality.” An account is next given of the *Satya Yuga* “when the principle of life resided in the brain: men died when they wished: their stature was $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet: they lived to the age of 100,000 years, and dined off golden vessels.” In the *Treta Yuga* “the principle of life resided in the bones: the human stature was twenty-one feet; men lived to the age of 10,000 years, and dined off silver dishes.” In the *Dwapar Yuga*, “the principle of life resided in the blood: the human stature was reduced to $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet; men lived a thousand years, and dined off copper dishes.” In the *Kali Yuga*, “the principle of life will reside in food: men will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in stature, live a hundred years, and dine from dishes without rule.” There are twenty-seven Nakshatras,* or lunar mansions, given in the almanacs. By ascer-

* Respecting those Nakshatras in the almanacs, the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., pp. 196, 199, 200, 201, states:—

“The figure of a man is rudely sketched, and the twenty-seven different lunar mansions allotted to its different members; hereby any one is enabled to ascertain the monthly complexion of his destiny, and to avert the approach of misfortune. In the first month of the year, seven stellar mansions are allotted to the head, three to the mouth, five to the heart, three to the right hand, three to the left, three to the right foot, and three to the left. These seven portions of the body have the following significations during that month: the head betokens the enjoyment of happiness; the mouth, excellence; the heart and the right hand denote the obtaining of wealth; the left hand signifies great distress; the right foot, moderate gain; and the left, a disposition to wander. The enquirer turns to the figure; and having found to what member of the body his natal mansion is attached, and what that member predicts, ascertains the fortune which is to befall him for that month. To avert the calamities, which some portions of the body presage, he is directed to make a ball compose

taining the natal mansion of the enquirer, the astrologer professes to tell his fortune ; thus the third mansion denotes poverty, to avert which the Brahmans should be presented with umbrellas ; the sixth indicates death, which is to be avoided by giving the Brahmans a donation of rice, ghl, and a golden kulsí.

A man's Nakshatra is to be known by the initial letter of his name : "if he has two or three names, that by which he may be waked from sleep, is to be used on such an occasion."

In the year 1825, according to the almanacs, the auspicious days for marrying were 22 : for feeding an infant with rice, 27 : for commencing the building of a house, the 10th of Baishaka : for bringing a bride home, the 14th of Baishaka : for putting the chalk first into a boy's hand to teach him to write, the 17th of Baishaka, and the 7th and 14th of Asarha : for boring the ears the 7th and 14th of Asarha.

of múrumangsí, buch,* kúr.† bitumen, turmeric, darhuridra, dried ginger, chumpuk ‡ and mûtha ; in this ball, the universal remedy against misfortune, the proportion of the ingredients must be equal. It is to be dissolved in water, in which the enquirer is to bathe, after having mixed with it some dhústúr,§ and pronounced two sacred texts. The number of stellar mansions affixed to each member of the mysterious body, as well as the signification, differs monthly."

"There is a great serpent in the universe, although we cannot perceive it, which continues for three months of the year reposing with its head to the east, its tail to the west, its back to the north, its belly to the south : in the second quarter, its head is turned to the south ; in the third, to the west ; in the last, to the north. Its quarterly movements direct the natives in the erection of their houses. The Hindoo houses are, with few exceptions, built round an open square, the different sides being placed at right angles with each other. When therefore a new house is to be erected, it is necessary to consult the position of the serpent, to ascertain on which side the architect is to begin. The sides, to which its tail and belly are turned, are auspicious ; and a commencement is therefore made in either of those quarters. But if a single house be erected, or if the four sides of a quadrangular mansion be commenced at the same time, the position of the serpent signifies nothing."

"To regulate the journeys of the natives, the Brahmans, or the shastras, have called into birth Yoginí a goddess of celestial power, who resides in the eight quarters of the universe on different days ; in the east on the first and ninth of the moon, and thus respecting the other quarters. It is reckoned auspicious to commence a journey with this goddess situated either towards the back, or on the left hand."

"The duration and malignity of fevers depend on the solar and lunar days, and lunar mansions on which they commenced ; if a fever begin on either of five nakshatras which are mentioned in the almanacs, the patient will die ; if on six others, life will be preserved with difficulty ; if on four others, the fever will continue four days ; and thus do all the lunar mansions influence a fever. The lunar days are still more inauspicious than the mansions ; for a fever will always continue twice as many days, as the number of the lunar day on which it commenced : thus, if it came on the eleventh, it will remain twenty-two days ; if on the day of the full moon, one month ; if on the day of the new moon, two months. But if the moon be at an inauspicious distance from the natal mansion on the commencement of a fever, not even the waters of immortality can preserve the patient's life. A fever beginning on Sunday will continue seven days ; on Monday, nine ; on Tuesday, ten ; on Wednesday three nights ; on Thursday, it will occasion great danger for twelve days ; on Friday

* Zinziber Zedoaria.

† Michelia Champaca.

‡ A drug said to be the dried root of *Costus speciosus*

§ Datura Metel,

Few of our readers are, perhaps, aware of the ceremonies which weigh so heavily on the Hindu, and of which details are given in various Bengali works. We mention a few. The first day of the month Baishaka (April) is inauspicious for travelling, because Agastya Rishi on that day reached the banks of the Nerbudda, when the Vindya mountains bowed their heads to him as a sign of respect. On the same day the followers of Krishna bring calves and cows before the image of their god, and feed both them and the Brahmans, as Krishna on this day played with cows. In the worship of Annapurna, during this month, the women adore the Asoka-tree, and eat seven of its flowers as a charm against snakes. At the end of Baishaka the women worship the Kasandi, a favorite Indian pickle; half a dozen families worship it at the river, while the priest blows the *cancha*, or shell, to bring the gods to the spot. In Jaista (May) widows offer to a Brahman a pair of shoes, an umbrella, a fan, food, and a waterpot, to preserve them from disease. In the same month is a ceremony for deceased ancestors, when a Hindu is not allowed to speak or work before its completion. A few days subsequently, Hindu women worship their sons-in-law, in order to be certain of having grandchildren. At the *Snan Jatra*, it is prohibited to cook on the ground, to plough it, or even to touch it, as it is then considered unclean for four days.

In Aswin is a great feast, the origin of which is thus stated :—

“In this iron age, sins had multiplied to such an extent as to give birth to a *pāp pūruṣh*, or a monster of iniquity, every member of whose body consisted of some sin; his head and neck consisted of the sin of slaying Brahmans; the stealing of gold constituted his hands; drinking wine formed the heart; the loins arose from the sin of injuring the wife of the spiritual guide; the two feet consisted of those who have been accessory to the crime; all the toes and fingers were distinct sins, and the hairs little peccadillos. This is of course metaphorical. Vishnu having ordered all mankind to fast on this first day of his slumbers, and promised exemption from sin to the obedient, it is on record that all men fasted and became sinless; whereupon this monster came to Vishnu in a doleful mood, saying, Since thou hast created me, where am I to reside? for all men are become sinless. Vishnu directed him to enter into food, during this one day of universal innocence. Hence, on this day, all the sins that man can commit, reside in food, and he who eats, is guilty of every sin, and incurs every curse.”

The whole genius of Hinduism (forming a strong contrast with the encouragements to popular instruction among the Chi-

it will continue seven or three nights; on Saturday, fourteen days. The day and night are also severally divided into eight portions, of which some are auspicious, others the reverse; on those which are unfavourable, no undertaking whatsoever is to be commenced.

nese) is anti-social. No contact with Mlechhas is its motto. A vernacular newspaper, therefore, which enlarges the circle of the social sympathies, found no place in its system. The courts of the Great Mogul, and of the Chinese Emperor, employed men on high salaries to chronicle the events of the empire; but we have no account of any such plan among the Hindu Rajahs. There was not even a graduated scale of a hierarchy among the Brahmans to centralize their operations. Hence when the *Chandrika*, as the orthodox exponent of Hinduism, sprang into existence, it must have seemed as strange to the venerable pandits of Nabadwip and Santipur, as the following account now does to a Musalman, of what occurred on a recent occasion at Peshawur, on the celebration of the Mohurram. "Among the taziahs, the laskars of the Fusilieri regiment paraded a model steamboat, with sails set, and smoke issuing from the funnel." This steamboat was as much a type of revolution among the Moslems, as a Bengal newspaper is with the votaries of Vyas and Valmiki. Since the days of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, little had occurred to produce any excitement in Hindu Society: battle-fields had been won, and Europeans had come as birds of prey in flocks to India: but these things produced little effect on the Hindus. It was the press, the fourth estate, which began to ruffle the stagnant surface of Hindu life.

The *Chandrika* started in 1821. It has ever proved to be the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindu orthodoxy, and has been the enthusiastic friend of the Dharma Sabha—a society which was founded in order to defend the *right* of the Hindu widow to be roasted alive on the pyre of her deceased husband.

The *Chandrika*, in marked contrast with many of its contemporaries, is now (1850) in the twenty-ninth year of its existence; while the generality of Native papers have their short day of popularity, and then burst like a bubble on the stream.

We give a few extracts from some of the early numbers of the *Chandrika*, as a specimen of the general nature of the contents.

1822.—A woman's husband died near Gya. The judge forbid the widows burning with him; on which she thrust her finger into the fire to shew that she had no dread of pain; she was then permitted to offer herself.—A correspondent asks, if the cause of an earthquake be owing to the snake Vasaki, who supports the earth, changing sides to ease himself of its weight, why all countries have not the earthquake at the same time, as the snake agitates all at once?—A girl in the twenty-four Pergunnahs, sixteen years old, the daughter of a Brahman, has half

her body of a black, and half of a white, colour.—In making the new road by Pataldanga, a number of trees were found by the Golpukur : they crumbled to dust on the touch, and were so low down, that the soil must have risen considerably. A Sipahi cut his tongue off at Kali Ghat, as a sacrifice to Kali.—At the inundation in Burisal, several women brought forth children on the trees to which they had fled.—The *Padanka Dut* is advertised at one rupee, with the promise annexed that all the *bhadra lok* (gentlemen), who keep in their houses, will hereby have their sins destroyed.

1823.—A correspondent complains of a Babu, who attended a public auction, dressed in women's clothes.—A meeting of the Gaurya Samaj was held, and addressed by Ram Komul Sen ; the object of it was to investigate ancient Hindu literature and history.—A Brahman's wife, in the Burdwan district, finding that her husband spent all his time with a courtesan, determined on revenge : accordingly she invited this courtesan to dine with her, providing several savoury dishes, and while she was in the act of eating one, the wife came behind her, and cut her nose clean off with a large knife !—A person bathing at Errada was dragged into the water by an alligator ; but, raising loud cries, his neighbours came to his help, and holding him by the hand, succeeded in snatching him from the monster's jaws, after however he had lost the flesh of his side. Such an inundation took place in Bengal, that the pandits of Nadiya had to abandon their colleges, which were soon occupied by alligators and tortoises ! About the same time a snake, twenty-two cubits long, was seen near Santipur.—Kali Shankar Ghosal advertises that he has published, at his own expense, a book called the *Byabahur Mukur*, which he will give gratuitously to any person applying for it :—but shortly after he puts in another advertisement, that he will charge four annas for each copy, because people do not value a book they receive for nothing, and even imagine that some injury would arise from the reading of it.—A Kulin Brahman died, who had twenty-two wives living separately in their father's houses : on hearing of his death, four of them were burnt on the funeral pile.

1824.—A meeting was held in Calcutta for the purpose of encouraging the reading of the Vedas by paying professors and scholars. Radhakanta Deb, and Dwarkanath Tagore took an active part in the proceedings.—Seven persons died, in a village in the Burdwan district, from the bites of a jackal. In Puri they have the peculiar practice in a Sati to dig a pit containing the corpse and the wood : when the latter is fully ignited, the woman, encircling the pile three times, throws herself in ; she is

soon dead. Then they extinguish the fire, and consume the bodies separately on another pile, having previously taken a bone to be thrown into the Ganges.—At Putkhali, near Budge Budge, a woman was brought to bed of three children: one of them had its hinder parts like those of some unknown animal.—At Mulgher, a woman, seventeen years of age, hearing of the death of her husband, determined to burn herself with his shoe, as the corpse had been previously consumed. Her relations resorted to every means to prevent her; but all was of no avail.

1825.—A Musalman boy, near Calcutta, has two left hands.—Bishop Heber gave a party to the elite of Calcutta. Many of the native gentry, the Malliks, the Raja of Andul, &c., were present. Mrs. Heber gave, with her own hand, atar and rose-water to the babus, who, after some agreeable conversation with the ladies, retired.—A good account of the different zillahs in Bengal is given.—Kashikanta Goshal, with the aid of pandits, is preparing a translation of the *Smritis* into Bengali, price 100 Rs.—“A boy was born lately in Katak having two heads, a subject of rejoicing, as the English say two heads are better than one.”—A work is advertised at Nilkanta Halidar's Press, Serampore, on astrology, price eighty rupees.—A subscription list has been made by Europeans and natives at Chitpur, for conducting a series of weekly wrestling matches during the season.

The *Kaumadi* newspaper was first published in 1823. It was the organ of Ram Mohan Ray's party, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chandrikā*.*

The following are the heads of the leading articles in the first eight numbers of the *Kaumadi*. No. 1 contains an appeal to Government to establish a Native Charity School, with an account of a Prince, who was a miser. No. 2. The advantage of newspapers to natives. The propriety of a subscription for watering the Chitpur road. Faith in the Guru. Suggestions for having twenty-two, instead of fifteen years of age fixed as the period for succeeding to an inheritance. Ridicule of these babus, who never give any money in charity, but on their death immense sums are lavished. No. 3. An appeal to Government to grant more ground for a ghât to burn the dead bodies at—the Christians having such a space of ground for burials. No. 3. An appeal to Government to prohibit the exportation of rice, the chief article of Hindu food. An appeal to Government to grant European medical aid to poor natives. A remonstrance on the furious driving of Europeans, when idol processions are passing. No. 4. An exhortation to native doctors to have their sons instructed

* “The Literary Chronicle,” a monthly magazine, got up by some natives in Calcutta, gives a notice of the present state of the Vernacular Press,

by European physicians. The evil of Kulin marriages. The sums lavished by babus in folly, and the little given for education. No. 5. The evil tendency of the dramas lately invented. A certain class of babus, called captains, and their evil practices. No. 6. A nautch and supper given by Chandra Kumar Tagore, in honor of the departure of the Chief Justice. The extraordinary proficiency of a Hindu boy, five years old, in English and Bengali. Essay on the advantages of learning. Account of the Taj at Agra. Essay on truth. On apprenticing native youths to English doctors. On raising a fund to burn the dead bodies of the poor. On establishing a fund for destitute Hindu widows. No. 7. A thief robbing a corpse at a burning ghât. On certificates given to servants. On the high price of fire-wood, ten maunds of wood when could be had, a few years previously, for a rupee. On the importance of boys knowing Bengali grammar before they study English. No. 8. An infant carried away by a bird. The importance of the Hindus practising some mechanical art. A new drama called Kali Raja's Jatra is being performed. Abhoy Charan Mittri gave 50,000 rupees to his Guru. The adventures of a Brahman, learned in the Shastras, among the wealthy babus of Calcutta.

1824.—The editor is surprised at the wife of a *shoemaker* having three sons at a birth, while so many rich Hindus, after all their vows and pilgrimages, have none, and are obliged to *adopt* a son.—The Raja of Burdwan's wife being near her confinement, the Raja supported two astrologers in the house, who professed to predict the time of the birth of a son, though each foretold a different day.—An account is given of a woman, at Chitpur (according to the custom of Sanyasis) being buried alive with her deceased husband, who was a Sanyasi.—A native woman, eighteen years old, swims across the river at Nimtala ghât.—A Brahman came to Serampore, pretending to predict a gentleman's fortune: he also offered to discover treasure hidden in his house, for which he was to get 20 Rs. reward: while the gentleman went out for a moment, the Brahman hid a brass pot in the earth, and pointed it to the Sahib as the treasure: the other discovered the trick, and had him bound hand and foot, and flung out into the street.—A snake was caught in Hatapur pergannah, whose roaring was so loud as to shake the trees.—A Sanyasi at Tarakeswar killed a man, who had intrigued with his mistress.—At Jagannath ghât, Calcutta, where Sanyasis usually assemble, a Sanyasi performed the penance of holding his right foot in the air, and standing silent in this position, day and night.

The *Timir Nāsak* newspaper (destroyer of darkness) ill answered to its name. Its chief object seems to have been to pander to Hindu credulity to the utmost extent,

though it acknowledged itself the offspring of the Serampore *Darpan*.

The *Banga Dut* commenced on *Sunday*, the 10th of May 1829 : but, in the next number, the day of publication was altered to Saturday. It is singular how with respect to newspapers and schools, so much deference is paid to the sabbath, by natives who are hostile to Christianity. It was seen, even in the early days of the French revolution, that a day of rest is required on physical and mental grounds. This newspaper started under the management of Mr. R. Martin, Dwarkanath Tágore, Prasanna Kumar Tágore, and Rammohan Roy. It was written in two languages, Bengali and Persian ; as the latter would be understood by the mahajans of the Bara Bazar.

The length, to which this cursory notice of the early Bengali press has run, forbids us from entering on an account of the newspapers published since 1830.

We have now before us a list of the Bengali newspapers, published in Calcutta at the present time, which comprises sixteen, *viz.*, three dailies, the *Prabhákar*, *Chandraday*, and *Mohájan Darpan* ; one tri-weekly, the *Bháskar* ; two bi-weekly, the *Chandriká*, and *Rasaráj* ; seven weekly, the *Gyándarpan*, *Banga Dut*, *Sadhúránjan*, *Gyán Sancháriní*, *Rasaságar*, *Rangpur Bartábahn*, and *Rasha Mudgar* ; two bi-monthly, the *Nitya Dharmánaranjiká* and *Durjan Daman Mahá Nabam* ; and last, though not least, the monthly publication, *Tatwa Bodhini*, which, both for the excellency of its language, and the literary talent displayed, is highly to the credit of its conductors, who have employed the powerful agency of the Bengali language to convey European ideas.

All these publications have a decided Anti-Christian tone, and must produce a considerable sapping effect on the minds of their 20,000 readers, who shew the value they attach to them by *paying* for them. Though the Serampore *Darpan* was the *first* Bengali newspaper, and was started under Missionary auspices—yet, strange to say, Missionaries have at present no organ in Bengali to exercise an influence over the native mind, and reply to the various misrepresentations that are given on Christian subjects. We hope that ere long we may see a Bengali newspaper started under Christian influence. The Native Christians are feeling the Athenian curiosity for the “*τι καινον*,” and (in several cases we know) receive injury from the perusal of these papers. Missionary schools are well ; but the present Bengali newspapers in many cases destroy much of the prospective fruit from them.

THE LINDSAYS IN INDIA.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

Lives of the Lindsays ; or, A Memoir of the House of Craceford and Balcarres, by Lord Lindsay ; to which are added Extracts from the Official Correspondence of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Balcarres, during the Maroon War ; together with personal narratives by his brothers, the Hon. Robert, Colin, James, John and Hugh Lindsay, and by his sister, Lady Anne Barnard. 3 vols. London : Murray. 1849.

THESE volumes were written, printed, and reviewed by one influential periodical, so long ago, that, although they were only published last year, they have already a flavour of antiquity about them. We do not address ourselves to their consideration with less relish for that. It may be doubted whether the work, being bulky and costly, has found its way into extensive circulation in this part of the world. A large proportion of our readers are probably unacquainted with its contents. And it is just one of those lively, gossiping, anecdotal books, which the Indian reviewer, who is compelled (for the most part) to base his articles on somewhat weighty reports and solid parliamentary papers, seizes with avidity in the expectation of discovering, in its contents, some lighter matter, wherewith to enliven the learned dulness of his pages.

The *Lives of the Lindsays* is a book abounding in incident, and overflowing with personal anecdote. The greater part of the work lies far away beyond our reach. We have nothing to do with the home-staying Lindsays. It is permitted to us only to gossip with those who have qualified for the *Oriental*. We have fortunately, in the first line, a civilian and two soldiers on our list—to say nothing of a ship-captain, who, in due time, became a member of the Court of Directors ; and some distant cousins whom, perhaps, we may leave to themselves. Robert Lindsay went out to India as a writer ; James and John fought against Tippú. Their own narratives are contained in the third volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, and some incidental notices of them may be collected from the preceding volume. We are not quite sure that, in every instance, these different narratives completely harmonize ; but we must not expect too

much from senile garrulity. It is something, when the talk of old people about themselves and their families is never by any means *dull*.

The family of the Lindsays, with which we have to do, is that of James, Earl of Balcarres, who commenced the family memoirs. Eleven children were born to the Earl. Of these Lady Anne Lindsay, afterwards Lady Anne Barnard, the authoress of the touching ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," was the eldest, the ablest, and the most interesting. For the liveliest portion of these volumes, we are indebted to her never-failing animal spirits, her pleasant humour, and her graphic style. After recording the event of her own birth, she says:—"My father's patience was happily rewarded next year by the birth of a son-and-heir, my dear Cumberland; a twelve month after came my beloved Margaret; Robert and Colin followed them as soon as possible; James, William, Charles and John did not lag long behind; my dear little sister Elizabeth almost closed the procession, though not entirely; Hugh, though last, not least beloved, finishes my list." Here was a family of eight sons and three daughters; a wild and rebellious party, whom Lady Balcarres was obliged to keep under control with a strong hand. Perhaps, there was a little too much of the "iron rule." "Odsfish, madam," cried the Earl sometimes, when he found little misdemeanours punished as great crimes, "you will break the spirits of my young troops. I will not have it so." No fear of that. The young troops grew up with spirit enough for all purposes; Lady Anne never lost hers to the latest day of her life. The house was turned into a sort of Bastille; and there was a culprit sobbing in every closet. "O my Lady, my Lady," cried little Robert from his dark prison, "whip me and let me go, if you please." "Excellent Robert!" exclaims Lady Anne—it is a touching apostrophe—"let me be pardoned for a digression quite out of date; but can a better time ever arrive to prove how thoroughly good minds pardon severity arising from right meanings, when I mention that it is now, at the chateau of Balcarres, inhabited by Robert, who well remembers the closet of his imprisonment, that our dear old mother, encompassed by her grand-children derives from him and his excellent wife all the solaces of her extreme old age—eighty-five? It is wrong to tell this so soon; but I may die;—so it shall be told now."

We are now fairly introduced to Robert. We see him crying, as a baby, in the closet, and solacing his old mother, almost an old man himself. We must do something to fill up this interval of more than half-a-century. "Robert and Colin," writes Lady

Anne Barnard, "were light and shade to each other. Though "we talk of them as children, their characters will do for life. "Robert was less handsome than his younger brother, but his "countenance had much of the *bon am* in it. He possessed "sound sense without quick abilities, kind attachments and bene- "volence without parade, bluntness and sweetness, with a natural "mercantile genius for improving the two-pence per week, which "was allowed him for his *menus plairs*; but, when improved, "it was at any body's service, who needed it more than him- "self. Colin, on the other hand, had an elegant person and "accomplished mind; he had oratory, dignity, and prodiga- "lity. Robert bought a knife for six-pence, used it for three months, and sold it to Colin for a shilling:—Colin discovered "this, and complained of his brother in terms so judicious and "pathetic, that the whole family pronounced that Robert must "be a merchant, and Colin my Lord Chancellor. Robert was "forthwith destined to go to India, as writer to the Company, "and Colin was bred to the Bar. 'Tis by trifles such as this, "that the destinies of mankind are generally decided."

Colin, however, entered the army, became a soldier, and a good one too; and died a general officer. As for Robert, it does not appear, from his own account of the matter, that he was forthwith destined for India on the strength of the mercantile transaction above recorded, and the premature development of commercial cleverness that it indicated. He seems rather to have been designed for an European mercantile career. At least, at the age of fourteen, he was carried off to Cadiz by a maternal uncle, and there settled for a time in a mercantile house—from which he was removed to another commercial establishment at Xeres, under the superintendence of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Duff, a cousin of the Lindsays, "with directions to have him improved in the Spanish language without delay." To accomplish this, he was entrusted to the tutorship of some Franciscan monks, who treated him very kindly, and tried hard to convert him to papacy. "Had I remained much "longer there," says Robert Lindsay, "they might have succeeded. Fortunately, in four months, I was recalled to Cadiz, "were the gaieties of the town soon made me forget the mysteries of the convent."

Some months had passed away, and young Robert had "nearly "made up his mind to continue in the house, when a circumstance occurred to change his destination to a distant part of "the globe." What this circumstance was, we are not informed. The distant part of the globe, however, was Bengal. In the spring of the year 1772, Robert Lindsay embarked for

Calcutta on board the *Prince of Wales*, East Indiaman—"commanded by Captain Court, a peppery Welchman with "only one arm; the other he had lost in a duel with one of his "passengers, on a former voyage, regarding a young lady to "whom they were both attached." The first move of the young writer was an excellent one. In these times, the boy-civilian goes on board, with a capital cabin on the upper-deck, secured for him by Messrs. Grindlay or Barber, and elaborately fitted up by Maynard or silver. He has not to struggle for a place, or to rub shoulders with his associates. His patrician sensibilities are not disturbed by any dread of gregarious publicity. He enjoys the privacy of his twelve-feet-by-ten. It is his castle; his domain. He is "like a star, and dwells apart." He can shed tears or disgorge his dinner in absolute exclusiveness—may write sonnets to Albion, practise on the flute, study Hindústání, or revel in the midshipman's holiday of overhauling his kit, without an intrusive eye to mark his doings or interrupt his meditations. Three-quarters-of-a-century ago, a very different state of things obtained on board our Indiaman. The young writers and cadets had to fight for their berths in the steerage. First come, first served. Ever with his eye to the main chance, Robert Lindsay determined to be first in the field. Whilst the other young men were staring about them, he quietly slipped below decks with a piece of chalk in his hand, selected the best berth in the writers' quarters, and wrote his name upon it. The other passengers remonstrated, and proposed to draw lots; but possession was nine points of the law; and Robert Lindsay kept his berth throughout his voyage, which was a slow and not a very pleasant one. The passengers were badly fed; and there was a pack of hounds on board, who drank the water, and nearly brought on a mutiny. When the party disembarked, the chief officer told them that they "would stow away better homeward bound,"—"and too truly," adds Robert Lindsay, "was "this verified; for, upon embarking for Europe eighteen years "afterwards, and on looking over the melancholy list, I could only "trace the names of five of my fellow-passengers in existence."

Robert Lindsay "landed in Calcutta, in September 1772, "in perfect health," and was soon appointed to do duty in the Accountant-General's office. Warren Hastings was Governor-General. "He was beloved and respected," says Mr. Lindsay, "by Natives as well as Europeans;" and this is the testimony of one who belonged to the ranks of the enemy. "I had resided "for nearly two years in Sir John Clavering's society; I was "therefore marked as a party-man, and passed over in the general "promotion." The provincial Council system was then in force;

and Robert Lindsay was before long appointed to a situation under the Dacca Council. Whilst thus employed, he cast his eyes longingly on Sylhet, and determined to make a bold move to get the management of the province into his hands. We will tell the story in the narrator's own words :—

This district had for some years fallen under the superintendence of the Dacca Council ; and two years previous to my appointment, my friend, Mr. W. Holland, as one of the members of that Council, had been deputed to effect a settlement with the Sylhet landholders, with power to cess with revenue, or levy a rent from those lands held on military tenure. Such a transaction is seldom accomplished without much difficulty.

Mr. Holland having finished his business in that troublesome settlement, returned to Dacca, and presented his rent-roll to the Council, amounting to no less than £25,000 per annum ; but said at the same time ; that they were a most turbulent people, and that it would require much trouble to realise it. The other members held the settlement in derision. My intimacy with Mr. Holland continued to increase. He was a man of high honour and principle, possessing a considerable fortune, which he inherited from his father. In a confidential conversation with me, he regreted that his health did not permit him to return to Sylhet, to complete the work he had so prosperously commenced. " I am sensible," said he, " it will prove an arduous undertaking ; and none but a man possessed of a sound constitution, with great energy and determination, is fit for it." I thought for some time, and, turning quickly round, I said, " I know a man who will suit you exactly." " And where is he to be found ?" said Mr. Holland. I answered, " I am the man !" Upon which, my friend threw himself back in his chair, and, with a loud laugh, replied, " Lindsay ! you are the most impudent fellow alive ! Our establishment is more than twenty in number, eighteen of whom would jump at the appointment ; and here are you, the youngest of the whole, aspiring to it yourself !" " And can you blame me, my friend," said I, " for looking to the top of the tree ?" " By no means," said he ; " but how can the thing be accomplished ?" " The thing is difficult, I allow ; but, with such a friend as you, much may be effected ; may I look for your support at a future day, should I be proposed by the other members in Council ?" " You shall have it," said he. All I then asked was, that he should not retire until I saw a little daylight in the business, and that, in the meanwhile, our conversation should remain a secret ; to this he willingly consented.

I had now taken my ground, having left a favourable impression on Mr. Holland ; and I well knew the high opinion the other members of the Council had of his judgment ; but to advance farther, without carefully probing my way, was dangerous.

* * * * *

Among the numerous articles of commerce, carried on in the interior of the Dacca district, salt is not the least considerable ; it is manufactured by the agents of Government on the sea-coast, and preserved as a monopoly for the benefit of the Company. At certain periods, it is brought up in large boats to Dacca, and there exposed to public sale. My commercial education at Cadiz was now beginning to show itself of use to me. In the mode of exposing the lots to sale, I could perceive no small intrigue was carrying on ; for I saw that the natives had not that free access to the public sale, to which they were entitled, and that the lots fell, as they were put up, to the dependants of the members in Council, who, by this means, gained

to themselves a considerable advantage. A fair opportunity, I thought, now occurred, of bettering myself without injury to the public ; I therefore conversed with a wealthy native on the subject, who fully entered into my views and proposed to advance me a large sum of money upon a mutual concern, provided I would appear as the ostensible person. I, in consequence, appeared at the next sale, and became a purchaser of salt to the extent of £20,000 : and the speculation, turned out so well, as fully to enable me to pay off all the debt I had contracted during my long residence in Calcutta, and to place a few thousand rupees in my pocket. Nor was this the only advantage I gained by my well-timed energy. The system I had introduced was not altogether approved of by some of the members of the Council, as militating against certain rules they had laid down : and this, I have reason to think, soon after facilitated my removal far from Dacca. A happier man could not exist than I was at that period, clear of the world, with a lesson of experience.

My friend, Mr. Holland, soon after informed me, that he had made up his mind not to return to Sylhet. I, then, for the first time, went to my friend, Mr. Rous, our resident, and laid my views before him, as to succeeding Mr. Holland in his appointment. He answered coolly, that he should be happy to forward my views, but that he saw little prospect of my success, being the youngest member in the settlement. I owned the difficulty was great, but said, "should my name be proposed in Council by the opposite party, I hope it may meet with your concurrence." To which he cheerfully consented. Thus were two members gained : I had only to look for a third to obtain a majority, and I addressed myself to John Shakespear, who had, at that time, the lead in Council. I found that gentleman well inclined to serve me ; and he promised his support, under the stipulation that I would provide for two of his dependants :—that I, of course, agreed to : and this same gentleman proposed my name next day in Council to succeed Mr. Holland, who resigned. This was unanimously agreed to : but it had the effect of creating much discontent among the junior servants of the settlement, who were all my seniors, none of whom had the least idea of my looking up to an appointment so far above my standing in the service : and [they] determined among themselves to counteract it, as will appear in the sequel.

We shall continue to let Robert Lindsay tell his own story. Here he describes the mode in which the revenue was collected :—

I have now to describe the manner in which we received the rents from the country, and afterwards remitted them to Dacca. The actual collection amounted to 250,000 rupees. It was here natural to ask, how many cowries go to a rupee ? I give you a distinct answer :—four cowries make one *gun-da* ; twenty gundas make one *pun* ; sixteen puns make one *cawn* (*kahin*), and four cawns one *rupee*. Thus, when multiplied together, you will find that the rupee contains 5,120 cowries ; again, multiply these by eight, being the number of rupees in one pound sterling, and the produce is 40,960 cowries in one pound. You may imagine, then, how troublesome it was to manage this ponderous circulation, when received as the revenues of the country. It required, in fact, many large cellars or warehouses to contain them, and when finally collected for the year, a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca.

This operation, in all its details, occasioned a loss of ten per cent. exclusive of depredation on the passage down. Until my appointment to Sylhet, it had been the invariable practice to count over the whole

balance in the treasury previous to embarkation ; but I was determined to shorten the process, and receive the shells by weight. The black treasurer (who was a sagacious man) assured me it was impossible ; with the high tone of authority, I told him, "my orders must be obeyed." a low bow was the consequence : the measure was filled, and I felt proud at my wisdom. I was absent for a few minutes, when, returning, I found the cowries just weighed had become one-third heavier without apparent reason,—the old treasurer betraying at the same time a sarcastic smile. "What is the cause of this, Kazanchy?" "Nothing, Sir, but a little sand which will turn the scale at any time." "You are right, my friend ; but it is my turn next : we will now receive them by a given measure : to this there cannot possibly be an objection." "Allow your humble slave to suggest." "Suggest nothing ! my will must be the law !"—the Kazanchy again bowed his head. The standard measure was accordingly made ; and filled with much judgment, neither too high nor too low. An order was now made by the great man to pass into a law, fixing the diameter of the measure, when the old treasurer, stumbling as if by accident across the apartment, and hitting the measure with his toe, the cowries subsided several inches to his no small amusement. The old man's advice was at last resorted to,—that the cowries should in future be received in baskets, made to contain a certain given quantity, and five baskets in each hundred to be counted, so as to form an average : and it was wonderful with what ease and nicety the business was conducted afterwards. Of cowries I had, in my official capacity as resident, to receive from the zemindars (landlords) annually to the amount of £25,000 ; and, as I have already said, it was the custom to send the whole of these cowries to Dacca, where they were exposed to public sale ; but this practice, as will soon appear, was done away.

But all the merchant was strong in Robert Lindsay ; and he had not been long in Sylhet, before he began to cast about him for the means of realizing a fortune by trading in the produce of the district. "My pay, as resident," he said, "did not exceed £5,000 per annum, so that fortune could only be "acquired by my own industry." But how was he to carry on extensive speculations without capital? There was no Union Bank in Sylhet. The want of capital was a sad drawback to one of Robert's enterprising nature ; and he began to think how he could obviate the difficulty. At last he hit upon a device :—

But in order to set the various plans agoing, which were floating before me, one thing was wanting—ready money. The fickle goddess, however, having now taken me by the hand, soon furnished me with the means of accomplishing my wishes, in a manner the most satisfactory and the most unexpected.

Mr. Croftes, the Accountant-General, wished to provide for a favourite black writer, who worked in his office. This man was a shrewd intelligent fellow ; and it occurred to him that a considerable profit might be made from the cowries under good management, provided a favourable contract could be made with Government. Mr. Croftes therefore delivered in to the Supreme Board, on behalf of his friend, an offer to purchase the whole of the cowries collected at Sylhet in the shape of revenue at a certain given price, the money payable two years after delivery. A copy of this offer was sent me up officially by the Secretary, desiring my opinion whether the offer was adequate or the reverse.

I now felt myself under a considerable dilemma, as I saw I was on the point of becoming a cipher, dependent on a black man ; for it was evident that the person holding this contract would have an unbounded influence in the country, from the whole revenues centring in his hands. It became also a matter of the utmost delicacy, my attempting to give in a counter-proposal in my own name, more especially as the contract had never been publicly advertized ; but as the future value of my situation depended on the result, I determined upon making a fair attempt to turn Mr. Lopez to good account. With this view, I told the Board, in my answer, that having compared the offer made by Mr. Lopez, with the actual sales made at Dacca for the last five years, I could not help reporting the price offered not unfavourable ; at the same time, I considered it my duty to say that the proposed term of payment, suspended for two years, was quite unreasonable ; and I concluded by saying, that if the Board were satisfied with the price, and saw no impropriety in my holding the contract for five years, I would tender them payment in six months after the delivery. The Accountant-General had previously recommended the offer made by Mr. Lopez so strenuously, that my offer could not with propriety be refused ; and the contract of course fell to me. My friend, the Accountant-General never forgave me for having thus outwitted him in the transaction, and he carefully awaited the conclusion of the contract, when, to prevent my interfering with his views a second time, the contract was advertized to be made by public sale at Calcutta at a distant day. But Mr. Lopez met with a second disappointment : a black man was also in attendance ; to him the contract was knocked down.

I now had to address the Board once more on the same subject, informing them that the native contractor was my own servant, but that, if any objection was found to my holding the contract a second time, I would most cheerfully resign it ; in reply, I was informed by the Secretary, that they had no objection to me whatever. From this signal piece of good luck, and from the conspicuous advantage I derived from the great command of money to carry on my commercial pursuits, I have to date the origin of the fortune I acquired in the Company's service.

This was worthy of the genius of the boy, who bought his knife for six-pence, and sold it to his brother for a shilling. It is not a bad specimen of the manner in which fortunes were realized three-quarters of a century ago.

A variety of anecdotes, illustrative of Robert Lindsay's doings at Sylhet, are scattered over the narrative of his life. Here is a story of the sagacity of an elephant, which is worth quoting :—

One day I, was dining in a large company at Dacca. The conversation turned upon elephants. I was asked what food they chiefly lived upon, when ranging the forest. I said, the hill bambú ; and, when that was not to be had, branches of particular trees were broken off by them ; to effect which they would frequently mount up with their fore-feet, and even pull the tree down, when it was of a moderate size. Upon this there was a general laugh. This nettled me. Turning to Mr. Pottinger (for such was the name of our landlord)—“ Will you have the goodness to order out your elephant, and put the driver for half an hour under my orders ? ” This was accordingly done ; and the party, full twenty in number, descended to the green to quiz the traveller.

I selected a tree, which I knew the animal was fond of, and desired the keeper to conduct him to the bottom, and allow him to break off and eat one of the lower branches. Having done this, I directed the driver to make him mount up with his fore-feet; the man who was an inhabitant of the low country, sat on the animal's neck, with his mouth open, not the least comprehending my meaning. Another long laugh from my convivial friends. "Gentlemen," said I, "the elephant has more sense than any of you." I then ordered the driver to spur him in the neck with his hook; he did so, and the elephant raised his foot against the tree. "Strike harder," I cried; and he raised his other foot. "Harder still!" he was now standing nearly perpendicular. "Now coax him—now prick him gently!" the animal now understood him perfectly; he got the tree in motion, his body acting as a lever, working away until the roots were distinctly heard cracking; he then threw his whole weight upon it, and came quietly down with it to the ground. The laugh was now on my side. The fact is, the inhabitants of Calcutta and the towns bordering on the coast are as little acquainted with the customs of the interior, as they are in England.

This last sentence might have been written yesterday. The Cockneyism of the Ditchers is still a standing joke in the moss-fussil. There is a profound conviction in some men's minds that we still mistake elephants for mosquitoes. Elephants were among the small articles of merchandise in which Robert Lindsay traded.

We give the following anecdote, mainly because it embodies an honourable trait of native character:—

I have often heard my countrymen impeach the honesty of the lower ranks of the natives of India. In order to counteract this impression, I take this opportunity of relating a fact, which can hardly be instanced in more civilized society. I never had from Government a contract by which I could dispose of my numerous elephants to advantage; I therefore sent off annually from Sylhet from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into four distinct flocks, or caravans. They were put under charge of the common *peon*, or menial of the lowest description, with directions to sell them, wherever a market could be found, at Delhi, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, or Poonah. These people were often absent eighteen months. On one occasion, my servant Manú (already mentioned), after a twelve-month's absence, returned all covered with dust, and in appearance most miserable; he unfolded his girdle, and produced a scrap of paper of small dimensions, which proved to be a banker's bill amounting to three or four thousand pounds:—his own pay was thirty shillings sterling per month. I had no security whatever but my experience of his integrity; he might have gone off with the money if he pleased. But I never felt or showed the smallest distrust; and they always returned with bills to the full amount. When I left India, Manú was still absent in one of these excursions; but he delivered to my agents as faithful an account of the produce, as he would have done to myself. Can stronger proof of honesty be given than what I have now related; I certainly was most fortunate in all my menial servants, having seldom or never changed them during a residence of eighteen years. But I must acknowledge I give the preference to the Hindu rather than to the Muhammadan.

Ship-building was also one of the civilian's mercantile pursuits ; but less in the way of independent speculation, than as the means of affording facilities for the conveyance of his produce to the coast. Several anecdotes are told, relating to the result of these experiments. The last of them we subjoin :—

I find I have still one aquatic adventure more to mention, in which a friend happened to have a concern. There chanced, at the close of the shipping concern, to be an overgrown lime-boat, or lighter, lying in the Sylhet river. A certain Captain Taylor, evidently not a little mad, had long petitioned me for employment without effect. At last, he urged me to put a deck on the lime-boat, and proposed to run her down before the wind to Madras. This I agreed to, upon the condition that the vessel, on her arrival, should be sold as fire-wood. Captain Taylor made out his voyage most successfully ; but, instead of breaking her up, as proposed, he changed the name of the "Golumpus" to "Prince William," bestowed abundance of yellow ochre on her sides, and advertised her in the public papers, "For Bengal direct ; for freight and passage apply to Captain Taylor." My friend, John Carstairs, had just arrived from England, and, reading the advertisement, the only question he asked was, "Who is your owner ?" Taylor answered, "The Hon. Robert Lindsay ;" and Carstairs embarked next day with a fair wind.

It blew a gentle breeze, not more than three knots, when the ship broached to ; all was soon put to rights. But this occurred again more than once. "What is the meaning of this, Captain Taylor ?" asked my friend. The Captain coolly replied, "How can it be otherwise. Sir ? the vessel has no keel ; her bottom is as flat as a pan-cake ; and she is no better than a dung-barge ;" Carstairs, after studying the features of the man, remained silent, trusting to Providence for the result. Most fortunately the weather continued fine, and the wind favourable ;—the smallest reverse would have sent them all to the bottom.

I must conclude the history of my ships by quoting a paragraph from one of the last letters I received from my mother in Bengal :—"I understand, my dear Robert, that you are a great ship-builder ; your talents in this line I do not dispute ; but I have one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not come home in one of your own building :"—and I implicitly followed her advice.

Well done, Lady Balcarres ! This touch of quiet satire is inimitable.

Robert Lindsay figures in all kinds of capacities. Before long we find him organising and commanding a local corps. Whether he made anything by it, does not appear ; but he saw some service ; put down several disturbances ; and seems altogether to have behaved with great gallantry and address. His life was more than once in danger from the treachery of his enemies. Here is an anecdote, which, coupled with other stories, demonstrates the unsettled state of the frontier in those days :—

My friend, Robert Hamilton (a captain in the army, son of a gentleman of the same name, formerly laird of Kilbrackmont), came to pay me a

visit. We are sitting together at dinner, which had just come in, when my servant informed me that a *fuktr*, or mendicant priest, wished to speak with me on urgent business. Although the hour was unseasonable, I desired him to be admitted. I was sitting at the top of the table, Hamilton at the bottom, next the door ;—the priest entered, and stood immediately behind him. He began his story by informing me that he had been robbed on entering the province, and that, being plundered of all he possessed, he looked to me for redress. There was an irritation in his manner and a wildness in his eye ; and his right hand rested in the *cummerbund*, or cloth which encircled his body. His appearance alarmed me ; therefore, without changing my voice or manner, I said, " Hamilton ! slip behind that man, and knock him down !" he hesitated—" obey my orders !" Hamilton was a strong man, and, rising up, with a blow from behind laid the priest prostrate ; but in the act of falling, he aimed a blow at Hamilton with his poniard, which he had held concealed ; and, finding he had missed his aim, immediately buried the steel in his own breast. The priest fainted from loss of blood ;—when, having recovered from his swoon, I asked him what his motive was for this atrocious act, his answer was that of a madman, " that he was a messenger from God, sent to put to death the unbelievers." My suspicions were thus fully verified, and had I not acted as I did, I must have fallen a sacrifice.

In one affray, during the season of the *Molurrum*, Robert Lindsay shot the leader of the insurgents—" a priest of considerable rank"—at the head of his men. Many years afterwards, in England, he was reminded of the circumstance in a curious manner :—

Before I quit the subject of the foregoing affray, I must return to the death of the high priest, and the old man lying wounded at my feet upon the top of the hill—it being connected with the following singular occurrence. In my domestic circle, long after my return to this country, I had more than once told the story relative to the death of the high priest. I was listened to with interest, but was evidently allowed the latitude of a traveller ; when, more than twenty years afterwards, my veracity was fully confirmed in the presence of my whole family. In taking my usual morning's ride along the coast, I passed the door of our clergyman, my worthy friend, Mr. Small. There I perceived a man standing dressed in full Eastern costume, with turban, mustachios, trowsers, girdle, and sandals. To his evident astonishment, I accosted him in his own language,—“ Where were you born ? ” “ In Calcutta.” “ *Jit baat*—it is a lie,” said I ; “ your accent betrays you ; you must belong to a different part of the country.” “ You are right, Sir,” he replied, “ but how could I expect to be cross-questioned in a foreign land ? ” With a salaam to the ground, he asked my name, and where I lived. I pointed to the house on the hill, and desired him to call upon me next morning.

He came accordingly, and my numerous family were all present at our conversation in the Hindústání language. I first asked his name. “ Syed-ullah,” he answered. “ How came you to tell me a lie, the first question I ever asked you ? ” “ You took me by surprise, Sir, by addressing me in my own language. The fact is, I was born at a place called Sylhet, in the kingdom of Bengal, and came here as servant to Mr. Small's son, who was purser of the ship. A gentleman of your name,” he continued, “ was well known in that country, and in London I endeavoured to find him out, but in vain,—nowhere could I trace him.” “ Suppose,” said I, looking him full in the face, “ that

I am the man ?" He started back with horror in his countenance, "What, did you kill the Pir Zada?" (the son of the high priest). "Yes," I replied, "I did; he attacked me sword in hand, and fell a victim to his own rashness." Syed-ullah immediately recovered his composure. When I asked him, what was the opinion of the people on that subject, he answered, "Some approved your conduct; others disapproved;" and, putting his hand on his breast, with a slight inclination, said, "I was but a boy." "Where were you during the fray, Syed-ullah?" said I. "On the top of the hill, near the houses;" and, with a harsher tone, he added, "you killed my father also." "Was he an old man, Syed ullah?" "Yes;" "Your father was not killed in action; I saved his life myself:—am I right or wrong?" He said, "You are right; he was severely wounded, and died in consequence some months afterwards."

Syed-ullah confirmed, in broken English, my former details on the subject. He would not allow that his father was actually the slave of the high priest, but styled him his salt-eater, or dependant. He said that the Pir Zada and his two brothers fell in the affray, with several others of their adherents, but would give no account how the disturbances originated, further than that the country was at that moment in a convulsed state. He, afterwards, at the desire of the ladies, entered into a minute detail of the history of his country, stating, in every instance, things as he wished them to appear, not as they actually were. He was asked what was his particular talent? to which he replied, that he had been long famed for dressing the best curry in the world, and that he always carried about with him part of the ingredients. He was desired to return next day, when the other materials should be provided.

The following morning the family governess appeared as usual at breakfast; her manners were embarrassed, and she evidently wished to communicate something of importance. "I am sensible," said she, "that no attention should be paid to dreams, but," bursting into tears, "when a scene is represented in such dreadful colours as it occurred to me last night, I should be more than culpable if I did not do everything in my power to avert the calamity, with which the whole family is threatened. I dreamt, Mrs. Lindsay, that a black man came from the extremity of the East, and poisoned Mr. Lindsay and his whole family; and I beg and entreat, as you value your lives and happiness, that the curry may not be put on the table, or the consequences may be dreadful!"

In spite of this good lady's advice, Syed-ullah attended at the proper hour, and prepared a curry to suit my palate, when, just before dinner, an audience was demanded by Mrs. Lawson, the old house-keeper in the next room; when, with much agitation, she said, "You know, Madam, I am not apt to be troublesome about trifles, but I think it my duty to mention that I narrowly watched the dressing of this curry, and not in one single instance could I trace the man tasting the dish himself. I told him he surely had not put in sufficient salt; but no—no—he knows too well what he is about; therefore pray, Ma'am, prevent Mr. Lindsay from eating this curry." The same remonstrance was re-echoed by my whole family;—never was a dish better dressed and never did I make a more hearty dinner.

I was well aware of Syed-ullah's reasons for not tasting the curry. The fowls, of which it was composed, were killed by the cook: had he drawn the blood, and said the usual prayer, he would have had no scruples. And thus finishes the story of Syed-ullah and the Pir Zada.

With one more of these "Anecdotes of an Indian life," we

must conclude our extracts from Robert Lindsay's narrative. The following story might doubtless be capped from among the records of the long engagements of modern times :—

During my absence a novel event had happened in our infant settlement. My assistant, W—H—, had taken to himself a wife, the first European lady, who had appeared at Sylhet. The superior charms of this fair one had long been the private topic of his conversation, and her miniature, suspended at his neck, portrayed a most lovely young creature. Her appearance, most assuredly, made me betray symptoms of disappointment, as she was directly the reverse of her picture. The connection originated in an early school acquaintance, succeeded by a long correspondence, which was nourished into Platonic love of the most sentimental kind; and, when they met in India, it terminated in grievous disappointment on both sides; and to such an alarming height did their warfare arise, that I thought it my duty to interfere in order to secure to the fair lady the respect due to her sex; but in doing so, I only betrayed my own ignorance of mankind, and brought upon my shoulders, as may well be supposed, the resentment of both man and wife. This connection, however, soon drove the poor devil to his bottle, to which he soon after fell a victim.

In 1789, having amassed a considerable fortune, Robert Lindsay returned to England. He had previously purchased an estate in the north. The history of the purchase is characteristic. A friend lent him some Scotch papers, in which he saw an advertisement, offering some estates for sale, and intimating that the purchase-money might remain in the hands of the buyer for a term of years. "It immediately struck me," says Robert Lindsay, "that upon such favourable terms, I or any man might become a landed proprietor. I, therefore, without a moment's delay, despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase. This she accomplished with equal promptitude, purchasing, at that happy moment, the estate of Leuchars for £31,000, which, most assuredly, is now worth double the money or more." Fortunate Robert Lindsay! The six-pence had become a shilling again.

And so we have seen Robert Lindsay, in the words of the author of the *Lives*, "assuming by turns (as circumstances presented occasion) the character of a soldier, magistrate, political agent, farmer, ornamental gardener, elephant catcher, tiger-hunter, ship-builder, lime manufacturer, physician and surgeon; triumphing over difficulties, and availing himself of every honorable resource towards the realization of that affluence, which might enable him to return to his beloved Scotland;" and now we see him returned—already a landed proprietor, and about to become a husband and father. He married his cousin, Miss Dick of Prestonfield, "whom he had marked for his own, when she was yet a child, before he went to India." The marriage was in every respect a happy one, and

"contributed," as Lord Lindsay writes, "many descendants to the family pedigree."

There is a story told, regarding a brother of Mrs. Robert Lindsay—the present Sir Robert Keith Dick Cunningham, Bart., of Prestonfield—so honourable to all concerned, and so interesting in itself, that we are truly glad that it comes legitimately within our province to quote it :—"Amidst the many cruel emotions," says Lady Anne, "that arose to Dundas, on an occasion "when men were proved (his trial), I saw a pleasurable one "flow from his eyes in a flood of tears, which seemed to do him "good. A young man, the younger brother of my sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Lindsay, was sent, when quite a boy, to the "East Indies by Lord Melville, as a writer. His industry and "abilities gave him a little early prosperity ; he heard of this "attack on Dundas ; he venerated him ; he knew he was not a "man of fortune ; he had made five thousand pounds, or more ; "and in words the most affectionate and respectful, manly and "kind, he remitted to him an order for the money, should he "have occasion for it, to assist in defraying the heavy expense "he must be put to. It was a sweet letter, generous and principled, such as any one of that excellent family would write "in similar circumstances. Dundas read it to me with an "exultation of satisfaction, together with his own reply.

" ' I have never beheld a countenance but one,' said he, ' that "did not feel this letter as it ought, when I read it, and that "one was my daughter-in-law's, before she knew I had refused "it.' ' I hope,' she said, ' that, while my purse is full, you never "will receive aid from a stranger.' I knew she spoke as she "felt. To find two such people at such a moment, is it not worth "a score of desertions ?"

A few words more about Robert Lindsay. Though the commercial spirit was so strong within him, he was truly a liberal and generous man. He settled an annuity on his mother ; he contributed largely towards the disencumbering of the Balcarres estates : his house and his purse were always open to any member of his family ; and many were they who partook of his hospitality. Old Lady Balcarres, sitting in her easy chair, the centre of that large family group, has a very venerable aspect ; and there is something very touching in the record of her last days—so cheerful, so sunny, so Christian—as set forth by the graceful pen of Lady Anne Barnard. She lived to the age of ninety-three in Robert's house, believing at last that the patriarchal house of Balcarres was her own, and that Robert and his wife were her guests. "A portion of every day," says Lady Anne Barnard, "was spent by them in her bedroom." She

died at last in 1820. In 1836, Robert Lindsay followed her to the grave. He was in his eighty-third year. "The little birds sang, and the blue sky bent over us," writes Lord Lindsay, "as we committed his honored remains to the kindred dust of Balcarres—the Lindsays' friend of many generations, the venerable Bishop Low, performing the last offices."

Following Robert Lindsay's "Anecdotes of an Indian Life," we have "two narratives of the proceedings of the British Army under General Hector Munro and Colonel Baillie, and of the Battle of Conjeveram, September 10th, 1780, in which the division under Colonel Baillie was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners;—by the Hon'ble James and John Lindsay, 73rd Highlanders." We pass over these, to stop at the more interesting Journal of John Lindsay's imprisonment in Serinagapatam, from the 10th of September 1780, to the 17th April 1784. He was one of the few survivors of Baillie's unfortunate detachment after the miserable affair of Conjeveram. His company was cut to pieces, and he himself narrowly escaped being trodden to death by the enemy's horse, or smothered by heaps of the dead and the dying. He had in his pocket a bag containing two hundred pagodas; and it occurred to him that the treasure might be the means of saving his life:—

I therefore looked around me to observe the different countenances of the horsemen, and, thinking that I had distinguished one, whose look was less ferocious than the rest, I pulled out my bag of pagodas, and beckoned him to approach me; which he instantly did, put up his sword, and dismounted. I immediately delivered him the bag; he seemed surprised and pleased at the magnitude of its contents, which gave me the most sanguine expectations. After he had put it up, he demanded my accoutrements, which I instantly took off, and presented to him; I now thought he would have gone no farther, but (one after the other) he stripped me of everything except my breeches and one-half of my shirt,—having torn off the other to tie up my other shirts in a bundle. Though much concerned at being thus stripped naked, after the part I had acted towards him, I however made no doubt but that he would grant me his protection especially when I saw him mount his horse; which he, however, had no sooner done, than he drew his sabre, and, after giving me two or three wounds, instantly rode off, leaving me stung with rage, and laying the blame upon myself, for having called him towards me. After some minutes, what with the loss of blood and the intense heat of the sun, I fainted away, fully convinced that I was expiring, and pleased to think my last moments were so gentle.

Roused from his insensibility by a dreadful pain in his shoulder-blade, he discovered that a piko, which had passed through the body of a dead man lying upon him, had pierced his own flesh. A man of his company saw him, and called out to ask him, if he were dead. "Not yet, but near about it," was the answer. Some French Hussars here came up; and, having

been pulled by the hair of his head out of the dense mass of humanity, in which he was so jammed as to be incapable of moving, they carried him to Lally. "The French Commander," says John Lindsay, "immediately came up to me, expressed his concern at my situation, ordered my wounds to be bound up, and placed me upon one of his elephants." A French officer, named Le Roy, who had saved him from being cut down by Hyder's horse, gave him some soup, and a shirt and long-drawers, which he had "great want of, as his skin was one entire blister from the heat of the sun."

Here he got a glimpse of the redoubtable Hyder himself, in the exultation of victory.

"I, at this moment," writes Mr. Lindsay, "had a distinct view of Hyder's army,—his infantry marching in the most regular manner to English music, and his cavalry on the flanks. Hyder Ali himself was riding at the head of one of his battalions, upon a small dun horse, and dressed in a blue silk jacket and a red turban. He came riding up to Lally, with whom he conversed in the most familiar manner, and appeared vastly pleased, bursting out into fits of laughter.

Next day, Hyder sent orders that all the prisoners should be given up to him; and the French officers obeyed with manifest regret:—

At this instant the guards came in, and, in a thundering manner, drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, loading us with blows, because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy. This speech gave us all great comfort, and we were taken out of his presence. When I came out, a figure, covered all over with blood, came limping up to me, and called me by my name, which, from the voice, I soon discovered was my old friend, David Baird; this was a most welcome meeting to both of us.

His fortune had not been quite so good as mine, for he had been, like me, stripped, worse wounded, and had lain all the day and the following night on the field of battle—every horseman thinking him so badly wounded that they would not be at the trouble of conducting him into the camp; he had, however, made a shift to come in of himself, and now declared that the only pain he felt at that time was violent hunger. I informed him of Hyder's speech to us, which much pleased him.

Towards the evening, Colonel Baillie and fifty-eight officers were collected together. The French officers subscribed 400 pagodas for their use. On the 16th, the guards informed Baillie that all the prisoners were to be sent away, except himself and those next in rank to him. Of these Colonel Baillie kept David Baird, John Lindsay, and a few others. "We were permitted," says Lindsay, "to go and see the men of our company,

"to bid them farewell. When they saw that we were in as deplorable a situation as themselves, they burst into tears, and only hoped that the day would come, that would give them ample revenge for our sufferings." Shortly afterwards, the officers were put into a tent—the first shelter they had enjoyed since their capture—and there John Lindsay was joined by one of his old servants. "As I was extremely ill," he writes, "I gave him all my treasure, amounting to fifteen rupees, to take care of for me; but the treacherous villain, as soon as he had got my all, left me, and I never saw him afterwards." It was hard to say whether friends or enemies treated him worse. Another mortification was in store for him:—

On the 28th, they, to our great joy, brought into our tent eight baskets of liquor, with a letter from a French correspondent of Baillie's in Pondicherry, desiring that he would sign a receipt for the liquor, that he might know if we got it; therefore, upon pen and ink being brought, Baillie signed the receipt. Some time after, Kistnarow came and asked, "if we liked wine?" and upon our answering that we did, he ordered the guard to take the baskets away, saying that he would take care of it for us: but we never saw the wine afterwards.

This behaviour, joined with our former treatment, made us almost desperate; and we determined to treat him ever afterwards with the most pointed contempt. Accordingly the next time he came, instead of getting up and saluting him in the servile manner we had hitherto done, we sat still upon the ground, without taking the least notice of him. He therefore soon went away much displeased. We amused ourselves with the idea of treating him with the most mortifying contempt, and some days elapsed before we saw any thing more of him.

The next passage we have marked is more cheering. The picture is not one unvarying surface of human depravity:—

At this time a sepoy of our guard came up to me, and, after standing by me for some minutes, told me that he would prepare me some medicine if I would take it. I told him that I would thankfully take any thing that he would give me, but that I had no money to pay him for it. He said that he did not want any money from a prisoner, and then went away. In a few minutes he came back, and brought with him three green pomegranates and a large bowl of sour milk; and, after mixing the fruit with his hands in the milk, having previously mashed them into a ball upon a stone, he desired me to drink it. In any other situation, I would certainly have refused to take such a medicine, but, as it was, I took it, and with great loathing drank it off, it having a most dreadful taste. He then desired me to endeavour to sleep, which I did; and, in a few hours afterwards, I awakened much better, my fever having abated, and my flux was not nearly so severe; and, for the first time since I left Arcot, I eat a little boiled rice.

The next morning the sepoy came to see me, and was much rejoiced at seeing me so much better. I told him that I owed him my life, and that, although I was poor here, I had plenty of money in my own country, and that I would reward him for it, if ever I returned. He then told me that he was not very rich himself, as his pay was only a pagoda and a half a month—and, at the same time, drew out his little purse, and offered me a rupee. This generous behaviour, so different from what I had hitherto ex-

perienced, drew tears from my eyes, and I thanked him for his generosity but would not take his money.

This is on many accounts worth noting. It sets forth a cure for dysentery, with which we suspect the faculty is unacquainted.

On the 6th of November, the party of wretched captives arrived opposite Scringapatam. They were "conducted through various windings and turnings into the middle of the fort," summoned before the Killadar, exposed to a fire of ridiculous questions from that worthy, and there consigned to their place of imprisonment. "The house was....., in the shape of an "oblong square, with high walls, from which projected inwards "a single-tiled roof in the form of a shed, and open on all "sides : and in the four angles of the house were four small "rooms, or rather dungeons, without windows or the smallest "portion of light. In the centre of this building there was an "open space of a few yards for the air to come in, and on the "outside a very high wall, built at the distance of ten yards, in "order to make the place of our confinement more secure from "the least possibility of escape." Into this place were the unhappy prisoners thrust. Their gaoler was a havildar, named Mobet Khan. "His appearance was the most villainous that could be conceived ;" and his captives very soon discovered that he was "as bad as he looked."

We now come to the record of the long and painful captivity. The extracts which we have marked call for little comment. In the following we catch a glimpse of

THE PENALTIES AND RESOURCES OF PRISON LIFE.

On the 20th, the killadar came in a great hurry to our prison, with all his attendants, and, after calling us out of our berths, he sent in the guards to bring out everything belonging to us. All our bundles were accordingly displayed before him ; and he found that we had amongst us six knives and forks, and two razors, which, he said, were very improper things for prisoners to have amongst them : and they were accordingly given to Mobet Khan, with orders to let us have them in the course of the day, but always to put them under the charge of the guard during the night. The razors, he said, might be allowed us once a week ; but that two sepoys, with drawn swords, were to stand over us, while we were shaving, in order, as they said, to prevent us cutting our throats. Six books were likewise found amongst us, *viz.*, the first volume of Smollett's History of England, the third of Pope, the half of Johnson's Dictionary, a Prayer book, and Mrs. Glass upon the art of cookery. These were seized in the same manner, but with particular injunctions to the guard, to deliver them out at sunrise, and to take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief, if left to themselves. Our increase of numbers made us fall upon various methods of exercising our geniuses in making little nick-nacks and necessary articles, in order to make our situation as comfortable as possible, so that our ingenuity being every day called into fresh exertions, and assisted by one another, every one in a short time was provided with a cot to sleep

upon, a table, and a stool. For my part, I was a very bad carpenter, and was accordingly assisted in that branch by one of my companions ; and, as I had become an exceedingly good tailor, and had now three shirts and three pair of trousers, of my own making, I therefore made the clothes of those, who helped me in other respects.

KEEPING THE NEW YEAR.

January 1st, 1781.—As we had, some time past, been determined to keep the New Year as comfortably as our circumstances would permit, we had ever since the arrival of the Arnif prisoners, been at great trouble and expense in fattening a bullock, which one of the gentlemen had purchased in the Carnatic, and which had been preserved to make a good feast for us upon this day : and it had been for a long time the most agreeable subject of our conversation, the excellent dishes that he would produce. We therefore told Mobet Khan in the evening that we wanted to kill him, and requested that he would bring the fakir to perform the usual ceremony ; but instead of complying with our desire, he abused us in the most shameful manner, saying that we were a parcel of thieves, and that we had stolen the bullock from some of the Nabob's villages upon the road. It was in vain that we protested that we had purchased him in the Carnatic ; he did not choose to believe us, but immediately sent to the cutcherry, and made his complaint to the killadar ; who, upon the representation of Mobet Khan, ordered the bullock to be taken away from us, and by this means our long expected feast was disappointed.

PRISON EMPLOYMENT.

We had now for some days past been engaged in purchasing leather to make a kind of spatterdashes for our ankles, in order to make the irons lie a little easier upon our legs ; and, with this assistance, we were enabled to walk a little without much pain ; but as the link from ring to ring was not above eight inches in length, our step was so much confined, that a very little exertion in walking fatigued us, so that we could not take the daily exercise as usual. We were obliged to fall upon other means to amuse ourselves, and with the assistance of cards, made of coarse paper and cloth, and backgammon tables, which we made of stripes of bambú (which two articles we, in time, arrived at great perfection in), we amused our tedious hours. Our prison was now swarming with innumerable quantities of large rats, and we laid wagers who would kill the greatest number in twenty-four hours ; so that the exertions of a number of us, that were occupied with a desire of extirpating those vermin, were so successful, that in a few hours we often destroyed upwards of a hundred ; and as the sepoys have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

In the following, under date May 25th, we see what were the feelings of the officers on hearing, that some of their unfortunate men had been Muhammadanized. The reader may compare the following with some extracts from Scurry's narrative, to be found in a former article on " Eastern Captivity :"—

May 25th.—We were this day greatly surprised, upon our looking out upon the grand parade, to see a number of white men, clothed in the Mahometan dress, exercising the black people after the English description. Upon our enquiring of the sepoys of our guard what they were, they informed us that they were some of our private soldiers, who, being tired at the length of their confinement, had entered into the Bahadur's service, and turned Mussulmans. This account gave us the greatest grief ;

and we could not help believing it to be true when we saw them plainly before our eyes. We therefore made no scruple to condemn them as a parcel of villains, that had abandoned their country, and who deserved death, if they were ever caught ; a few days however after this, we received a letter from the soldiers' prison, informing us that the killadar had selected from amongst them all the young men, and asked them to enter into the Bahádur's service, which they refused ; upon which he, with the assistance of a strong guard, dragged them out by force from their companions : and that they were unacquainted with what had become of them since, or for what purpose they were separated from them.

In the next passage we again see what were

THE OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS OF CAPTIVITY.

Monday.—Play at cards, or catch rats and mice, during the forenoon ; the servants come back ; my man, Mútú, tells me there are no news to-day, and that every thing is dear in the bazaar—am obliged to dine to-day upon rice and ghl—suspect that Mútú has cheated me of some of my rice—am resolved to watch him—am obliged to eat moderately at present, as my shirts are worn out, and am saving money to buy a piece of cloth ; it will be more than six weeks, before I shall be able to buy others.

Tuesday.—Get up in the morning at the usual time—go through the usual ceremonies—look out at my peep-hole—see a vast number of Brahmin girls going down to the river to wash—four or five hundred horse pass by, guarding a multitude of the Carnatic inhabitants—a Moorman of high family, celebrating his marriage, passes by in great state, and his wife in a covered palanquin—two old Moormen under the house scolding—a crowd of people around them, to whom they are telling their story—shut my tile, for fear they should look and observe me—to-day have curry and rice for my dinner,—and plenty of it, as C—, my mess-mate, has got the gripes, and cannot eat his allowance.

Wednesday.—Finish a pack of cards to-day ; the workmanship is much admired ; B—likewise finishes a backgammon table—sell my cards for a fanam. Have the itch for some time past owing to the bad water—the dog eats up half a fanam's worth of brimstone and butter—threaten to kill him if ever I catch him in my berth ; D—, to whom he belongs, says I dare not hold an argument on that point—a very disagreeable day—a very unwholesome smell in the prison from the quantity of stagnated water and rubbish ; the rain comes through the roof of the house and wets every thing.

Thursday.—To-day have some stewed mutton and bread for my dinner—it is very good—and not near enough of it, as it is a very expensive dinner. Sheikh Hussein, upon guard, tells me that our army has beat the Bahádur, and that peace was making ; another sepoy in the afternoon, tells us that the Bahádur had destroyed our army, and was besieging Madras. A great number of people at exercise upon the parade ; the Europeans make signs to us, for which we observe a Moorman beating them—look towards Colonel Baillic's prison ; make signs to one another—wrestle in play with Baird ; his foot catches in the chains of my iron, and throws him down, and scratches his face—Bruin* is going to thrash me for fighting—says that I am the property of the Bahádur—that I must neither lame myself, nor any of my companions

And so the year 1781 passed away. In the middle of the following year we find John Lindsay lamenting the increased

* Mobet Khan.

painfulness of their situation, owing to their augmented numbers :—

Our prison, that was before too small, we now found beyond measure intolerable ; and, although we were now permitted to occupy the outer square, yet the increase of our numbers, and the bad quality of the air, caused almost every one in our jail to be taken ill ; and, to complete our misfortunes, the monsoon season set in, in a much severer manner than usual, and what with the quantity of rain that overflowed our prison, the badness of the water that we were obliged to make use of, and our want of clothes to shelter us from the inclemencies of the weather, a kind of disorder, like the jail distemper, had crept in amongst us. Myself and four others were attacked more severely than the rest with violent bloody fluxes ; and, as we were in a very dangerous situation, we made repeated applications for the European Surgeon to be permitted to come and assist us, which the killadar told us he could not allow ; but, if we chose, he would send us some black doctors.

I positively refused to put myself under their charge, and said I would rather let my disorder take its course ; but the other four, who were rather worse than me, said they would put themselves under their directions. The Surgeons therefore came, and, without giving them any previous medicines in order to remove the cause of their complaint, they administered large quantities of opium, which immediately stopped their flux, and the consequence of it was, that they all died in twenty-four hours, of mortification in the bowels.

These officers appear to have been Lieut. Lind, Mr. Hope, Captain Lucas, and Ensign Maconochie. Captain David Baird was at this time suffering dreadfully from dysentery. "He used," says Mr. Hook, "often to describe the tortures of recovery." His hunger was so extreme, that the "inclination he felt to snatch" a portion of their food from others was almost unconquerable, "and that, if the least morsel was left by any of them, he" "swallowed it with the greatest eagerness and delight." Most men, who have suffered under the dreadful disease indicated, know well what are the after-pains of the hungry recovery.

We must pass on hurriedly to the conclusion. In December 1783, after recording the change of the prison-guard, and the fact that "a Moorman of rank and dignified manners" had taken command, John Lindsay writes as follows. He had then been more than three years in captivity :—

A few days after this event, one of the sepoys on the guard informed one of the prisoners that, as he had formerly been in the English service, and had experienced the best of treatment, he would reveal to him a secret respecting the officers of Matthew's army, that had been sent to Kavel Drúg. He said that these prisoners, consisting of sixteen captains, a major, and the commissary guard of the army had, immediately on their arrival at that place, been put in irons, and that their allowance of provisions was the same as ours,—that their treatment in other respects had been harder : and that, the day before this, he had belonged to a guard that had been sent from another garrison to relieve the one that was over these prisoners,—that, on the second day of the new guards being there, the commandant of it put himself in the evening at the head of most of the

troops in the place, and repaired to the prison, attended by some persons, who held in their hands bowls of green liquid—that the prisoners were ordered to advance two by two, and the commander informed them that it was the Nabob's orders that they should drink the liquor contained in these bowls : the prisoners seemed to be astonished, and refused to comply with the orders, and requested leave to consult with one another, which was allowed :—the result was, that, although they had committed no crime against Tippú Sultan, they nevertheless feared that it was his intention to take their lives, and declared that they would not take the drink.

The commandant informed them at once, that the drink offered to them was poison ; that it was the Nabob's orders ; that it was, he assured them, a pleasant, easy death ; but that, if they persisted in refusing it, they were to be seized and tied, and thrown alive down the precipice of Kavel Drúg mountain ; he declared that he was strictly to perform his orders, again recommended the drink, and allowed them an hour to determine. When the time had expired, they advanced to the commandant, and informed him they were ready to drink the poison ; but that they did not doubt but that the day would arrive, when Tippú Sultan would meet the just reward of his inhuman cruelty, exercised so wantonly on a set of innocent men. They then drank the poison, which operated with violence upon some ; but, in the space of one hour, the bodies of all were extended lifeless before the commandant ; and as there was no farther occasion for so great a force in Kavel Drúg, he (our informant), with some others, had been sent to reinforce the guard over us.

But the worst was now over. A few days afterwards their irons were struck off. The happy event is thus recorded :—

December 22nd.—In the afternoon two Brahmins, accompanied by a Moorman of rank, came to the door of our prison, and, calling out my name and those of two other officers, desired us to come forward ; and then the Brahmins said, they had orders to take us out of prison, and conduct us to the Governor. I immediately declared, that having been confined in this dungeon upwards of three years and a half in heavy chains, and with my body reduced to a perfect skeleton by long sickness, I was resolved not to separate myself from my fellow-prisoners ; and that, if I was to suffer death, it should be on the same spot, where I had experienced so much misery.

They declared there was no intention of using me ill, and that, in accompanying them, I should be made happy by great and important news. I resolutely refused to leave the prison ; on which the Moorman, who had remained silent, said with a smile, "You have all suffered enough, and I come to impart joy to you all ; the merciful Nabob, my master Tippú Sultan, has restored peace to the world ; the English nation and he are now friends ; you are immediately to be taken out of irons, and to-morrow you are to leave Seringapatam, and to march for your own country. I see, Sir," said he to me, "you are alarmed ; you were sent for to receive a sum of money and a letter from your friends ; you shall immediately receive both, after which I dare say you will no longer refuse leaving the prison." The letter and money were brought and delivered, and were from a friend with the army, who took the earliest opportunity of administering to my necessities.

He stated that Tippú Saib, not being able to reduce the fortress of Mangalore, having lost the flower of his army before that place, and finding that the English had reinforced themselves in other quarters, and were advancing into his country, had at last declared that he would listen to proposals of peace ; that commissioners had been sent to him, and, after many

difficulties, peace had been concluded ;—that each was to retain what they had before the war, and all prisoners to be released.

This letter instantly removed all doubts : and the sudden transition from misery to joy at so wonderful and unexpected an event, was felt with the most heartfelt satisfaction throughout the prison, and even the guard seemed to partake of the general rejoicing.

The Governor appeared after the information, accompanied by a number of blacksmiths, who, in two or three hours, emancipated the limbs of every one from the cumbrous load of irons, that had been our constant companions for so many years.

With this, the narrative is concluded. All the other circumstances of this long and terrible captivity are so well known, that we have, for the most part, only endeavored to “reveal the secrets of the prison-house,” and to bring prominently forward those incidents, which especially relate to the individual woes of John Lindsay, and which illustrate the character of the man. He seems to have endured his sufferings with fortitude ; and there is a manliness in his manner of narrating them, which raises our admiration. A few sentences will describe the remainder of his career. He again served under Lord Lindsay “in the war with Tippú in 1790, and in that “with France in 1798, and returned to England, on the regiments being ordered home in 1797. After obtaining the Lieut. Colonelcy of the McLeod Highlanders, he quitted the army in “1801—the year of his brother’s return from Jamaica, and “the year after his own marriage with the youngest daughter of “Frederick North, Earl of Guildford, a worthy scion of a race “in which brilliant wit, mingled with the most genuine good “humour and kindness of disposition and a rational love of “letters, seem to be hereditary possessions.”*

We have professedly undertaken to give some account of the “Lindsays in India.” Now, Lady Anne Barnard, we grieve to say, never was in India ; but not on that account is she to be excluded from a niche in our gallery. She, who accompanied Lord Macartney to the Cape, and corresponded with Lord Wellesley, is fairly entitled to be classed among those worthies, of whom it is our privilege to take note in this journal. Of all the Lindsays, Lady Anne is the most interesting. If she had done nothing else but written the charming ballad of “Auld Robin Grey,” she would have had a place in our affections ; but in these volumes her character is represented, (partly by what is said of her by others, and partly by what she says for herself,) with such an atmosphere of kindness and geniality about it, with such a glow of sunny-heartedness flushing all her outward

* Colin Lindsay’s narrative of the defence of St. Lucie contains some anecdotes of General Meadows and Major (afterwards Lord) Harris, which we should have been glad to transfer to our pages, but for the length to which this article has extended.

being, making everything she said and did bright with cheerfulness and benevolence—that, if she had never written a line of poetry, she would still have been entitled to our admiration as one of the most delightful female writers of her time, and one of the most fascinating of women. Of the former, her contemporaries had less knowledge than we have ; but of the latter they had no doubt. She was on a footing of friendly intimacy with Burke, Sheridan, Wyndham, Dundas, and the Prince of Wales—with Hume, Johnson, Mackenzie, Monboddo, and other statesmen and philosophers. The Prince, it is true, was neither ; but he has never appeared more worthy of our regard than in the anecdotes, which are told in illustration of his friendship for Lady Anne. In the second volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, there is a letter from the Prince, in reply to one addressed to him by Lady Anne shortly after the death of her husband, which is eminently the effusion, not only of a courteous nature, but of a kindly heart. A story told by Colonel Lindsay of Balcarres, in a letter to his son-in-law Lord Lindsay, is worth quoting :—" I recollect George IV.," he writes, " sending for her to come and see him when he was very ill ; " he spoke most affectionately to her, and said, ' Sister Anne (the " appellation he usually gave her) I wished to see you to tell you " that I love you, and wish you to accept of this golden chain " for my sake ; I may never, perhaps, see you again.' " The date of this anecdote is not given ; but the event recorded occurred after the Prince ascended the throne. Lady Anne Barnard must have then been a very old woman.

" The peculiar trait of Lady Anne's character," says Colonel Lindsay, " was benevolence—a readiness to share with others " her purse, her tears, or her joys,—an absence of all selfishness. This, with her talents, created a power of pleasing, " which I have never seen equalled. She had in society a " power of placing herself in sympathies with those whom she " addressed, of drawing forth their feelings, their talents, their " acquirements, pleasing them with themselves, and consequent- " ly with their companions for the time being. I have often " seen her change a dull party into an agreeable one ; she could " make the dullest speak, the shyest feel happy, and the witty " flush fire without any apparent exertion." What an invaluable person she would have been at one of our *burra-khanas* ! " I recollect," adds Colonel Lindsay, in a postscript, " a characteris- " tic anecdote of her, or rather of an old servant, who had lived " with her for years. She was entertaining a large party of " distinguished guests at dinner, when a hitch occurred in the " kitchen. The old servant came up behind her, and whispered,

"My lady, you *"must tell another story; the second course won't be ready for five minutes."*

"Her hand was sought in marriage," says the same narrator, "by several of the first men of the land, and her friendship and confidence by the most distinguished women; but indecision was her failing—hesitation and doubt upset her judgment; her heart had never been captured, and she remained single till late in life, when she married an accomplished, but not wealthy, gentleman, younger than herself, whom she accompanied to the Cape of Good Hope, when appointed Colonial Secretary under Lord Macartney." The gentleman was Mr. Barnard. Lord Macartney sailed from Portsmouth in January 1797. Mr. Maxwell, who had before been attached to his staff, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow, who has written a very dull life of his Lordship, sailed with him. The Barnards must have been a great acquisition to the party. Lord Macartney was then old and infirm. His health suffered greatly whilst at the Cape. The catalogue of his ailments, which he sent home to Mr. Dundas before he had been many months resident in the colony, is one of the most afflicting we ever remember to have read. "I am now sixty years old," he wrote, "of which near four-and-thirty have been chiefly employed on public service, in different stations of distance, difficulty and hazard—circumstances that formerly served to me rather as incentives, than discouragements; but of late, and particularly within these few weeks, I feel myself declining fast, and am, at this moment, afflicted with the gout in my head and stomach so much, as to render my exertion painful and ineffectual. I have the piles, if not a fistula, and am not without apprehension of a stone in my kidneys. To this I am to add an increasing weakness in my eyes, which makes me more melancholy than all the rest." Such was the melancholy condition of Lord Macartney, when the cheerful companionship of Lady Anne Barnard and her husband did much to palliate his sufferings and to disperse his gloom. "My situation," he said, "is, in every other respect, so agreeable to me, that I should not be desirous of removing from it, if I could flatter myself that a man, at my advanced time of life, were likely to improve either in his constitution or his faculties." The account, which Lady Anne has given of the kindness and amiability of the Governor at this time, is worth preserving:—

In one person's society was to be found everlasting entertainment, and instruction, too, when we had him to ourselves. Lord Macartney was one of the best companions I ever met with; and Barnard, who was with him

every morning, said those were the happiest hours of the day. I sometimes alleged that, while we all suppose them laying plans for the good of the Colony, they were talking all sorts of nonsense, by the side of the fire—and grate, too, be it known to you—which was a piece of great magnificence here.

The two gentlemen, who had accompanied Lord Macartney to China and on other embassies, regarded his manners to Barnard with an eye of wonder, though I did not think, of jealousy. They had reckoned him cold, political, without a vulnerable part, where he could be affected; but they had never tried to gain his heart, though they had served him faithfully. Dr. Gillan had loved him—and Dr. Gillan he loved: a sentiment of this sort cannot exist on one side only. To try to love what we are bound to respect, I take to be a good habit; it may produce excellent effects, and cannot produce bad ones.

His aides-de-camp, though both were young, gay as larks, handsome and fine gentlemen in all the best senses of the word, I observed were as much attached to him, as young men can be to an old man; and as they were attentive, he was full of goodness and consideration for their amusement. "Go, go," he said, "do not stay with me, Franklin shall cut up the turkey to-day"; but they settled it with each other that Lord Macartney never should be without one of them.

I certainly never saw a man who, in the small line of my experience, I thought so well calculated to make a good preceptor to a young statesman as Lord Macartney. Wary, well-bred, and witty, he was never to be caught off his guard, and where he could not grant (like the sweet-tempered Lord North), he gave the negative in a pleasant way, though sometimes, if he thought the request improper, with more of the epigrammatic than the other did. Such a tutor would have been an excellent one to counteract faults of an opposite description to his own; but he might have been a dangerous master to a similar disposition, by leading him to carry his distrust of mankind too far.

I remarked amongst other things the extraordinary respect he showed to those who could give him information, or who had been in public departments; but I may extend this remark and say—to every man in his own line. "To be respected," whispered he to me, "one must begin with respecting." Subjects of conversation were never wanting to him: he talked to every man on the subject he was best informed upon, and on which he was likely to acquit himself best. Of course, each man left his closet, pleased with the impression he had given of himself to the Governor. The business of the conference over, he entertained himself with getting all he could out of every body, who had sense enough to discriminate: but of those, there were few at the Cape—the men being so uneducated that reflections did not spring up, where nothing was planted. Of the women we had very unfavourable accounts from one who ought to have known the truth. The French, he said, had corrupted them—the English had merely taught them to affect virtue. "Grace a Dieu," said he, "*ma femme est bien laide*;" and therefore he seemed to have no fears for her conduct: but as to that of any other woman in the Cape, he believed them to be "all the same."

I take this verdict, of course, with some grains of allowance, from a man who is soured by circumstances: but it will put me a little on the watch, and determine me to get at the truth of his assertions, without appearing to have heard any thing of the matter:—though, where I find them all well grounded, what then? I must know nothing. To fulfil my duty here, as the woman (in the absence of Lady Macartney) at the head of the Government department, civility and hospitality must be shown to every

woman, Dutch or English, who live on good terms with their husband, and to all the Dutchmen, who take the oath of allegiance to the English Government, and are of sufficient respectability to visit at the Castle.

Nothing can be more amusing than Lady Anne's pictures of Cape society. The satire is really not ill-natured, though very lively and *piquante*. Accustomed to the very best English society, the sayings and doings of the Dutch Boors and their wives must have been greatly appreciated by one with so keen a sense of the ridiculous. We should, perhaps, have enjoyed her sketches with a sharper relish, if she had not made light of certain matters, which are not to be jested about by any one—and least of all, by an English lady.

Whilst the Barnards were at the Cape, Lord Mornington arrived on his way to the seat of his new Government in India. He was an old friend of Lady Anne and her husband; and they welcomed him with much cordiality. It would ill become us to omit her sketch of the Governor-General, before he was *sultanized*, sleeping, like the Miss Pecksniffs at Todgers's, in a little back parlour:—

Among other passing guests, we had a visit from Lord Mornington, with his brother, on his way to India, to fill the station of Governor-General. As they were people we loved much, we certainly would have been happy to have accommodated them in the Castle, had not the prior claims of A——s, as older friends, nearer friends, and poorer friends, made it impossible to sacrifice the holy motive to the agreeable attraction. But the bugs were so plentiful on the following night at the honest Dutchman's, where the Governor-General took up his quarters, that we could not resist his entreaties, and took him in, his brother and his four servants, into our sanctuary. We lodged him in one of our back parlours, into which a little tent bed is put, to hold the great man; and from which he has only to step out upon the bricks of our balcony to enjoy the cool air, as it hangs over a basin of pure water, supplied by a fountain descending from the Table Mountain, which raises its head above the tall oaks that encompass the pool, and afford a walk to the favorites of the back-yard, whom I now presented to the Governor-General, and of which number my little buck is the first. I reared him myself, without a mother, and he seems now to regard me as one, following me like a dog, and begging hard at night for Barnard's permission to sleep on my feet.

A couple of secretary-birds came next—majestic creatures, with long legs, black velvet breeches, and large wings, who strut about with an air much resembling that of some of our fine gentlemen. They have one singularity, as birds—they never eat standing—not even at luncheon, but sit down to dinner, as regularly as we do. I believe this is in consequence of the extreme length of their legs.

A sea-calf, I next presented, who has been betrayed into living in spite of his teeth, as I gave him in charge to a slave with orders to seize the golden opportunity of his bleating to insert the spout of a tea-pot into his mouth and give him his belly-full of milk. He is a very foolish creature, half fish, half animal; but his countenance is more of the calf than the fish; his feet are fins, and his method of walking has too much of the

waddle in it to be graceful ; but when laughed at, he plunges into the water, and is in his kingdom.

A penguin comes next upon the boards—the link between fish and fowl, in the same degree that the calf is between animal and fish. The penguin is half the day in the pond with the calf, and half of it in the drawing-room with me. She resembles many old ladies, who wear what are called *sacques* with long ruffles, and is more like a duck than any other bird. Her appetite is enormous, and she is very nice, as she must have every thing raw and fresh.

Two jackals are the delight of all the dogs in the garrison, they are such coquettes ; they come out of their hole every evening, and allow themselves to be chased all round the flat topped wall of the fortress for about two hours ; when tired, they creep within the gate of the Castle, and get into the cellar by a broken pane, where they live secure and do no harm.

Two young wild-cats are also of the party. Strange to say these savage animals were nursed by the dog of the Brabanter, who prevailed on her, by dint of argument, to adopt and rear them—she having lost her own puppies, though she detested the cats, and was ready to bite off their heads ; but, when told by her master that she *must* nurse them, as they had no mother, Jacqueline gave up the point—and no one could look at her disgust to them, without being sorry for the animal while so employed.

A horned owl, more important than wise, and a beautiful green chameleon from Madagascar, made up the rest of this worthy society. But the buck possessed my heart, and soon won Lord Mornington's.

Shall we confess that there is, to us, something mysterious and apocalyptical in this ? Were the creatures, whom Lady Anne Barnard presented to Lord Mornington, two-legged animals without feathers ? The secretary-birds, the jackals the young wild cats—how very like a Governor's staff !

"Every day," said Lady Anne, "produces something to entertain Lord Mornington ; he has a levee every morning of yellow Generals and Captains from India, with despatches to Government, who stop here, and finding his Excellency at the Cape, deliver up their official papers,* which he opens, peruses, and by such means will arrive instructed in the present position of affairs there, and will appear a prodigy of ability in being master of all so soon after his arrival." He did appear, indeed, a prodigy—and such a prodigy, as the old Indian statesmen and Generals never wished to see again. He would have made war on Tippú, if he had had his own way, with an unprovided army, without provisions, without money, and without ordnance stores.

"After spending a couple of easy pleasant months" at the Cape, Lord Mornington and his brother departed. There was

* The lively narrator here a little exaggerates the truth. Lord Mornington did break open a packet for the Court of Directors, brought from Calcutta by the *Houghton*, but we believe this to have been the only instance ; and the ship-captain did not volunteer to give it up.

a strange assembly of illustrious personages there during his Lordship's visit. There was, as we have seen, Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras, and had narrowly escaped being Governor-General of India. There was also Lord Hobart, on his way home from Madras, a nobleman who had filled the same office, and narrowly escaped, too, the same honour. No mention is made of him in Lady Anne's Journal—nor of General (afterwards Sir) David Baird, who was also at the Cape, in command of a brigade, unless he is to be found among the yellow Generals pitch-forked into the passage quoted above. As Baird was a friend and fellow-prisoner of Lady Anne's brother, John Lindsay, we might have expected some other notice of him. We might have expected, too, that he would have been treated with some courtesy by Lord Macartney's personal staff. But it is recorded of him by his biographer (Theodore Hook), that when, on his first arrival, he went to pay his respects to the Governor, "an aid-de-camp, who received him, not only refused him admittance to Lord Macartney, but told him, in a "scarcely civil manner, that his Excellency could not see him." This must have been one of the wild cats presented by Lady Anne to Lord Mornington. We are glad to learn from the same authority, that he paid the penalty of his offence, in being condemned to carry a note to Baird, expressive of the Governor's regret at not having seen him when he called, and a hope that he would repeat his visit next morning.

Lord Wellesley did not forget Lady Anne, amidst the cares and distractions of his Indian Government. There are two very characteristic letters from his Lordship in the volume before us, written from Calcutta in 1800 and 1801. Here is the first of them :—

Fort William, October 2nd, 1800.

Your several kind letters have given me as much pleasure, my dear Lady Anne, as I was capable of receiving in the bad state of health, by which I have been tormented ever since the month of April. My complaints, however, have been more tedious and painful than dangerous... These, with their accompaniments, confined me to my couch for the greater part of four months, and my spirits were most severely affected; but I was still able to apply to public business, and to carry many great points quietly, which will soon make a loud report. On what honours you compliment me I know not; I am persuaded you have too much good sense and good taste to esteem an Irish peerage a complimentary, or complimentable honour in my case. Perhaps you refer to the votes of Parliament, and to the conscious sense of eminent public service;—these are honours, indeed, which neither negligence, nor slander, nor ingratitude, nor ignorance, nor envy, nor folly, can impair. With respect to rewards of another description, I have received none—I expect none—and (be not surprised) perhaps you may hear that I will accept none. This brief declamation will admit you

to the secret agonies of my poor dear heart, or soul, and give you some light to discover the causes of my ill-health, and of my declining, indignant, wounded spirits. But do not suppose me to be so weak as to meditate hasty resignations, or passionate returns to Europe, or fury, or violence of any kind. No; I will shame their injustice by aggravating the burthen of their obligations to me; I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accumulate glory and wealth and power, until the ambition and avarice even of my masters shall cry mercy: and then I will show them what dust in the balance their tardy gratitude is, in the estimation of injured, neglected, disdainful merit.

Your lofty twaddler's order in Council for the arrangement of his play-house is incomparable. If I could disclose his *most secret* dispatches to me, how I should amuse you! But I cannot trust even your discretion with the secrets of the State. If we ever meet again, you shall hear it all, when the whole pageantry of State affairs shall have passed away, like a dream after a heavy supper. Even in the other world, where I hope we shall meet at last, you will laugh at the history—if the ghost of your risible muscles should retain any powers of laughter. I believe Mr. Barnard is in my debt on the account of correspondence; or if I am the debtor I must take out a Commission of Bankruptcy, and request him to accept through you, my assignee, my most sincere and grateful declarations of kind remembrance and good wishes, as a payment of one shilling in the pound.

My brother Arthur has been distinguishing himself most nobly in a short, rapid, and able campaign against an insurgent called (do not laugh) Dúndah Jf Waugh.

"I am employed from morning till night in business, and from night till morning in dozing and slumbering, and recovering the fatigues of the laborious day. If Dalilah were here, she certainly might catch me napping every evening, as early as eight o'clock, and sometimes earlier; but to pursue your metaphor, she could neither discover my weakness nor my strength, nor any other quality in me, than an unconquerable propensity to sleep. I am in anxious expectation of Henry's arrival, who will be a great relief to my melancholy. When the cold season shall commence, I shall give balls and dinners to the ladies as usual; but these amuse me not greatly. As to your friends, and the society of this place, I believe they go on very well. I never see the society but in buckram; so I know nothing about it, and never shall, or will, or can, no more.

"Adieu, dear Lady Anne; write to me as often as you can, and tell me all about it, and about it.

Yours ever most affectionately,

WELLESLEY.

Some part of this is very pleasant—some, it must be acknowledged, rather bombastic. We like the Governor-General better in his undress, than when playing the part of *Jupiter Tonans*, or ranting Tamerlane. All this about heaping kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory on victory, revenue upon revenue, and so putting the Court of Directors to shame, is sad stuff. As for the kingdoms and the victories the Court wanted none of them; and as for revenue, the Directors knew only too well that that does not follow upon either victories or kingdoms. When Lord Wellesley gave over the administration to Lord

Cornwallis, the Government of India was insolvent ; there was no money in the treasury ; there was a large irregular army, whose services were not required, but which could not be dismissed for want of the means of paying them their arrears. What Lord Cornwallis was obliged to do under these circumstances is well known. Doubtless, the "avarice" of the Court did "cry mercy ;" but not in the sense intended by Lord Wellesley.

The allusion to the "lofty twaddler" and his play-house calls for explanation. We confess that we are unable to afford a key to it. There would be nothing surprising in the fact of Lord Wellesley calling any one a lofty twaddler. The person so designated, and who is alluded to in the second letter, which we subjoin, is probably Lord Macartney ; though the supposition is at variance with the respect entertained for that nobleman by Lady Anne Barnard, who had obviously elicited the Governor-General's remarks by some raillery of her own :—

Fort William, June 27th, 1801.

My dearest Lady,

Many thanks for your kind and balmy letter of the 21st of January, and many reproaches for your curtailed docked cropped *Chit* of the 26th April.

Now for his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General—pray do not forget the Captain, although I hope he will not prove to be, what Burke always called the great Mr. Hastings, Captain-General of Iniquity ! As you say nothing of yourself or yours, I must talk of my dear self.

I am still much out of humour, but very proud and public spirited ; so I mean to remain here, until I have accomplished my ethereal visions, as you call them. I have been very well since Henry's arrival residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot, which, in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-Chief. For the last ten days, however, I have been a little feverish, bily, and boily ; but, upon the whole, pretty stout.

You must hear the story of my proceeding with my masters. I reserved a large part of the prize, taken at Seringapatam (namely, the ordnance and stores,) for the King's disposal, with a view of serving the general rights of the Crown, and of showing to my beloved and immortal army, that even *they* had no *right* to prizes, without the authority of the Supreme power. Massa proposed to grant me a plumb (£100,000) *out of this reserved prize*—thus deducting a large sum from what the King might grant to Massa, and what Massa ought to re-grant to the army—for the profit of his Excellency "No, Massa," says his Excellency, "you shall not rob Peter to pay Paul ; and I will not take one farthing from you at the expense of the army." "Slave," says Massa, "how dare you look a gift horse in the mouth ?" "Massa," says his Excellency, "I am a public slave, as well as your slave, and I will not be gifted with dishonour." "Well, then," says Massa, after a long pause of many months ; "Here, take one-third of what I would have given you, if you would have joined me in robbing my own army. Since you will not be an accomplice in robbery, let honour be your reward. And bark ye ! remember that I am too kind to you, in not punishing your pride

by withholding all reward for the conquest of a whole empire, because you presumed to reject my offer of going snacks with me in the plunder of my rascally soldiers." "Well, Massa," says his Excellency, "I submit. As there is *now* no dishonour in your gift, I accept it thankfully." "Slave!" says "Massa," I mean *now* to grant all the reserved prize to the army: and the plumb, intended for you, shall be established as a fund for Military widows and orphans." "Bravo, Massa! that is noble; that is munificence, and justice, and dignity, and charity, and true glory; but—if I had taken your plumb, where would the widow and orphan have sheltered their heads?" And so Massa and his Excellency have come to a good and honourable agreement, by which his Excellency is supposed to have lost about five thousand pounds per annum, and to have gained about a puff and a half of pure air from the trumpet of fame.

I suppose you heard of my treaty with a certain potentate called the Nizam, a twaddler of order high; that was one of my visions realized—others are coming. We are all on the point of moving up the river, in grand state, to visit the Upper Provinces, where I hope to realize other of my fantasies.

The high twaddler injures me in saying, that I consult no body. I notoriously consult every body of any knowledge; but I hope that I am not governed by any other opinion than my own deliberate judgment, after full reflection and consideration of all other sentiments, and even of the nonsense of many blockheads; for chips may be taken even from the block.

Adieu, dear Lady Anne! I have solaced myself by writing much stuff to you; I expect to be repaid with compound Indian interest.

I am very happy with General Lake, who is an excellent assistant to me in all affairs, and a most pleasant man.

Again your's most affectionately,
WELLESLEY.

We cannot say much for the ingeniousness of the above account of the Court of Directors' conduct with respect to the prize-money captured at Seringapatam. The Court of Directors granted an annuity to Lord Wellesley of £5,000 for twenty years. One would hardly gather this from the above letter. The annuity was voted in January 1801; and the date of the epistle to Lady Anne Barnard is June 27th of the same year; so that we can scarcely suppose him to have been in ignorance of the fact. Lord Wellesley's biographer, Mr. Pearce—no great authority it is true, on this or any other subject, but a devoted admirer of his Lordship, and no flatterer of the Court—says that "the Court of Directors, *in the handsomest manner*, voted an annuity of £5,000 to Marquess Wellesley." We may have something perhaps, on a future occasion, to say about the habitual hauteur and insolence of the Marquis's bearing towards the Court of Directors. It is not a subject to be entered upon at the end of such an article as this.

Lady Anne Barnard remained at the Cape until the peace of Amiens, when the colony was given back to the Dutch. During her residence there she made a short journey into the interior,

the incidents of which she has chronicled in a journal, here published, with remakable vivacity and humour; we have seldom read anything of the kind, that has pleased us better.

With an "Adventure in China," by the Hon'ble Hugh Lindsay, a Captain in the Company's Mercantile Marine, and for many years a Member of the Court of Directors, the last volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays* is concluded.

This anecdote derives additional interest from the present state of our relations with Canton, and is related with much liveliness and spirit. Mr. Hugh Lindsay was Commodore of a large and valuable fleet belonging to the East India Company, to which the Viceroy, in consequence of the misrepresentations of the Hong merchants, refused a port clearance. Mr. Lindsay therefore, without acquainting any one with his intentions, determined to force an entrance into the city of Canton, to obtain access to the Viceroy's palace, and to lay the true state of the case before him in a personal interview. The result we shall present to our readers in his own words:—

About eight o'clock in the morning there are few Chinese in the streets:—we therefore had no difficulty in proceeding to the great gate, and, as I expected, found the guard (one soldier excepted) in the guard-house at breakfast. The soldier, on my passing, attempted to stop me; but, on my giving him a push forward, he ran on before me; our party then immediately got through the gate, and beyond the guard-house, before the guard could get out to stop us:—in consequence of the narrowness of the street, our files of three filling it completely, they could not pass us, their efforts to do so only pushing us on the faster. On, therefore, we went—no one before us attempting to impede our progress.

In a short time I discovered the soldier, who was at the gate, a little way in advance, watching our proceedings; it then occurred to me that, as he could not pass us to return to the guard, he would go on to the Hoppo's palace to give information there of our entry into the city. I therefore resolved to keep him in view, if possible; but the moment we came near him, he set off at full speed, and, in spite of the efforts we could make, we soon lost sight of him.

We had now proceeded about half a mile in a long narrow street, the end of which (I was much annoyed at finding) branched into two others rather wider, one turning short to the left, the other inclining to the right; here I called a halt, as it was evident, if we took the wrong direction, all chance of success was at an end. I therefore called to my aid the petition addressed (as I before mentioned) "To the Hoppo," in large characters; and seeing at a shop-door a good-humoured-looking fellow, staring at the unusual appearance of such a number of strangers in the city, I ran up to him, and shewed him the back of the petition, which he instantly read, laughed heartily, and pointed out the right road.

We proceeded on as fast as we could go, and, after advancing a short distance, we again got sight of the soldier, whom we discovered, with several others, in the act of shutting two very large folding gates, which appeared to be the entrance to a spacious outer court, in which was visible the front of one of the most magnificent buildings I had ever seen. This

was a very critical moment, for I instantly imagined it must be the Hoppo's palace, and, if the gates were once closed against us, all our labour was lost. I therefore loudly called out, "Hurrah to the gate!" We in a body sprung forward, and luckily reached it at the instant the gates were shut, but before they had time to get them bolted; with one consent we put our shoulders to them, and the gates flew open before us, throwing all those inside to the right and left. Our whole body immediately rushed in; and it was our turn then to assist the soldiers in shutting and bolting the gates to keep out a mob of Chinese, who had gathered in the city, and followed in our rear.

Now we had time to breathe, look about us, and consider where we were. Nothing could be more splendid than the building which stood in front of us; it was covered with Chinese characters in gold, beautifully ornamented with carved work in the Chinese style, and painted in the most brilliant and gaudy colours.

Mr. Perry at once assured me we must have reached the Viceroy's palace, as he discovered the particular banner which was carried before the Hoppo when he visited the Company's factory. The guard, whom we seemed to have caught *en deshabille*, had retired, and shortly after made their appearance in magnificent uniforms, and drew up in a body opposite to us.

The palace-gate now opened, and a Mandarin slowly advanced towards me; he addressed me in Chinese, to which I could only reply, by shaking my head, and shewing him my petition. He put out his hand to receive it, but I drew back mine, and made a sign I wanted to go into the palace to deliver it. He shook his head, and seemed decidedly averse to such a proceeding.

We were soon relieved from this embarrassment by the arrival of the two senior security merchants, Mowqua and Howqua, the first a fine old man of upwards of eighty years of age; and it was supposed that to those two we principally owed our detention:—the rest of the Hong came soon after.

Mowqua was in great agitation when he arrived, and addressed me in his usual Chinese English, "Ah! Mister Commodore, what for you come here? you wanty security merchants have cutty head? Hoppo truly too much angry English come him house,—he will cutty my poor old head." My reply was, "Mowqua! it is your own fault; why did you not present the Typan's (chief supercargo's) petition to the Hoppo? Had you done so, I should not have come here." "Good Mister Commodore, me takey petition, and truly will get answer directly." "No, no, Mowqua! I will give it into the Hoppo's own hand myself:—on which all the security merchants set up a cry, as if I had uttered some treason against the Celestial Empire. "What you come here? you wanty see Hoppo? That you no can do—Hoppo send you prison, as soon as he know you come him house—we takey petition before he know you come city—get out fast you can; truly he too much angry, he know you here."

There now appeared a Mandarin of high rank, to whom the merchants paid great respect; he came up to Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself, who were standing with the two senior security merchants in front of our party; he, with civility, enquired what we wanted? and was instantly replied to by Mowqua; but I was determined to be my own interpreter. I therefore held up the petition for him to read the address, and made signs as before that I wanted to go into the palace to present it. This compelled Mowqua to come to an explanation with the Mandarin, who left us, as I supposed, to

inform the Hoppo of our being there; he soon, however, returned, and held another consultation with the Hong merchants, who again informed me that I could not possibly see the Viceroy, and that I must entrust the petition to their care.

On this I thought it right to consult with Mr. Perry, Captain Craig, and some of the senior commanders, whether they advised my yielding the point, and giving up the petition. I however gave it as my own decided opinion, that we should still persevere in demanding an audience, and in this I was supported by all but Mr. Perry, who thought we ought not to persist any longer. I however determined to persist, and informed the Hong merchants that nothing but force should compel us to leave the palace without an interview. I was the more inclined to persevere, from one of the junior merchants having whispered in my ear not to give up my point, —and that he, and several others of the Hong, did not approve of what the seniors had been doing.

After a long pause, Mowqua said to me, if I was resolved to see the Hoppo, I must send away all the commanders and officers except one, and that he and I should then be admitted into the palace. To this I instantly agreed; and it was settled that Mr. Perry, the supercargo, should be the person to remain with me, and that Captain Craig and the rest of the party should retire out of the city, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Perry and myself were now left in the Court of the Hoppo's palace surrounded by a great number of Mandarins, Hong merchants, and soldiers; the Mandarin, who took the lead, then shewed us into a large and splendid hall in the palace, where we were accompanied by the Hong merchants, who appeared extremely disconcerted at our success. It was now near twelve o'clock, and from that time till four every effort, by promises, persuasions, and threats, was made use of by the Hong to prevail on me to give up the desire of seeing the Hoppo, but without effect; I was perfectly decided and firm, although frequently and most anxiously urged by Mr. Perry to yield the point.

Finding that I was not to be moved, Mowqua at last told me I should soon see the Viceroy;—"And now, Mister Commodore, when great man come, you must knocky head." "What is knocky head, Mowqua?" said I. "You must down on knees, and putty head on ground," was the reply. "That's not my country fashion, Mowqua—I don't do so to my King, therefore will not do so to your Hoppo; but I will make him a bow, while you knocky head." With this, after some communication between the Mandarins and the security merchants, they appeared satisfied.

I now found they were in earnest as to my seeing the Hoppo; and there was much bustle in the palace: they were, however, determined I should not imagine that I had forced an interview, as I was given to understand that the Viceroy was going out to pay his colleague, the Fyane, a visit, and that I should see him as he went out.

At this time there were in the great hall thirty or forty Mandarins of various ranks, all the security merchants, Mr. Perry, and myself, with many other persons belonging to the palace—in all, I should suppose, about a hundred and fifty in number.

The doors were shortly thrown open, and we observed a procession issuing from another large house, and crossing a court to the hall we were in. The guard passed on, and presently there appeared the Hoppo, borne in a most magnificent State chair by sixteen men richly dressed; the chair was very splendid, and the Hoppo one of the finest and noblest-looking Chinese I had ever seen, with a remarkably fine black beard. The moment he entered

the hall, every person, except Mr. Perry and myself, threw themselves down as if they had been shot through the head, touched the ground with their forehead, and were up again in a moment—even my old friend Mowqua, though so advanced in years, was down and up again as nimbly as a boy : on my remarking this to him, after the interview was over, his reply was, "Mister Commodore, I very much long time do that custom."

As the Hoppo approached to Mr. Perry and me, we made him a low bow. I then advanced, with my petition in my hand to his chair, when he desired his bearers to stop, and, having called Mowqua, he enquired by him of me what I wanted ? I said I had a petition, which I was desirous of having the honour to deliver into his own hand. He asked if it was written in Chinese. I replied it was. He then put out his hand and took it from me, saying he was going to visit the Fyane, and that I should have an immediate answer. He gave orders that we should have refreshments, and be conveyed back to the Company's factory in chairs belonging to the palace—made us a *chin-chin* (a complimentary mode of saluting), which was considered by the Chinese present as a mark of great favour towards us—and then passed on out of the palace.

As soon as the Hoppo was gone, we were taken by the Mandarins into another apartment, where several tables were laid, covered with fruit and sweetmeats. I was placed at one table with two Mandarins and Mowqua, Mr. Perry and Howqua at another, with two other Mandarins ; the rest of the security merchants and Mandarins were placed at tables of four, agreeably to the Chinese custom. A handsome dinner was served, with great abundance of hot wine, the produce of China, and, after passing a very pleasant hour, we were put into the State chairs, and carried through the city back to the Company's factory—to the astonishment of all the Chinese, and to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Brown, who had been under much uneasiness on our account.

Next day there was a heavy fine levied on the security merchants—the port-clearance was issued—the fleet despatched—and here ends my story."

Mr. Hugh Lindsay "whose epitaph," writes Lord Lindsay, "may be left to the testimony of the hundreds to whom, as Director and Chairman of the East India Company, and as man to man, he proved himself a father and a friend, and whose heart was, in fact, the seat of every kindly quality, that can grace humanity," died in April 1844, in his eightieth year. With this announcement may be closed our notice of the agreeable and accomplished family of the "Lindsays in India." We are mistaken, if the extracts we have given do not induce many of our readers to make acquaintance for themselves with the pleasant volumes from which they are taken. We have necessarily conveyed but a faint impression of the contents of the *Lives of the Lindsays*. We have only followed the family eastward of the Cape. There are many, who will delight to hold communication with them in the bracing air of their native North.

CENTRAL INDIA UNDER BRITISH SUPREMACY.

BY SIR HENRY DURAND, C.B.

1. *Malcolm's (Sir J.) Memoir of Central India, 3rd Edition.* 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1823.
2. *The Bengal Hurkaru, The Englishman, The Friend of India, &c.*

THREE and thirty years ago, the few British statesmen, who in those days paid any attention to the affairs of India, or were interested in its welfare, knew that the time had arrived, when a great effort on the part of the British power was inevitable. They were aware that that power—from its character and constitution, the friend of order and of security of person and property—was necessarily in permanent antagonism to the chaotic misrule and license, which were devastating not only Central India, but also all the adjacent territories. Our statesmen felt, therefore, that the decisive struggle between the Anglo-Indian armies and their numerous but ill-organized opponents, could not be longer deferred. The conflict was for the ascendancy of good or evil. Never, in the course of our rapid rise to supremacy in India, has the sword been drawn more justly, or with more humane motives, than by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817; and seldom did God grant a good cause more entire success.

In these times, it is not easy to realize, in idea, the state into which the ceaseless strife and turmoil (internal and external) of the Mahratta Governments, and of the Rajput principalities, abetted by the common foe of all, the Pindarris, had plunged the wretched people of Central India. One-and-thirty years of comparative calm have not yet effaced from the minds of chiefs and people those days of affliction: and, well as Malcolm and others of our Indian historians have sketched the miserable condition of society during the "times of trouble," as they are still emphatically designated, they have barely succeeded in giving more than a faint outline of the reality. Talk to the elders, whether of chiefs or people—to those whose years admit of their instituting a comparison between the scenes in which youth was passed, and the repose in which old age is closing—and the vividness of human speech and feeling brings home to the heart the misery, in which the largest and worthiest classes of the population were, to all appearance, irretrievably immersed. An Englishman can with difficulty pourtray to himself so woeful a state of society. The scenes, with which revolutionary war has made them acquainted, might enable a Croat or Hungarian to do so: but, on the continent of Europe, license and oppression, under the mask of

liberty, are of a less chronic character ; and civil war with Christian lands for its theatre, falls short of the horrors of a Pindarri incursion ; even Red Republicans are scarce so basely and systematically cruel.

Our purpose is not here to follow the events by which Providence gave peace to these long distracted countries. We shall not trace the assembly of the British armies ; their simultaneous advance from the Nerbuddah and the Jumna ; the ancillary political negotiations ; the conduct of doubtful allies ; the treachery of compulsory ones ; the sweep over Malwa by Malcolm, Adams, Marshall, scattering before them the Pindarri hordes ; the battle of Mahedpur ; the entire dispersion of the Pindarris, and the capture, surrender, or destruction of their leaders. Our business is rather to avoid achievements so well known and so well told, and to content ourselves with the endeavour to lay before the reader a general view of the system, which took the place of the anarchy, to which we have alluded.

From the period that the Mahrattas gained the ascendant in Central India, and the Mogul Empire ceased to be otherwise than nominally supreme, the once controlling power of the latter was succeeded by no correspondent authority. True it is that the influence of the Mogul Emperors over the more distant portions of their dominions was uncertain, and oscillated with the personal character and renown of the individual on the throne—begin shadowy or real, in proportion to his wisdom and strength ; but even in the weakest hands, the Emperor's authority had a form and substance, which were wanting to that of the Paishwa. The control of the latter over the Mahratta states, which had loosely aggregated, rather than formed themselves, from the debris of the empire, was, when compared with the influence of the Mogul Emperors over their territorial subordinates, a mere mockery of supremacy. The Mahratta rule and institutions, with their peculiar basis of Hindu thought and feeling, lacked the principle of concentration. Even in the event of the Mahratta powers not having been so circumstanced, as to be early brought into conflict on various points with growing and vigorous Anglo-Indian Governments, it may be doubted whether the Paishwa, or any other Mahratta Prince, such as Holkar or Scindia, would ever have succeeded in establishing a virtual supremacy over the countries under the sway of the various Mahratta Rulers. The battle of Paniput tested the pith and quality of a Mahratta confederation.

Satisfactorily to assign a reason for these centrifugal tendencies is difficult. Enlisting, as they necessarily must have done, the sympathies of the Rajput Princes and of the great mass of

the Hindoo population, both of whom they freed from a yoke galling and obnoxious, the Mahrattas had much to favour the consolidation of their acquisitions and conquests into an empire of some solidity of fabric. A very loose confederacy was, however, the utmost to which it attained. The fact is a remarkable one. We may observe, however, that among the very numerous sects classed under the generic name Hindu, though there exist points of strong sympathy, these are not sufficient to counteract the isolating and repellent properties of Hinduism as a system ; for its whole tendency is to split its votaries into a multiplicity of petty communities, having with each other nothing but distant and constrained social intercourse and relations. The bars to intimacy are insuperable ; and encroachments on the petty demarcations, not only of caste, but of sects of castes, are jealously watched. Minds, trained from infancy in such a school, are imbued with the contractile spirit of pertinacious sectarianism ; and, though they may be greedy of power and wealth, and extremely patient and subtle in their pursuit, yet they enter upon such a career, incapacitated for the entertainment of those comprehensive views, which enable ambition to establish empire. The case is different with the Mussulman. His creed, in these respects, is in marked contrast to that of the Hindu, and has a direct tendency to mould the mind to the idea of concentration of power. The Deism of the one is not more opposed to the Polytheism of the other, than are the several tendencies of these two great classes of India to monarchy and polycracy.

Though no ocean divided them from their mother-country, the Mahratta colonies—for such they may be styled—owed but a nominal allegiance to the Paishwa. His supremacy was a phantom, if not a nullity. After the battle of Mahedpur, not only the Paishwa's, but the real influence of the Mahratta States of Holkar and Scindia, were dissolved and replaced by British supremacy. The latter came to a chaotic inheritance ; and, in order to judge how the restorers of order performed their high duty, it must be shown, however faultily and inadequately, what the establishment of our authority involved. Within the limits at our disposal, we cannot attempt to review in detail the conduct and labours of the various subordinate agents of the Anglo-Indian Government. Nor is this necessary in order to obtain a general idea of that which had to be accomplished. If we confine ourselves to a general summary of the duties entrusted to the ministerial representatives of British power, and to the circumstances under which they have been placed and

acted, the patience of the reader will be spared—at the same time that he obtains a sufficient insight into the system which succeeded to that of the Mahratta ascendancy.

Most men in India have read Sir J. Malcolm's instructions to the assistants and officers acting under his orders : and, whilst from these the spirit in which the British agents entered upon the exercise of power, may be gleaned, a reference to Malcolm's appendix to his valuable work on Central India will make the reader acquainted with the number of States, petty Chiefs, Grassiahs, Bhils, and Pindarris, whose affairs had to be adjusted by the intervention of functionaries, who earnestly and ably applied themselves to the work, in the spirit of conciliation, which pervaded their chief's orders.

None of these States or chiefships were otherwise than dependent on the paramount authority ; and it must be borne in mind, that this dependence was, notwithstanding that some had entered into treaties with the British Government, often most indefinite ; that their relations with each other were frequently peculiar, and, in cases of tribute, often delicate and complicated ; that, however small the state or principality, extreme jealousy of encroachment on their territory, or of neglect of their dignity, was a common characteristic ; that, in consequence of the distracted condition of the country and the repeated changes and revolutions which every State, small or great, had undergone, the boundaries of all were unsettled ; that, as a general rule, the power to assert and keep had been the definer of each State's boundary ; that the latter had therefore expanded or contracted, according as accidental circumstances favoured, or were adverse to a Chief's pretensions ; that, besides the *number* of different petty States and Chiefs with ill-defined possessions, both Holkar's and Scindia's territories were strangely intermixed with them ; that Scindia had outlying districts, isolated from his main possessions, and cast, as provocatives of discord and misrule, in the midst of the domains of other States ; and finally, that none of these States or Principalities, had anything deserving the name of a systematic internal administration. The necessities of the Rulers drove them to extort as much as possible from the people ; the Revenue Department, therefore, was an object of much and constant solicitude ; but justice, civil or criminal, was rather regarded as a subordinate branch of their fiscal system, than as an important department of good government. Coin was struck everywhere. Transit duties were levied in each State, small or great, and with no fixed rule but that of the will of the Chief, and the moderation of his unchecked

tax-gatherers, usually the farmers of the revenue. The people, exposed to violence from their neighbours and to frequent robbery, and unable to secure redress, had recourse to retaliation ; and thus habits of plunder, particularly of cattle-stealing, became very general amongst the village communities. The custom of reprisals soon passes into confirmed predatory habits, and rapidly demoralizes a people. To crown the whole, many Chiefs and Thakurs did not scruple to share in the proceeds of the plundering expeditions of their subjects—thus encouraging their adventures as profitable sources of income.

Little reflection is necessary in order to imagine that, when, under such circumstances, a paramount power of overwhelming strength suddenly appeared upon the scene and scattered its agents—men of undoubted integrity—over the face of the country to watch events and maintain tranquillity, these representatives of a power (resolved to have, and able to enforce order) became the foci of reference on a host of subjects from a multiplicity of different quarters and people. They found themselves forced to take up questions of every class and character : and it would be hard to say, whether the military, political, financial, or judicial prevailed. The importance of the matters which came before them, of course, varied ; but it would be a misnomer to apply the term “international cases” to the greater part of the requests for the intervention of the British officers. Private international cases, though circumlocutory, would be a more appropriate designation : they seldom have risen to the dignity of national negotiations or controversies, but have turned in general upon private interests and common business. If, in the United States, where municipal administration is well understood, and the common law of England forms the basis of the *lex loci*, it has been found that very complicated private relations and rights arise between the citizens of some six or seven-and-twenty independent States, and that there is a necessity for the constant administration of extra municipal principles (as one of their juris-consults terms them), how much more ought this to prove the case in a country like Central India ? Any common law is unknown : the country is studded with petty but independent States and principalities, acknowledging as their heads, here a Mahratta, there a Rajput, further on a Mussulman ; each has its own local laws and customs, and often its distinct religion ; and there is not even a common basis, such as affords some bond to the United States of America. Should it be asked, What was the code furnished to the British agents for their guidance under these circumstances of incontrovertible difficulty ? the reply is simple—None whatever. But as men

in their positions must, it will be rejoined, be guided by some rules or other, what was it that regulated their proceedings, and the exercise of their authority, amid this conflict of laws and customs? We cannot claim for them, as a body, any great knowledge of jurisprudence. By far the greater number had wielded the sword before they became administrators: and they pretended to no acquaintance with Huberus, Boullenois, or Vattel. At present there is not perhaps a man among them who has heard of Burgi or Story. Nevertheless, acting upon an axiom, which is the fundamental one of all justice—"Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you"—they proved good practical administrators, and were kept pretty right in the discharge of their mixed political, judicial, and administrative functions, by the golden rule which they owed to their Christian education. They were led by it to a practical sense of what public interest and utility required, and of the inconveniences, which cannot fail to arise from any neglect of this moral foundation of justice. They felt, and felt rightly, that the paramount power had neither the right nor the wish, in maintaining the public peace, to enforce laws, customs, or institutions, subversive of the social polity and morals of the different races under its sway. Very few fixed and certain principles were ever enunciated by the Government to its agents; and it was not till late, that the Court of Directors hazarded a few brief rules for the guidance of their political officers. It may be said that the vast mass of private international cases, disposed of before the tribunals of our Residents and Agents, have been decided by their sense of what was just and equitable, rather than by any fixed principles. Both the Home and the Indian Governments shrunk from the delicate duty of legislating on such matters. For the former there was an excuse; "*Trois degrés d'elevation du pôle renversent toute la jurisprudence; un méridien décide de la vérité.*" The Supreme Government, however, seemed not a whit more ready to face the difficulty, and preferred building on the good sense, right feeling, and sound integrity of its servants, rather than on its own wisdom and the sufficiency of legislative enactments. Responsibility was thus kept with its full weight on the shoulders of the agents of the paramount authority. They could appeal to no code, to no rules, and must always be prepared to show that their acts and decisions were in conformity to the most comprehensive views of equity.

Nothing is further from our intention than to give an exaggerated notion of the ability and judgment of the various principals and subordinates, who have taken part in the administration of the affairs of Central India. Men of every shade

of opinion, acquirements and character, have figured on that (of late but little observed) scene. Of these, few have proved deficient either in ability or in character ; whilst some have been much distinguished, both for their attainments, and by their zealous exertions and exemplary discharge of duty. The attempt to compare or analyse the labours of so many valuable officers would be invidious ; but we may safely assert that, as a body, their conduct has been such as to create confidence in the ability and impartiality of our countrymen ; while, as to themselves, the result has been, that they have found themselves forced to discountenance reference to their tribunals, rather than to grasp at authority ; and, in spite of this, they have often found themselves with more work on their hands than could well be done by them. Instead, therefore, of seeking to extend their jurisdiction, and to arrogate to themselves undue power and interference, their endeavours, with few exceptions, have systematically been turned to strengthening the hands of the petty rulers with whom they were brought into connection.

Under this system, person and property have attained a considerable degree of security, and the predatory habits of the people have undergone a marked improvement during the thirty years of its continuance. "We are now in the English times," has become a proverbial mode of concisely signifying that the spokesman has no intention of submitting as helplessly and hopelessly to oppression, as he might have done in the "times of trouble."

Let us not, however, be mistaken. We have no wish to give the English times a particle more of credit than may be their due, or to ascribe to the system and its agents a degree of success to which they, themselves, have never pretended to attain. Our readers must not suppose halcyon days for Central India. They must not imagine that person and property are as secure, and the countries, which it comprises, as free from marauders, as is the case in England. They will misunderstand us completely, if they arrive at any such conclusion. Neither the spirit, nor the practice, of marauding are forgotten, or out of vogue. Whenever favourable opportunities present themselves, events still occur, which teach how difficult it is permanently to subdue the predatory habits of a people, or of tribes. The seeds of evil may lie buried a while ; but they spring into life and organized activity with wonderful alacrity, when circumstances suit. The causes of this are various ; and it will be well to note a few of the chief.

Our power, when it has to cope with an object of sufficient magnitude, is capable of great efforts, and treads down opposi-

tion, or crushes evil, as in the case of the Pindarris, with irresistible force. But—the effort over, and the strength of first impressions gone—the knowledge gained of the cost and difficulty of putting our masses into motion soon restores confidence to the freebooter, who seldom has any apprehension from the march of a single detachment,—escape from such being a matter of extreme facility. Intermixed territories, under the rule of weak, and sometimes distant Chiefs, as in the case of Holkar and Scindia ; a very imperfect police ; a pervading fear of the resentment of the marauders ; a consequent anxiety among the people to secure, to themselves and their property, impunity from vindictive violence, by silence and secrecy as to the movements of predatory bands, and by compliance with their requisitions for food and shelter ; the apathy, fear, and (worse still) the corruption of the amils and subordinate servants of petty States ; the difficult nature of the jungles and wild country, which are usually the haunts and power of the marauders ; want of information, as to their times and places of assembly, plans, and movements ; if by accident any should be caught and delivered into the hands of a Chief for punishment, the misjudged leniency exhibited ; the fact that occasionally a respectable man is driven to revolt and plunder by the oppression and spoliation of men in authority ; the pretext, which such instances afford, for those who choose, by plunder and violence, to seek to enforce compliance with unreasonable demands and pretensions ; the favour with which such men are invariably regarded by village landholders and authorities, who are always prone to think that the case may, any day, be their own ; the eagerness with which systematic plunderers range themselves under such leaders, in order to indulge marauding habits under the sanction of a cause, which unfortunately bears with it the sympathies of the people ; the number of adventurers, either seeking for, or discharged from, the service of petty Rulers—a class of men hanging loose on society, and possessed of no means of livelihood except their weapons ; intermixture of jurisdictions and territories, each jealous of trespass, even in pursuit of the greatest of criminals ;—all these, and a variety of minor circumstances, which reflection cannot fail to derive from those specified, have favoured, and still do favour, the unextinguished spirit of marauding, which have few better fields than Central India.

In 1837 the Supreme Government was fully alive to the real state of affairs in Malwa and the neighbouring countries : and much consideration was bestowed upon various plans for more effectually subduing these evils. Lord W. Bentinck had seen

the futility of the principle of holding petty and weak chiefs responsible for the acts committed in their territories. Theoretically the principle could not be departed from, but much combined to render its practical application often impossible, and often inequitable. He had shrewdly enough seen the inefficiency of reclamations by Political Agents, through durbars and their vakils—that nerve, energy and action were paralyzed by such a system—and that, with the view of our influence being efficacious, it must not be diluted by passage through such a chain of references, but that control must be brought more directly and immediately to bear.

The first project entertained and discussed, was to entrust the general charge and direction of measures against marauding bands to one military officer, the Political Agent at Mahedpur; placing under his command all the military means of the country, whether contingents trained and commanded by European officers, or undisciplined troops, horse and foot, in the service of the various States. This proposition, however, met no support from the Residents and Political Agents consulted, and was rejected—mainly on the ground, that the country was too extensive to be effectually controlled by being placed under the supervision of one military officer.

The second project was, concentration of authority in the hands of a Resident, or Agent for the Governor-General, who was to reside at some central point between Indore and Gwalior, and who was to have the general political superintendence of Malwa, and of all the States and Dependencies then under the separate Residents of Indore and Gwalior. The plan was analogous to the one originally recommended by Malcolm; except that the latter wished to create a Government out of this charge, whereas, with Lord W. Bentinck, it found favour because it would have enabled him to abolish a Residency. He accordingly consulted Speirs, Sutherland, and Wilkinson respecting its merits: but the plan was less agreeable to these officers than to the Governor-General. They had differing views and opinions: and finally the idea was relinquished from the opposition of Scindia's Durbar—the Maharaja being averse to a measure calculated, in his opinion, to lower the dignity and weaken the authority of his Government. Under these circumstances, recourse was had to a circumscribed and modified form of the first proposition. A detachment of Scindia's contingent was moved to the Sathmahilla; one, from the Mahedpur contingent, to the Rampura district of Holkar, and the charge of operations was entrusted to the Political Agent at Mahedpur, Lieutenant-Colonel Borthwick, who effected, temporarily, as

much as could be expected from the means at his command, and the limited nature of his authority.

Nothing, however, of a more permanent or comprehensive character was done : and, with the exception of raising Bhil corps—one for the Vindhya range, and one for the Southern frontier of Oodeypur—and entering upon a discussion of the proposal for establishing, in Malwa and Rajutana, courts similarly constituted to those in Kattywar and Myhi Caunta, the measures adopted were of little importance or effect : and the predatory spirit met with but a partial check, whilst minor kinds of marauding, and particularly cattle-stealing, flourished with as much vigour as ever. Discussion regarding the establishment of principal courts, similar to those instituted in the Myhi Caunta, for the adjudication of international offences in Malwa, did not indeed drop ; but it was continued to small purpose. Mere forms of procedure were not wanted, but modes of rapid organized action. These deliberations on the applicability of Kattywar courts to Malwa served the object, however, of a Government too deeply interested in the current of events on the North-West frontiers of India, to have leisure for such minor considerations as those of the real improvement of the internal administration of Central India. Absorbed by the contemplation of the terrible turn of affairs in that distant scene of disaster, the Governor-General could only have regarded the discussions above adverted to, as the least costly mode, whether in time, means, or thought of evincing solicitude for the heart of an empire shaking in his grasp. He was, besides, apparently unaware that the elements of disorder were fast rekindling. Beyond a few long despatches on the subject of these courts, matters remained exactly as they had always been ; and as the attention of Residents and Political Agents was soon concentrated upon threatened disturbances of a more serious aspect than mere plundering adventurers, they were not in the humour to pay much further heed to disquisitions never very apposite, never based on any clear apprehension or enunciation of principles, and the importance of which, if ever imbued with any, was vanishing before more pressing considerations. As our misfortunes thickened, the activity of latent enemies gained confidence ; and emissaries were everywhere busy disturbing the minds of the people, and exciting the turbulent to take advantage of our humiliation. It was no longer a question of a few predatory bands, but of watching over and maintaining the supremacy of the British name and power. From the Kistna to the Jumna matters were ripe for confusion. A spark might have kindled a serious conflagration. Indeed, at

one time it had nearly done so ; but a bold deed or two of timely stroke checked the growing spirit of disaffection, and kept things quiet in Central India, until our armies and authority had recovered their wonted ascendancy.

From that time up to the present moment, war—or the consequences of war—embarrassed finances, have so occupied our Rulers, that, provided the agents of Government (employed elsewhere than on the actual scene of operations) could manage to rub on, keeping matters as they found them, and could avoid drawing too largely on the time and attention of the Government, the policy of successive Governors-General was satisfied. Under the pressure of such a state of affairs, Central India was not likely to be the subject of excessive care or cost : and the Residents and Political Agents have remained, except as to emoluments, much what they have always been, since the time of Malcolm and Wellesley (of Indore), and quite as unshackled in influence and authority.

Some modifications have taken place within the last few years ; but they are not such as have been productive of improvement. Whatever the necessity of humiliating the Court of Scindia after the battle of Maharajpur, it may be doubted whether the substitution of an assistant, in charge of the affairs of Scindia's Government in lieu of a Resident, was the most judicious method of marking the displeasure of the paramount power. The measure weakened our direct control over the Durbar, at the very moment that every thing should have been done to strengthen our influence. It was not that the change in the official designation of the Resident Agent mattered in the smallest degree : provided that officer had been kept in direct communication with the Supreme Government, the latter might have styled him what they pleased, and his real influence would have been as great as was desirable ; but reference to a distant superior, laden with the charge of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, placed the officer at Gwalior in a secondary, and ill-defined, and a most anomalous position. We advert to this fact, in order that our remarks upon the detrimental effects of the measure in question may not be supposed to imply any animadversion upon the distinguished officer, to whom this delicate, but unsatisfactory, charge was entrusted. No one could probably, in that position, have effected more ; and when we state, that little has been done towards the introduction of an improved system of internal administration throughout Scindia's long straggling country, and that little has been accomplished towards the eradication of predatory habits and the security of person and property throughout that extensive line of territory, we reflect on the

measure, and not on the man. The resulting evils would have been greater, had it not been for the minority of the Maharajah ; the party of the Bhair, who had adopted the young prince, was always in conflict with the Regency and its President. As the Regency was by treaty under the control of the British agent, the President naturally leaned for advice and strength where both were to be had ; and thus the resident officer, though only a subordinate, enjoyed greater influence than would otherwise have been the case. But, though the peculiar circumstances and constitution of Scindia's Government thus happened to be favourable to the weight of the local subordinate, they by no means counterbalanced the disadvantages inherent in, and inseparable from, his position.

One of the best men and best writers of the age, speaking of the spheres of action of Gospel ministers, says—"Where influence is diffused beyond a certain limit, it becomes attenuated in proportion to its diffusion : it operates with an energy less intense :"—the remark is as applicable to political, as to clerical charges, and the Anglo-Indian Government would do well to bear it in mind. There is a tendency to confound two very distinct things—concentration of authority, and efficacy of beneficent sagacious influence. Government seems apt to consider these as exchangeable terms. This is a mistake. There is a certain sphere, within which personal agency can operate with advantage, and occupy the space with a suitable, pervading energy ; beyond this sphere, it ceases to act with regularity, and only makes itself felt by occasional impulses—and these, not always either well-timed, or free from detrimental accompaniments. Concentration of authority is then synonymous with dilution of influence. Accordingly, during a minority, when every circumstance was favourable for the fullest impression and effect of our influence upon the councils and administration of Scindia's Government, what are the fruits ? what has been accomplished ? Is the youthful prince well educated, and fitted by habits of attention to business and acquaintance with the actual condition and policy of his State, for the exercise of authority ? Is the system, so much reprobated by Sleeman and others, of farming districts on very short leases to revenue contractors, reformed ? Is the Sathmahilla free from bands of predatory Soonds, and are districts, much nearer to the capital than the one named, unaccustomed to witness scenes of plunder and violence ? Do neighbouring States enjoy paradisaical repose from the incursions of such marauders ? Are the grinding vexatious transit and other taxes, in which Mahratta intellect has shown so much pernicious ingenuity, annulled or modified ? Are the municipal cesses and dues

levied in their larger towns improved, and have the latter, such as Burhanpur, for instance, increased in size or population? Has the trade, the wealth, the prosperity of Scindia's country advanced, and are the agricultural classes more numerous, intelligent, and contented than they were thirty years ago? If, with a few exceptions, a negative must be given to these queries, what does our Government anticipate, when the Minority and the Regency terminate?

Whilst the state of affairs at Scindia's Court has been most favourable for the exercise of British influence, the existence, contemporaneously, of a Minority and Regency at Holkar's Court offered to the Indian Government precisely similar advantages, and a combination of circumstances under which much ought to have been done for Central India. Who can say how much might have been effected could an able Governor-General—impressing upon those regencies through the agency of the Residents, unity of action and congruity of purpose—have given his attention to comprehensive measures for the welfare of the two countries, and moulded the two Durbars into a practical co-operation for the common improvement of the territories under Mahratta rule? Virtually wielding the power of Holkar's and Scindia's Governments, such an organized system might, by this time, have been in full operation, that when the minors severally came of age, they could not well have broken loose from the established order and relations which it would have continued to be the duty of the Residents to watch, and by their advice and influence, to perfect and secure. As the Muhammadan State of Bhopal (Muhammadan only in its rulers) was similarly circumstanced with Holkar's and Scindia's, having a minor at its head, there is no exaggeration in saying that the whole of Central India was under the direct control of the paramount power. We must deplore the want of thought, or the too absorbing interest of events on the North-West frontier, which rendered our rulers negligent of such propitious contingencies.

Young Holkar has had justice done him. The Resident at Indore speaks and acts with no reflex authority: and as the adoptive mother of the young Chief was sensible, and exercised such influence as she possessed discreetly, the training and education of the youth have been in conformity to the plans and wishes of the Resident, and the late Bhai Sahiba. Young persons of his own age, and destined to be members of his Durbar, were associated with the Chief: and thus, in the course of his education, his abilities were afforded the benefit of a wholesome, though probably subdued, competition. The result

has been excellent. His own language—Maharatta—he is master of; he can read and understand English; is ready at arithmetic, and has more than an average knowledge of geography, besides much general information, and a desire for its acquisition. So far, therefore, as the welfare of Holkar's country may be considered to depend on the general intelligence of its ruler, its prospects are fair; and both young Holkar and the British Government are indebted for this pleasing circumstance to the exertions of Mr. Hamilton the Resident.

The charge of the Resident at Indore is considerable; under his own superintendence are the States of Holkar, Dhar, and Dewass. A Political Agent at Mahedpur has Rutlam, Jelana, Sitamow, Jhabua, and Jhowra under his supervision. Another at Sehore has Bhopal, Kurwai, Nursinghur, Rajghur, and Kilchipur. A third officer has Amjhera, Burwai, and Ali Mohun. Besides these functionaries, who are under the general control of the Resident, must be added much miscellaneous business connected with the administration of the southern districts and the outlying fragments of Scindia's territory, so inconveniently interspersed with the possessions of other principalities. He has charge also of the Opium Agency: and though this, and the Thuggi Department are, in a great measure, devolved upon his assistants, the amount both of work and responsibility is heavy. During a minority, the weight of these is necessarily much increased: for on such an occasion, whatever the form of administration—whether the functions of Government be carried on by a Council of Regency, or by a Regent—the representative of the Supreme Government is held responsible for the welfare of the State, which, during the minority, is regarded as being specially under the protection and guardianship of the British power. This trust, involving as it does the good faith and character of his Government, invests the Resident with the entire control of the Regent, or Regency. Accordingly, at Indore, every thing done or contemplated must have his approval; and thus, virtually, the administration is in his hands. The Bhai Sahiba, when alive, though cognizant of all that took place, was not authorized to interfere in the conduct of affairs; and the frequent changes of ministers, if they deserve the name, ending in the appointment of the Munshi, against whom, through the press, constant attacks are now made, prove that the Resident in fact exercises the power of appointing what minister or ministers he pleases. Under these circumstances, he is undoubtedly responsible for the administration of Holkar's Government and country: and we might proceed to ask similar questions to those we have put

with respect to the progress of improvement in Scindia's territories. With the exception, however, of young Holkar's comparative proficiency, and a revenue administration not quite so faulty, we fear that the replies would, on the whole, prove unsatisfactory.

Central India is, it must be confessed, very much where Sir J. Malcolm left it. Thirty years have gone over it with but few and partial improvements, and very moderate advance in general prosperity, if any. The Bombay and Agra road can, it is true, be noted ; but in doing so, attention is called to a long line of marked out, unmetalled, and unbridged road, in many parts unpassable during the rainy season. No practicable roads unite the military stations along the Nerbudda, and the lines of communication throughout the country, generally, remain as execrable as ever. Education owes such progress as it has made, chiefly to the exertions of one individual, Mr. Wilkinson. His Sehore school bears a name, which the Indore and Gwalior establishments have not as yet attained. These are the main public educational establishments which have arisen under our influence ; as exponents of the sense entertained by the native chiefs and community of the value of learning, they are, except perhaps Wilkinson's, but sorry institutions. An English reader will probably ask whether European science, languages, and history have been the subject of attention. At these institutions it would not, perhaps, be natural to expect or look for much infusion of the spirit of European knowledge or ethics. A few works may be seen, purporting to be on objects of history or science, and to be either translations or compilations from European works. But watch the course of tuition, and you will soon observe, that these treatises are not in vogue, and that the inanities of Hinduism are the staple—the only pabulum, which the scholars are taught to relish. Of course this remark does not apply to the Mussulman youths, who however stick with equal pertinacity to the ordinary course of Persian classics. As for Hindu Patshalas and Moslem Madrissas, they remain what they were in the days of Akbar—and this, whether they owe their origin to our influence or not.

In Malcolm's time great hopes were entertained of the rapid development of the resources of the countries comprised under his charge. It was believed that one and all of the territorial chiefs would, in the course of a quarter of a century, find their revenues largely augmented, in consequence of the increase of cultivation, commerce and population. The result has not borne out these sanguine expectations. After the dispersion and settlement of

the Pindarris, and the establishment of comparative security of person and property, the various States regained speedily an average state of prosperity, at which they have ever since remained, far more permanently and with much less progress, than might reasonably have been anticipated. Were we to institute a comparison between the gross revenues of the States of Central India in 1825 and in 1850, it would be surprising how small the improvement demonstrable. The production of opium has been fostered by the demand for the drug—the high profits realized, and the portability of the article, encouraging the Malwa cultivators ; but, highly favourable as is their soil and clime to the culture of some of the most valuable of agricultural products, none has met with the like attention and energy as the poppy. Considering that the price of the necessities of life is very moderate, labour cheap, failures of crops and famines almost unknown, land (uncultivated, but cultivable) abundant—the causes which have operated inimically to the increase of population and the extension of agriculture, must be forcible and constant. Some of these are patent and easily stated ; others lie deeper, have moral sources, and are not so easily laid bare. Want of internal communications, and distance from the sea-board ; heavy, vexatious transit duties ; a general rule to take from the cultivator as much as can be taken without driving him from the soil ; the system of farming whole districts on short leases to revenue contractors ; the great positive poverty of the people ; and the fact, that the balance of emigration and immigration is *against* the countries which border provinces under the management and administration of the Indian Government and its officers, have all tended to retard the population and general improvement of Central India. The moral causes are likewise numerous, and to the full, as operative. Since Lord William Bentinck's time, female infanticide cannot be reckoned as one of these ; nor do the checks on marriage, numerous as the considerations of caste and family and expense of ceremony render these, operate very seriously in giving men a Malthusian spirit of anti-connubial caution. But any one who has mixed with the different classes forming the population of Malwa and the neighbouring countries, cannot fail to have observed that large families are rare ; and, that those considered such, would scarcely be so regarded elsewhere. Reasons for this may be found in the dissipated habits of the larger towns, the general use of opium, and of various other deleterious drugs, besides no small consumption of spirits. But if the men can with justice be taxed with

Indulgence in these and similar practices, there is such a general knowledge and practice of methods of procuring abortion, that it would be hard to say which of the two sexes frustrates nature most, or suffers most by the destruction of health and constitution. Whatever the combination of moral and physical causes, certain it is, that there cannot be a greater contrast, than the rapid increase of population during a period of 25 years in the United States, and its lagging pace in the countries of which we are writing.

If it be asked, What then has been the result of our two-and-thirty-years supremacy in Central India? we must, we fear, return a very moderate and probably disappointing reply. There are now comparative security of person and property, a curb on the violence and oppression of princes and chiefs, a curb too on the marauding habits of large classes of the people, and a general impression of the impartiality of the tribunals over which British officers preside. The character of the Agents of the British Government stands high, as unbiassed, incorruptible judicial functionaries, though viewed with suspicion as political ones, from the apprehension that the tendency of our system is gradually to undermine the influence and authority of the chiefs, and, upon any plausible pretext, to absorb all petty States. This feeling is by no means incompatible with their acknowledging, that many of them owe to the Government of India all they possess, and that, but for our intervention, they must have been swallowed up by their potent neighbours and rivals. But they regard this to have been the policy of our rise, and are not at all sure that it may continue the policy of our empire, when freed from all external foes, but embarrassed by the financial difficulties which have accompanied conquest.

Our mission cannot, therefore, be said to have altogether failed; though, if weighed in the balance of our opportunities and circumstances, it must be acknowledged to have very partially fulfilled its high duties.

That our agents have maintained the character and authority of the Government which they represent, and have manfully laboured, though little heeded or encouraged, to do the good which was in their power, reflects credit on themselves, and on the Government which they have served. It is something to have established confidence in our rule, and confidence in the general conduct and integrity of those to whom the exercise of great and undefined powers are entrusted, and who, sensible of the weight and importance of the trust, have there, as elsewhere,

done their duty to their nation and to their Government. The latter has no less a duty to perform to them. Their character and conduct are its own. The least, it owes them, is that neither should be hastily called into question ; and that when this clearly appears to be an imperative duty, no matter whether the officer be a civilian or a military man, publicity of investigation should mark the course pursued, in order that the guilt or the innocence of the functionary be as clear to the public, Native and European, as to the Government ; and that the latter may escape suspicion of bias or partiality.

. We are inclined to the opinion that in the late inquiry, which has formed the subject of much press discussion, the Government rather lost sight of these truisms, and acted neither warily nor wisely. As this has drawn, more than usually, public attention towards Central India, we shall for the satisfaction of our readers offer a few remarks upon the events which gave rise to it ; premising, that we find ourselves in the curious predicament of not being perfectly satisfied with any party—Government, accused, or accuser. The facts appear to be as follows :—

Captain Harris, during the absence on duty of another officer, received temporary charge of the Indore Treasury ; and whilst performing the duties thus entrusted to him, he became cognizant of entries in the accounts, which appeared to him of very doubtful propriety. As the books bearing these entries, whether very lucidly kept or not, had the sanction of his superior, who was responsible for their correctness, we think that Captain Harris's first step should have been to communicate with the Resident upon the subject of the items, which excited doubts, in order to ascertain whether or not a satisfactory explanation could be given. Captain Harris would not have been compromised by such a step : and it was due, and, in our opinion, imperatively due to the rank and position of the Resident. Instead of adopting this course, Captain Harris seems to have drawn up a statement, founded entirely on the entries copied from the account books, and exhibiting an expenditure of upwards of Rs. 60,000 under a variety of headings, some of which, such as "pay of a band Rs. 3,000, ice pits Rs. 9,000," besides sundry others, wore a curious aspect. As the money was chiefly derived from the proceeds of fines of a judicial character, its application to purposes, apparently so immediately connected with the Resident's state and convenience, made the matter look the worse. The statement in question does not seem to have been in the form of regular charges : but, Captain Harris, suspecting misappli-

cation of public money, brought to the notice of the Governor-General the existence of these dubitable entries, leaving it to that high authority to act upon the intelligence, as might seem proper. Here again Captain Harris omitted to furnish the Resident with a copy of the communications, which he had made direct to the Governor-General. The latter, however, apparently entertaining no scruples as to the propriety of Captain Harris's mode of procedure after receiving and perusing his communications, wrote to him the letter which has already appeared in print, and which assured Captain Harris that even if the cases which he had adduced, should eventually receive a satisfactory explanation from the Resident, they did appear to the Governor-General, as they then stood, to be so objectionable and so liable to question, that the Governor-General considered Captain Harris called upon absolutely by his duty, as an officer of the Hon'ble Company, to bring the subject at once under His Lordship's notice. As if this were not sufficient, the letter proceeded to state that the Governor-General entirely approved of the manly and honest manner in which Captain Harris had performed a painful and invidious duty, and was quite satisfied of the purity of the motives on which he had acted. We think that the noble Marquis was somewhat precipitate in thus writing—and that before expressing such strong opinions, he should have waited for fuller information, and a word or two from the opposite party. The letter however proves, that the statement of suspicious entries could not have been a series of charges; that the matter was left open for the Governor-General to adopt such a line as he might deem fitting; and that it was so understood. Though wanting in caution, the candid avowal of opinion and the assurances made were the emanations of an honest mind, and did credit to the spirit which dictated them. We are not inclined to cavil at a little warmth and readiness, in support of (what the Governor-General deemed) manly honesty and uprightness.

The explanation of the Resident do not seem to have satisfied the Governor-General, who ordered a commission composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Low and Mr. M. Smith to assemble at Indore, and to investigate the questionable entries. The commissioners had, we are given to understand, extensive powers: and it was optional with them to extend their sphere of inquiry, and to enter upon a wider and more comprehensive investigation if they saw reason.

We are not disposed to impugn the nomination of the Commissioners. Lieutenant-Colonel Low is a political officer of character and experience, and Mr. M. Smith, a civil officer,

whose course of service has been entirely in the judicial department. Both were competent by position and experience for the delicate duty entrusted to them : but the general opinion was, that there should have been a third commissioner—one wholly disconnected either with the political or the civil Service.

No inquiry could have been more carefully conducted, with respect to secrecy, than the investigation at Indore : and, as nothing has hitherto been made public by the Government, except the removal of Captain Harris, the details of the investigation are unnecessarily a mystery. It was however generally known, that the Commissioners, being furnished with Captain Harris's statement, the Resident's explanations, and the remarks and orders of the Governor-General, found, that in the first place, they had to decide whether certain funds were, or were not, entirely at the discretion of the Resident, to spend as he pleased, without any *obligation* on his part to render any account at all to his own Government. This, we understand, was the Resident's assertion, coupled of course with entire willingness on his part to submit, for examination and report, the accounts of receipts and expenditure of such funds. The objection amounted to stating, "This is not Government money, nor under its control ; nor is it entitled to call for an account of its disposal, though of course I am ready to give one." To ascertain how far this plea was valid, the Residents and Political Agents, both within and beyond the limits of Central India, were addressed, and requested to furnish information upon the nature of the local funds at their disposal, the manner in which these were expended, and the accounts rendered of such expenditure—and also, as to what had been the custom with respect to judicial fines.

The origin and character of the various local funds in existence were of course found to vary. Around most Residencies and Agencies, particularly where troops or contingents have customarily been near them, there has usually been assigned, by the Territorial Chief, a circle, within which the jurisdiction, civil and military, was to be undisturbed by the local authorities, and to remain under the administration of the Residents, Agents or Commanding officers, as the case might be. The object of such allotment was to avoid the continual conflict on matters of police and discipline, which would otherwise inevitably be of frequent occurrence. Experience has proved the necessity of such an arrangement ; and it is very rare that such an infraction, as that which has lately taken place at Hyderabad, would pass without severe punishment. *Within* the precincts of the Residency and

cantonments, British rule and discipline take their course ; *beyond* those limits, the *lex loci*, whatever that may be—good, bad, or indifferent—holds on its own way. For the police, and conservancy of bazars, grounds, roads, bridges, and the like, it has generally happened, that whatever cesses would, according to the custom of the country, have been levied by the Territorial Ruler, have, within such Residency or Agency precincts, been collected by the Presidency or Agency Kotwal, the native officer charged with the care of the bazars. Fines levied for misdemeanours, infractions of bazar rules, and the like, have usually been carried to the same account, as the proceeds of the bazar petty taxes. The fund thus formed, was expended at the discretion of the Resident or Agent, but for such purposes as were above set forth ; sometimes with, and sometimes without, the form of rendering an account to the Territorial Chief of the gross receipts and expenditure. Sometimes mixed with, and sometimes separate from, the Bazar Fund, were the accidental receipts from incomplete establishments, analogous to the Towfir Funds, once prevalent amongst our magistrates, but long since abolished by order of the Court of Directors.

We have before noted the higher species of jurisdiction exercised in Central India both by Residents and Political Agents. This is not limited to the private international cases before alluded to, but extends to the cognizance of the crime of murder, or of acts of gross cruelty and oppression on the part of Chiefs. The fines levied in such cases have been often heavy, and were then imposed with the sanction of the paramount authority, which occasionally directed their application. But even in this class of fines, the practice varied—some Political officers carrying them to the account of Government, whilst others, as would seem to have been the case at Indore, brought them to account in the Local Funds, disclaiming the right of the British Government to such sums, and acting on that opinion.

Finding the practice in the Political Department to vary, the Commissioners admitted to a certain extent, it would appear, the plea of the Resident. That some of the charges on the Fine Fund were of most doubtful propriety, such as that for the ice pits and for the band, was palpable. But, admitting the above mentioned plea, and the uncertainty of practice as to judicial fines, there was no peculation, no misuse of Government money ; and, though the love of state and show had drawn the Resident into these and other indiscreet modes of expenditure, the Commissioners, who probably confined themselves to the points specified by the Governor-General, came to

a conclusion, as evidenced by the second letter to Captain Harris, favourable to the integrity of the Resident, though not flattering either to his discretion, or to the clearness of his accounts. Their report, therefore we must presume, exculpated him from the suspicion of dishonourable conduct, or of misapplication of Government money; but it could not have approved of the irregularity of procedure, fairly attachable to several of these pecuniary acts, and still less could it have countenanced the latitude of discretion which he had assumed, in the management of funds which, if not strictly belonging to the British Government, as he argued, were nevertheless a public trust.

We think their general views correct, and their opinion, based on the uncertainty of practice, sound; nay, we go further and doubt, whether a freer and more full inquiry, and a permission to Captain Harris to bring forward all that he wished, would, in the end, have modified their decision. But it must be borne in mind, that Captain Harris was not present during the proceedings; was not furnished with the refutation which the Resident laid before the Commissioners; was not called upon to substantiate his allegations: in fact, was not at all treated like an accuser, any more than the Resident like an accused person. The Commissioners proceeded in their quasi-judicial investigation, as if they were simply inquiring, whether there were, or were not, grounds upon which Government ought to frame charges against a public servant. Viewed in this light, their proceedings would seem to have been unexceptionable. The Government, however, did not act, as if it regarded them in this light. Their report was treated as a judicial decision; and the letter, which was addressed to Captain Harris, and which was given the run of the public press, is penned exactly as if there had been a fair open trial, and as if the accuser had framed charges, and, having had the opportunity, had failed to substantiate them.

Now we venture to doubt whether Captain Harris himself, after the assurances he had received, could have been more surprised than the Commissioners must have been, at such an application, with respect to himself, of their opinions. And until their report is published, we shall, with the example of the Governor-General's first letter before us, persist in doubting, whether any honourable man would have pronounced Captain Harris' conduct as not coming within the limits of excusable error.

There is so remarkable a difference, such absolute contradiction between the Governor-General's views and opinions, as first communicated to Captain Harris, and those ascribed to the Governor-General in Council, in the final letter to the address of

this officer, that, although in the latter communication advantage is taken of the expression "defrauded the Government" to aggravate the conduct of Captain Harris, yet these two letters must be pronounced utterly irreconcilable. The Governor-General in Council is put on his defence against the honest warmth and candour of the Governor-General. How is this to be accounted for? Can we suppose a nobleman of the Governor-General's ability, tact and experience, so light in his opinions, that a weathercock turn of this kind is congenial to his mind? We give him credit for higher and nobler qualities, and for greater consistency of thought and action. We, in Calcutta, know the import of the words "in Council,"—have an inkling of the constitution of that body, of its tendencies, and how its powers are actually wielded. We are inclined, therefore, without any disparagement intended, to look upon these significant words "in Council," as the tail of the weathercock on this occasion. No such change was possible without its instrumentality.

Our readers will have seen that, excepting perhaps the Commissioners, we consider all parties more or less wrong. Even the Commissioners would have acted more wisely, and would have had more credit with the public for impartiality, had there been less secrecy and a more reserved bearing towards the Resident. The Governor-General might, with advantage and propriety, have suspended his judgment, and not pledged himself so early to opinions and assurances, highly favourable to the motives and conduct of Captain Harris. This officer would have lost no credit for the purity of his intentions, had he been more fair and above-board with his superior—animated by a more courteous, and a less bitter spirit,—and more discreet of tongue. But the decision of the Governor-General in Council with respect to Captain Harris appears to us—unless borne out by a very strong opinion on the part of the Commissioners, as to the inexcusability of his error in doing that for which the Governor-General applauded him—neither consonant with the assurances given to him, nor with the reproof and censure, which, it is whispered, was conveyed to the Resident, for the unwarrantable latitude of discretion he had assumed in the discharge of a public trust, and the confusion of accounts which characterised the system he pursued, and which appears to have puzzled the Commissioners as much as it must have done the unlucky Captain Harris when he took charge of them. How was the latter to clear these of their obscurity? Could he unauthorisedly assume the functions of the Commissioners, and collect information from various

quarters, by which to test the accuracy of the plea put forth by the Resident for his full discretion in the expenditure of local funds? How was he to know the plea before it had been made? and what would the Residents and Political Agents have said and done, on receiving inquisitory mandates from the second or third assistant of the Indore Residency? The remarks upon the previous investigation which Captain Harris might have made, appear to us devoid of justice and expediency. The doctrine is a new one, that subordinates are at liberty to make such comprehensive inquiries as the Commissioners were forced to make, before they could offer an opinion, whether the questionable entries involved serious culpability or not. The matter could not have been so very clear, since the Governor-General, with the Resident's explanation before him, saw reason to appoint a commission of inquiry.

We cannot omit to notice, that from the remarks of the Press, it appears that the letter to Captain Harris, after the investigation, was circulated (lithographed) from the Indore Residency, and thus found its way into the local newspapers—but unaccompanied by the letter to the Resident—a strange omission, and one which the Government ought, in our humble and unofficial opinion, to rectify, as it might serve to place their own conduct in a less objectionable point of view.

We have stated our opinions the more frankly, because we feel that Central India, unless very unlike other parts of our empire, is not likely to be benefited by these proceedings. Too much, or too little, has been done: and the native community, princes, and people must be in doubt, less of the conduct of the officers of the British Government, than of the principles which guide the latter in its measures towards its agents.

In our opinion, then (to return from this digression), we have allowed to pass by us, unimproved, the finest opportunity for the introduction of wholesome comprehensive measures in behalf of Central India, which Providence could have afforded us. Such another is not likely to recur. We have failed in thirty years to impress a forward movement, either morally or physically, amongst the people of large tracts of fertile country in the heart of our empire. They are the same poverty-stricken race we found them: and, except in the one article, opium, we have done nothing to develop the resources of the land. If we extend our view to the tracts south of the Nerbudda, matters are rather worse. The Nizam's country, its financial bankruptcy, and its abundant elements of confusion and disorder cannot be conveyed to the mind of the reader by

a sentence at the close of an article. Much trouble may boil over from that cauldron. Any remedy to these and other evils would be only preliminary ; for we should then be still far from having made India the great rich cotton field of England—although, by no means, its best sugar manufactory. In a year like the present, when the home market apprehends a failure in the supply of American cotton, we read of some talk about India, and of projects in contemplation by men (of more energy and confidence than knowledge) desirous of occupying this unworked field. But will these crude projects of men, who are ignorant of the difficulties against which they would have to contend, prove any thing more than talk ? English capital has been slow to embark on this great theatre of action : for capital looks for security, and our system has hitherto offered it none. Our local mercantile character, thanks to ourselves, stands very low. The financial condition and prospects of the Government are any thing but smiling ; and war has, ever since June 1838, so occupied the attention of our rulers, and consumed the resources of the State, that all great and statesman-like measures for the real improvement of India have long been in abeyance. We have been, and are, draining India of its wealth. English capital might do much, under God's blessing, towards giving life to the dormant energies and productiveness of our empire, could means be devised to afford it reasonable security : and we scarcely look for any great forward movement, until the wealth of England turns some of its streams to the fructification of " poor " India.

KASHMIR IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY REV. J. LONG.

Raja-tarangini, Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer. Paris. 1840.

REFERENCE has been made in a former number of this *Review* to Kashmir, as connected with recent events, and with its political relations to the Panjab. The object of this article is to call attention to the condition and history of this lovely valley, previous to the Muhammadan conquest of India—a period, which, though not pregnant in events interesting to the lovers of modern history, may suggest various topics of useful thought, for those who are fond of exploring the obscurities of Indian affairs in the days of the Ramayan and Mahabharat.

The light thrown on the former state of India by the MacKenzie MSS., the disclosures made by Buddhist travellers linguistic investigations, &c., shew that knowledge and civilization spread in India from North to South. The English are the only conquerors of India, who have reversed this process by proceeding from the South. The others established the chief seat of their power in or near Central India. All the great scenes recorded in those interesting epics, the Ramayan and Mahabharat, and in the beautiful dramatic writings of the Hindus, are laid in *Ariavarta*, or the land between the Vindhya hills and the Panjab. And Central India, the land so fully brought to our notice in *Tod's Rajasthan*, was the country round which the events clustered, which told on the great destinies of India.

The information communicated by Professor Wilson in his admirable Essay on Kashmir and by M. Troyer, seems to indicate that the beautiful valley of Kashmir, secluded from the gaze of the world, and removed from the line of the conqueror's route, formerly served as a *point d'appui* for the efforts of the religious and political conquerors, who poured down on India from the plains of Ariana. Religious propagandists in India, like the monks of the middle ages, often chose for their seats such sequestered nooks : thus Tamluk, on the borders of the Sunderbunds, "the holy city of Buddhsim"—Parasnath, the lovely hill to the north of Burdwan, "the Sinai of the Jains"—Bali, in the Eastern Archipelago, to whose recesses the persecuted Brahmans of Java and the Eastern isles retired—with many other similar spots, were the favored nuclei, from which streams of moral and social influence flowed over different parts of the continent of India. The wonderful discoveries made of late by ethnological research and philological affinities invariably point to the North as the focus of civilization. Ritter, the greatest geographer perhaps of the present age, considers Kashmir with

Butan and Thibet, to be the intellectual cradle of the Hindus, though even those places were not the primeval sources of their civilization. The Brahminical tribes, when they crossed the Hindu Kush, like the Pilgrim Fathers landing in New England, carried with them the seeds of a prior civil and religious polity sufficient to indicate that it is vain for the votaries of Hinduism to boast of their religion having always been indigenous to the feelings and views of the masses of Indian population. They crossed the Hindu Kush, and settled as invading foreigners among the prostrate Sudras of the north of India.

As an illustration of these and other kindred subjects, we know few books, in modern times that are likely to prove of such utility as the work on Kashmir by Kalhana, the Pandit.

M. Troyer, the editor of a valuable edition of this work, was formerly Secretary to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. With the aid afforded him there by learned Pandits, he completed this translation of the *Raja-tarangini* from Sanskrit into French, which has been published at the expense of that useful body, the Asiatic Society of Paris. He possessed the advantage of being able to consult various eminent Pandits, who have since died, but have left few successors equal to them in historical or antiquarian lore. In fact, we think that the interests of Sanskrit literature are quite as well upheld by the Pandits of Nadiya, as by those of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta. Certainly the alumni of the latter institution are very deficient in historical and geographical information; and we should think the study of such a work, as the *Raja-tarangini*, as a part of their College course, would contribute very much to guide their minds into the channel of historical research, in which Pandits take very little interest. The Hindu mind, involved in the mysteries of metaphysics, treated with contempt historical studies, as conversant only with the shadows of time—*mdyā*, while the learned aimed at the abstractions of pure psychological truth. At the same time, they were singularly inconsistent in being so attached to poetry;—for even their *Dictionaries* and codes of Law are indited in verse. In the dearth of Sanskrit historical works, these beautiful mirrors of Indian life, the Sanskrit Dramas, which Professor Wilson has brought so effectively before the world, afford us valuable hints on various points connected with Hindu society—the manners of a court—the liberty allowed to females, &c.; while, in the beauty and richness of their similes and imagery, the knowledge shewn of human nature and human passions, they may rank with the productions of Alfieri, Racine, Calderon, Goethe, or even of our own Shakespeare.

Kalhana, one of the writers of the *Raja-tarangini*, "the Orpheus of the valley," was the son of the Prime Minister of Kashmir, and lived in the twelfth century. He was a contemporary and fellow-countryman of Soma Deva, the author of the *Vrihat Katha*, a work containing a most interesting series of tales in Sanskrit, which throw much light on the manners and religion of the Hindus, and in fact furnished materials for the *Arabian Nights*. They have been printed, with a translation in German, by Brockhaus of Paris. Harsha Deva, the author of the *Naishadh Charitra*, was also a fellow-countryman of his.

Kalhana was an enthusiastic admirer of poetry, and composed, in verse, "The daughter of Memory," his history, which was compiled from the works of seventeen historians, who preceded him, as well as from the archives of the temples. Like his fellow-countrymen, he was well versed in metaphysics, which he describes as being "a mine containing many precious stones, which, when free from incrustations, can be wrought into jewels for the enrichment of the world." The Buddhist system, in its history and doctrines, was also familiar to him. In the faithfulness of his descriptions, he certainly does not stand inferior to any modern historian, and would often obtain the preference in point of impartiality. Kalhana was no mere hero-worshipper, though living in a slavish day, when the doctrine of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" was held all over the world; yet he boldly states his opinions on these subjects. "In all ages, poets and kings enrich their possessions by plundering. The former steal verse, the latter the goods of another.—A king destroys him, who has served to elevate him to his dignity, as a wood-cutter hews down the trunk of the tree, which has enabled him to command a view of the forest.—Who will not become a prey to kings, when their cupidity is excited, as ants become the spoil of the smooth tongue of the porcupine?—The lion kills even while crouching, the adder in embracing, the Vetala in laughing, the king while praising."

Kalhana, though immeasurably inferior to Kalidas the Indian Shakespeare in beauty of expression, yet, like orientals in general, uses "variety of similes." We give a few specimens. A king not controlled by his ministers, is compared to a "diamond that is not cut by other minerals, but itself cuts precious stones." Aryaraja, who like Charles V. abdicated the throne and refused to become king again, "raised his eyes to heaven, and was content with the empire of his soul; he never resumed the reins of power, as a snake does not take the slough which it has once cast away." "Rajah Siddha could not contract any defilement

though surrounded with sensual pleasures, as the image of the moon is not soiled by the filth from which it is reflected." "The King Parvarasena did not associate with his neighbours, as the lotus, delighting in the favour of the sun, shuns any immersion in the water." "Fortune unites herself to King Chandrapida, leaving defects with other kings, as a river deposits its muddy particles on its mountain route, and mixes its purified waters with the ocean."

We will not compare Kalhana, for obvious reasons, with the modern historians of Europe: but he certainly may rank with such writers as Ferdusi, and Abul Fazil; and considering the disadvantages he laboured under, the age in which he lived, and his little intercourse with foreigners, he may be entitled to say like Ovid—

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

His history of Kashmir will ever remain as a proof of the capabilities of Hindus (when they choose to exert them) for historic writing.

Circumstances connected with this work of Kalhana's, point out the importance of orientalists at present using every effort in order to secure the preservation of MSS. Although this MS. was formerly so common, that every Hindu family of rank possessed a copy, and though it was translated into Persian by order of the Emperor Akbar, who encouraged in various ways translations from the Sanskrit into Persian, yet forty years ago there were *only three* authentic copies extant; and one of these was procured by Moorcroft from a Pandit, as a mark of gratitude for his having cured him of what was considered an incurable disease. It is most singular that no enquiries, to our knowledge, have ever been made respecting the MSS. deposited with Pandits in Nadiya, though for six centuries it has been the chosen resort of the learned from all parts of Bengal, and no doubt various hidden treasures may be brought to light in this as in other places. Let the Asiatic Society of Bengal take up the subject of the collection of MSS., with a kindred zeal to that of Colonel Mackenzie in Southern India, or of Colonel Tod in the North, and we feel assured, that ere long documents, as valuable as the *Raja-tarangini*, will be forthcoming, as well in Kashmir, as in Bengal. No aid in this, we fear, is to be expected from the Government of Bengal, who at present seem to prefer that their most valuable papers should rot in their archives, rather than allow them to be used for the advancement of science and literature. But in marked contrast to this, the Government of the North-Western Provinces have shewn a very different spirit, and have encouraged, by every means in their power, statistical and oriental research.

That the history of Kashmir runs back to so early a period a fifteen centuries B. C. (Herodotus makes mention of Kashmir), may seem incredible to some ; but this date is not so very improbable, when we consider that the streams of religion and civilization, like the waters of the Ganges, have proceeded from north to south. The settlement of Agastya in the south, the foundation of the Pandyan and Chola kingdoms, Ram's expedition to Ceylon, (like the French expedition to Algiers, a chastisement of savage tribes) —all took place at least ten centuries before Christ ; and, though in the history of the Back Wood settlements of North America, we have extraordinary instances of the rapidity with which colonisation progresses, yet in ancient days, matters moved on a far more moderate scale. Now, taking the data derived from the *Raghu Vansa* and other works, it must have occupied a considerable time, previous to the tenth century B. C., before Brahmanism could have penetrated from Aria Varta (Central India) and Kashmir to the Dekhan, even making full allowance for the victorious armies of Ram, which, though like Napoleon's, they may have overrun a continent, would yet require other and more permanent influences to establish a national faith.

The history of Kashmir becomes important at the time, which may be reckoned the commencement of the historic age in India—the war of the Mahabharat, when the races of Northern contended for the prize of empire with Southern India ; in fact the Pandava race, which acted so prominent a part in the war of the Mahabharat, was probably of Kashmirian origin, as their is strong historical evidence in favour of the fact that Pandu was a native of “the happy valley.” The early existence of Brahminical institutions in Kashmir, which were as much identified with the political supremacy of the Pandu race, as the ascendancy of Romanism in the Netherlands was with the rule of Philip II., confirms this. The assaults of the Rakshases, the fights of Suras and Asuras, though dressed up with poetic imagery, yet, when viewed in the light of historic criticism, simply refer to the struggles for religious superiority between the Bhraminical invaders and the aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

At an elevation of 6,000 feet above the sea-level, surrounded by the lofty ranges of the Himalayas, whose tops are buried in everlasting snow, the valley of Kashmir presents one of the most interesting points in India to the traveller. Like the valley of Nepal, it was originally a lake, and was dried up either in consequence of an earthquake, or by that elevating process which has changed Bengal from a bay into a valley. Yet interesting as is its physical confirmation, its history is equally

so, as it dates from a very remote period. We have an account in the Mahabharat that the kings of Kashmir took part in the "Great War." In modern times, its chief claims to attention have been Ranjit Sing's influence, its magnificent shawls, the beauty of its women, and its lovely scenery, which made the Emperor Jehangir declare that he would rather lose his throne than lose Kashmir. But we shall notice it now solely in connection with its history previous to the Muhammadan invasion, and with the important work which we have placed at the head of our article, and which is highly creditable to the judgment and indefatigable research of its editor, Monsieur Troyer. We hope that the *Raja-tarangini* will soon reach a second edition, and that the blunders made by the printers in figures, which render the references to the Sanskrit slokes in various places useless, may be corrected, and also that the editor will separate the Sanskrit words to a greater extent. Wherever the rules of Sandhi do not prevent, every word ought to be separate. The Pandits love to have the words all joined together, as it renders their aid more necessary, and gives an air of mystery to "the language of the gods;" but the object of European philologists ought to be, to open wide the portals of this magnificent language, and to facilitate by every means the study of a tongue, which is now essential even to European linguistic studies, and a key to the feeling, thoughts, and ancient condition of the vast population of India.

This history of Kashmir gives us little insight into the manners and mode of living of the *people*. The kings generally acted on the maxim of a modern ruler—*l'état, c'est moi*; and historians seem to adopt it by filling their works with details of the butcheries and intrigues of ruthless conquerors. The only classes of women, whom Kalhana mentions, are courtesans and queens. These queens seem to have exercised on various occasions great political power, and to have ruled their ministers as much as Elizabeth ever did. One of them Diddha, the Messalina of Kashmir, was noted for her extraordinary profligacy, rivalling any thing that is recorded of Catherine of Russia.

It is the same with the men. Indeed, the very name *Raja-tarangini*, or "river of kings," indicates the existence of only two classes—despots, and serfs. The doctrine of legitimacy was the only one recognized in the valley of Kashmir, and the personal character of a monarch was regarded as nothing in comparison with his office. The notices, recorded of some of those monarchs, call before our memory the days of

Napoleon. "The people," says Kalhana, "knew of the presence of the monarch only by the birds of prey, eager to feed on the carcasses of slaughtered warriors." But Kalhana Pandit gives a view of conquerors more conformable to Christian morals, than many Christian writers do, when he describes their *glory*, "though scattering everywhere its rays, yet productive of terror, like the glare of a funeral pyre." There are no such eulogies pronounced on warriors and princes by Kalhana the Brahman, as were uttered *ad nauseam* by Massillon, and the Court preachers in the churches of "Le Grand Monarque." Many of these kings seemed to have quieted the stings of conscience, like the monarchs of the middle ages, by founding edifices for religion—Buddhist temples after a life of slaughter! Others, however, rendered eminent service to their country by the construction of canals, embankments, and roads. A question has been raised as to the period when bunds were first made in Bengal. No answer can be given to this: but we find that, perhaps 3,000 years ago in Kashmir, monarchs spent the wealth of kingdoms in constructing them on a magnificent scale, and one king lent all his royal treasures to the engineer, who erected a series of embankments round the valley. It has been stated, that, previous to the advent of Christianity, there had been no hospitals: but we find that a King of Kashmir, long anterior to that period, had established hospitals and dispensaries. Some of these kings, indeed, seem to have paid far greater attention to the physical comforts of their subjects, and to the making of good roads than any European conquerors have done in India. The Marquis of Wellesley is the only Governor-General, who planted trees along the sides of roads to give shade and refreshment; but it was a very common practice among the Kashmirian monarchs. It is highly creditable to Lord Ellenborough, that when the public presented him with a service of a plate, as a token of their approval of his Indian career, had his own wishes been consulted, he would have preferred the money to have been spent in planting rows of trees along the Grand Trunk Road, as a more useful memorial.

The ancient Kashmirians were well acquainted with certain branches of practical science, as the forming of embankments, mining,* coining, sculpture, and architecture. The drama, which exercised so important an influence in the development of the Hindu mind, was brought to a high state of cultivation. Learned men were highly respected. In the reign of Jayapira, "the name of a Pandit was held in greater repute than that of a king."

* The traces of mining operations, found in the Rajmahal hills and the Birbhum district, as well as in other remote parts of India, indicate, that the Hindus of former days possessed a skill in these things, which their successors have not maintained.

Another king, Matrigupta, deposited a new drama, presented to him in a vase of gold to indicate his sense of its value. The educated classes won their way to the highest offices of the State ; and we have an account of one man, who was chosen king in consequence of his profound learning. The Kashmirians are still distinguished for their manufactures of shawls and paper ; but we question whether they ever attained the mechanical skill of the people of Dacca.

The recognition of the system of caste and the penalties affixed to the loss of it, in the *Raja-tarangini*, does not favour the views so ably maintained by Colonel Sykes, in his "Notes on the Ante-Mahommedan state of India," in which he advocates the opinion, that caste did not exist as a religious distinction in ancient India. Even in Hinduism we have traces of primitive practices, in the general mixture of all classes, allowed at the festival of the Huli and in the temple of Jagannath.

The rite of Sati, "a lotus bed resplendent with flames," was practised at an early period ; and we find also that the Brahminical custom, formerly so rife at Benares, of sitting *Dhurnd*, was also in fashion. Sanyasis were held in high favour, and, in the time of one of the kings, named Arya, it is stated : "The articles of fashionable dress were ashes of burnt cow-dung, rosaries, and matted locks of hair."

The *Raja-tarangini* confirms the testimony borne by the Hindu dramas, as well as by the ancient Hindu writings to the fact, that in former days women enjoyed a considerable extent of liberty, went abroad, and exercised great influence, even in a political way : thus, Damodara, one of the early kings of Kashmir, fought on account of a *Sambara*, or lady allowed to choose her husband. This was a very ancient custom. The suitors were drawn up in a line, and the lady threw a garland of flowers round the neck of the object of her choice.

Incidental light is thrown by the *Raja-tarangini* on foreign countries : thus Benares became the Buddhistical retreat of Matrigupta, when he abdicated the throne of Kashmir : Mathura was besieged by the first King of Kashmir : Bengali pilgrims visited the temples of Kashmir : Ceylon is said to have been invaded by two kings of Kashmir, one of whom planted the banners of Kashmir on Adam's Peak : Lalitaditya, the Napoleon of Kashmir, penetrated in his career of conquest to the Tartars of the North, and the Draviras * of the South—the sources of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal witnessed the triumph of his arms, while the king of imperial Kanauj rendered him homage : Gaya paid revenue to Kashmir : Gonerda led a Kashmirian

* The people that speak Tamul.

army to the aid of Jarasandh, the King of Magadh (Bahar): Paravarasena subdued the Governor of Dacca; while Baladitya erected pillars of victory on the shores of the Bay of Bengal; and the daughter of the King of Pragyatish (Asam) was married to a King of Kashmir. Casual references of this sort, derived from various works, will enable the future historians of India to draw much safer inferences than are at present deduced from a few books, with reference to the connexion—political, literary and social—between the different parts of India. Professor Lassen of Bonn has made a commencement in this respect in his *Indische Alterthum*, in which, by his indefatigable research in exploring all sources of information, Puranic or Epic, he has shed a flood of light on various obscure parts of the Mahabharat. This great work will remain a noble monument of his critical research.

The Ophite, or snake-worship system practised by the Nagas, who were highlanders, existed at an early period in Kashmir. It may have been the first form of religion that prevailed there, as our author states that the first line of Kashmir kings were unworthy of record, on account of their disregarding the religion of the Vedas, which perhaps refers to their being adherents to the *Naga* worship. In the days of Abul Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar, there were 700 places for snake-worship in the valley. But this superstition was not confined to the valley. The Puranas and Harivansa gave many details respecting the prevalence of Ophiolatry in India. The same motive that led the Hindus to adore objects of influence, whether for utility or destruction, would also induce them to revere the snake—"the emblem of eternity," and "symbol of life," whose poisonous power is so fatally felt in India. Traces of this primitive form of idolatry in India are still to be seen in remote districts of India, while the snake is a very common figure in Hindu temples. The image of Krishna trampling on the snake was probably designed to symbolize the overthrow of the aboriginal religion, which was destroyed by the same Brahminical power, as Parasuram used in defeating the Kshetrias. We have seen an earthen vessel, having three heads of the cobra on it, which is an object of worship in the Jessore district. The references to snake-worship are frequent in the Puranas and Mahabharat, and give clear evidence that this form of aboriginal idolatry became incorporated into the Hindu pantheon, which, like the Roman, recruited its numbers from the gods of all people, whether Buddhists or snake-worshippers. Late years have witnessed in Bengal the adoration of *Ula-ûta*, the goddess of cholera; *Sitala*, the deity of the small-pox; and *Dakshin Ray* (King of the South), the patron

against floods and tigers ; but these have not been established sufficiently long to claim a niche in the same temple with Krishna and other heroes exalted into deities.

Previous to the coming of the Brahminical race into Bengal, the people who now occupy the hills of Rajmahal, Birbhum, &c., &c., probably lived in the plains, and were subsequently driven by the tide of foreign conquest to their highland fastnesses. In Kashmir, in a similar way, the aboriginal races were the Nagas, Gandharas, and Dheradas, who were all Ophites, or serpent worshippers. But in the course of time foreign invaders from the table-lands of Ariana introduced the Buddhist and Brahminical systems, by their possession of superior physical power and intellectual energy. The lunar race of kings were Buddhists, and the Brahmins had the Kshetryas, or military class, as their allies. They supplanted the religion of the Nagas or mountaineers, just as wherever the Moslem banner waved, or the Koran was chaunted, the crude superstitions which overlaid Christianity in the middle ages, gave way to the traditions of the Mecca legislator. Though the Nagas seem to have been a very powerful race, and at one time to have exercised great political sway, yet they could not withstand the sapping effect of Buddhistical influence, which resorted both to the arsenals of argument and of physical force, in order to propagate the dogmas of Sakhya Muni. The Ophite, or snake-worship system, seems at last to have, to a great degree, been amalgamated with Hinduism ; in fact, it spread very widely, as the general use of the symbol of the dragon in the Chinese rites shows. The proselyting zeal of the Buddhists was founded on the principle "that they do not desire wisdom for themselves alone, but for the preservation of the world."

Subsequently, in Kashmir, a fierce struggle took place between the Sivites and the Buddhists. These two religions then existed contemporaneously, as they do in the island of Bali in the present day, and in some cases the one melted into the other. But, though many dogmas were held by the Sivites and Buddhists in common, and, notwithstanding the ingenious arguments drawn from the monuments in Bali and Java by Dr. Tytler, in order to show that the two systems had a common origin, we cannot conceive how the bloody rites of Siva could have any affinity to the peaceful tenets of Buddha. Yet Buddhism itself was in *practice* occasionally warlike ; for when it had fixed its roots at an early period in Kashmir, the first thirty-five kings, being Buddhists, were very active in propagating their creed, and had no scruples in appealing to the sword to carry out their religious plans. One of them, Meghavahana, at the head of a conquering army, preached on the duty of extending mercy to every thing that

has life ! He pensioned from the revenues of the State all the hunters and butchers in his dominions, as his regulations deprived them of the means of gaining a livelihood. We thus see in the case of the Indian Buddhists, as well as of the Muhammadans, how religion removes that physical inertia and apathy so characteristic of Asiatics generally.

At the period (A. D. 399) when Fa Hian, a Chinese Buddhist priest, visited Tamluk, Buddhism was in the ascendant, not only in Kashmir, but also in Tartary, Khotan, Scinde and Agra. Asoka left monuments of his Buddhistical zeal in the valley of Kashmir, and on the borders of the Rupnarayan at Tamluk, in those magnificent towers, which long stood to attest the liberal hand with which he supported his religious views. But in the tenth century, Khamagupta, King of Kashmir, the Aurungzebe of his day, destroyed the Buddhist images and burnt the monasteries. No doubt a change must have taken place in public opinion to justify him in resorting to such measures, like that which occurred, when Henry VIII. found popular and aristocratic sympathy in favour of his measures for sequestering the property of the monasteries.

When Kalhana wrote, the worship of Siva was predominant. This system prevailed in the South of India at the commencement of the Christian era, and was in the ascendant every where except in Telingana, where the people were Vishnuvites. Sivism seems to have had various points of accordance with Buddhism ; and, when the Sivites embraced Buddhism, they were allowed to retain their titles and family distinctions. But when Abul Fazl visited Kashmir in 1582, the Vishnuvites had gained the ascendancy. There are now, according to Hamilton, in Kashmir, sixty-four places dedicated to Vishnu, and forty-five to Siva. In fact, the whole of Kashmir is considered by the Hindus to be holy ground, and the struggle between the Sivites and Vishnuvites now occupies the same place in history, as that formerly between Brahmans and Buddhists.

The Buddhists, as well as the Brahminical religion, seems to have been propagated in Kashmir through the patronage of the State, and above all, by what has been adopted in modern times so successfully by the Moravians—religious colonies.* Connected with these, were *Mats*, or edifices, which, combining the joint uses of a church and seminary, gave weight and local power to the priesthood. It was in fact the principle of *resident pas-*

* The importance of religious colonies is brought of late more prominently before the public. We have the projected settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand for the members of the Anglo-Episcopal Church, and of Otago in the same island for the members of the Free Church of Scotland. It is felt that mere codes of laws, or rules on paper, are not enough to form character ; the links of neighbourhood, acquaintance, and association of ideas, must be of a favourable kind also.

tors and a parochial system, which gave these religions a fixity in the country, just as Musalman colonisation raised up an indigenous Muhammadan agency in India. The monastic system of Europe in the middle ages, by which agricultural and social improvement was diffused as from an oasis through the wilds of a lone district, was adopted to a great degree in Kashmir, and in fact in all countries where Buddhist principles had any ascendancy. "The Buddhist priests in their Viharas employ all their time in instructing the youth in reading, writing, religion, history, and the principles of law." Their monasteries were nuclei for social advancement, where the ignorant received instruction, the poor relief, and the sick the best medical treatment known. Buddhism also, like Methodism in England, owed much of its influence to the system of itinerancy. The mendicant friars of the middle ages acted on a similar plan : but neither Methodists nor Friars could exceed the energy and self-denial of Buddhist missionaries. In fact, their proselyting zeal equals any recorded in modern time—of St. Francis Xavier, or that of the Jesuits in India and South America. The Raja-tarangini, in its emphatic Sanscrit style, characterises them

वैद्वानां प्रवृज्जोर्जिततेजसां

The Buddhists, whose power is increased by an itinerant life.

We have now taken a summary view of the chief political and religious points connected with Kashmir in former days, without going into minute details. We trust that more attention will be paid to the former history of this and other countries in the North-Western Provinces : for, in order to adopt measures suitable to the character and habits of a people, we must know their former pursuits, and those associations, the growth of centuries, which retain such a firm hold over the mind. Abstract theories wrought out by men who never knew India, are often as ridiculous as that of the Liverpool merchant who, forty years ago, despatched a cargo of skates to Calcutta. The more the ancient literature of the Hindus is studied, the better judges will we be, from a knowledge of the national character, how to apply remedial measures to existing evils. We therefore think that, even on the ground of utility, the publication of such works as the Raja-tarangini is most valuable. While we condemn the religious and social system of the Hindus, let us at the same time admire whatever has a redeeming quality in their ancient literature. The ties of sympathy will thus be drawn closer : and we shall remove one of the barriers, which our haughty and exclusive manners as foreigners, place between us and the teeming millions of the East, on whom we wish to confer both moral and religious good.

THE OUTBREAK IN CABUL, AND ITS CAUSES.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY DURAND, C.B., K.C.S.I.

A Review of the Operations of the British Force at Cabul, during the outbreak in November 1841, and during the retreat of the above Force in January 1842. By William Hough, Major, Bengal Establishment. Englishman Press : Calcutta. 1850.

WE doubt if Cæsar, whether asleep or awake, were much of a dreamer. At all events, with a convenient treaty just concluded with Cassivellaunus, the British hostages, all safe in the Roman camp, the ships, such as they were, ready for the embarkation of the wearied legionaries, and, above all, the channel sea flatteringly smooth for the occasion, his slumbers on the eve of departure from our rough coast were likely enough to be sound ; or, if disturbed at all, visions of the already-rumoured Gallic revolts were more likely to haunt his imagination than the array of England's future greatness. Had he been granted a spectral glimpse of the regions of the earth to be peopled or won by the future races of the misty, storm-beaten land he was so gladly leaving, we may suppose that, as America, Australia, and India were shadowed forth to his sleeping thoughts, the empire-loving Cæsar would have sprung to his feet and sworn that, hap what hap, England must be won and kept for Rome. His second invasion of Britain had, as it was, already endangered Gaul ; and, with a clear perception of his military position in both countries, Cæsar (barely in time however) threw up the one to keep the other, and hastened to where the war-storm was brewing. To the present day we feel the thrilling force of that description, where he relates the slaughter of the legion under Titurius, and the gallant stand of that under Q. Cicero. Ages have since elapsed, yet the narrative of those events, be the reader who he may, is vivid with deep interest. What then must have been the emotion, with which the "*pauca ex prælio elapsi*" perused this record ? What the sorrow of the friends of Titurius, and what the grief, albeit a proud grief, of the friends of Cotta ? If we can suppose that a single one of those bold right-thinking soldiers, who in the council of war had given it as their opinion "*quid esse levius aut turpius, quam, auctore hoste, de summis rebus capere consilium,*" outlived that night, when "*ad unum omnes, desperata salute, se ipsi interficiunt,*"—and that, having outlived it, he reached the winter quarters of Labienus, how must his blood have boiled in after times, when Cæsar's page brought back to his mind the weakness which had blighted the honor of a Roman legion, and ignominiously swept it from the face of the earth ! The future general historian, with

a circumscribed page and much to cram into it, may indeed often content himself with such a summary account as "*Consul, fuso exercitu, captus est*, or, *Consul cum exercitus cæsus est*;" but the contemporary narrator of such dire events scarce ever dismisses them in this manner, for he knows that many a heart amongst the living remembers them, and, whether with grief or pride, beats with emotion at their recollection. Father, brother, or friend, fought and fell then and there.

However sufficient such motives for dwelling on remarkable reverses, there is yet a higher and more important one. Tacitus, contemplating the series of war-disasters which had occurred to Rome since her foundation, with the view of comparing them with those inflicted by the German nations, uses the expression, "*Ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere*." They are indeed admonitions—and of a kind to which it behoves a nation, its statesmen, and its commanders to advert. Pride may disrelish the contemplation of humiliating events, but such "admonitions" (we thank Tacitus for the application of this word) are meant by the Ruler of events to humble pride, teach wisdom, impress justice, and to warn the strong arm of one stronger and mightier, which needs but to be stretched out in retribution, when the power of armies withers into mean and pitiable weakness. We think we need offer no excuse to the readers of this journal, whether among our English or our Indian friends, for again touching on events which, to many of them, must have a deep and melancholy interest. The work at the head of this article has recalled our thoughts to a subject, which must ever remain a warning and example to our rulers, and upon which we looked for much more to be said, than we have found in the pages of Major Hough's compendium. Its close, and the quotation from Arnold, bore us back to the time of youth, when the deeds of an Arminius, or of an Ambiorix, were matters of stirring story only, and when sad experience had as yet to make them to the man in some respects apposite parallels.

Cæsar in Gaul, and Varus in Germany were, however, differently circumstanced from the British Generals in Afghanistan; and, in proceeding to pass a few remarks on Major Hough's little volume, we must commence by adverting to that, which not only the writer, but his authorities, treat very inadequately—the causes of the outbreak. Before entering upon these, we have, however, a few words to say on a much (and rather bitterly) contested subject. On this matter our remarks shall be as concise as possible.

The civil administration of India forms the rich patrimony of the Directors of the East India Company, and affords affluent provision for their sons, immediate relatives, and the few

having most interest with that body. The name—Civil Service—was well chosen ; for though Bentham styles the epithet, “ Civil,” one of the most unmeaning Protean terms in all jurisprudence, yet, it is so consonant with English constitutional ideas to strengthen to the uttermost the civil power, and jealously to weaken and subordinate the military, that although in reality there was little or no analogy between a free and a conquered country, yet, provided the patrimonial branch bore the honored, though vague, designation of “ Civil,” the Court of Directors ran no risk of having the tendency of the rules and orders, by which all officers of power and emolument in India are restricted to that line, called in question. Governor-Generals, free from parental solicitude for the interests of the Civil Service, and actuated by a desire to insure success and the efficient performance of duty, have often been constrained by accidental circumstances to employ military men in posts of power and influence : and accordingly, some of the most distinguished servants of the Company have been officers of their army ; but it has always been in spite of the injunctions and precautions of the Court of Directors for their exclusion, that such men have risen to eminence and fame. As a general rule, the civilian stands no risk from the competition of the military man ; power and emolument are his by virtue of his favoured service ; whilst the military competitor, if he rise at all, must do so in contravention of the rules and orders of the Court of Directors. In the purely civil administration of the Company’s provinces in India, no objection (provided that the wants of the people were fully met at no overwhelming cost) could reasonably be raised to this arrangement. But the Civil Service has never been content with such restriction to its pre-eminence. It is so accustomed to regard the monopoly of power and emolument as its right, that where a Governor-General is weak enough to permit it, and makes no stand against the class-interest which immediately surrounds him, its members will be thrust into places, where common sense and the experience of all ages show that their employment must be productive of confusion, ridicule, or disaster. Accordingly, whether it be to set up such a puppet-king as Shah Shuja, or to put on the head a boy Maharajah, and make him go through the farce of signing away the Punjab already taken, we find a civil servant put forward on the occasion, in order that he may win his spurs, and become a belted knight.

If Leadenhall Street and its influences are in part responsible for such a system, the Home Government and the Horse Guards can by no means be exempted from each bearing their own share as part originators, or at least promoters, of a baneful source of error :—and error is defeat in military affairs.

A Governor-General of India is seldom invested with the authority of Commander-in-Chief. The constitutional jealousy of uniting in one hand the highest civil and political, with the highest military authority of a great empire, and the unwillingness of ministers to forego the patronage of two such prizes, as the several offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, have constantly operated against their being conferred upon one person. In peaceful times, there is advantage from the arrangement, as a Governor-General's attention can be concentrated on measures for the general improvement of the countries under his rule; but in times of war there has frequently resulted much inconvenience. We shall not enter upon a detail of these embarrassments; for at present we have only to lay before the reader one of the consequences of the severance of the highest political from the highest military authority when armies are in the field. Although virtually the Governor-General plans and determines all great military operations, yet, when not Commander-in-Chief, the voice of the latter must necessarily have weight in the selection of the officers to whom important commands are to be entrusted; and, as such selection more frequently under these circumstances depends on the accidental rank of individuals, rather than on their general skill and ability, a Governor-General is often tempted to aim at securing the complete execution of his political and strategical measures by the employment of a man of his own choice, to whom, under the title of Envoy, or some other civil or political designation, controlling authority is in fact given. The attempt indeed to separate the conduct of political affairs in a military expedition from that of the army is futile; the two are essentially conjoined, and do not admit of severance, because one man is styled Envoy, and the other Commander-in-Chief, or General. The distinction between strategical and tactical operations is well known to every tyro in the military profession. The distinction, however, is one of the *science* of war, where classification is as necessary for a distinct apprehension of the subject-matter, as in any other branch of science: there is in the *practice* of war no such positive, absolute separation. The strategical measures are the preliminary steps by which a certain amount of force is best brought into tactical operation against an enemy—in other words, thrown into immediate conflict in the best order, and under the most favourable circumstances. If the connection between the strategical and the tactical be closed, that between the political and the strategical is, in the East, fully more so. Where a single military mishap may entail consequences very difficult to estimate or foresee, it is imperatively

necessary that the commander be thoroughly conversant with every piece and every move upon his chess-board ; no sane person can expect him to take up the game and to play it well at a moment's notice and without a pause, from the hands of one who has thoroughly embroiled it. In support of this separation of the political and strategical from the merely tactical came the additional fact, that the officers in command of armies and divisions, belonging most frequently to the royal army, were held debarred from the exercise of political functions by their inacquaintance with the general policy of the Government, and their ignorance of the languages, feelings, and habits of the people of India and its neighbouring countries.

Various, therefore, were the influences, besides the ambition of the individual, which placed a Macnaghten at Cabul ; and it must be allowed, that however objectionable might be the system above adverted to, a Cotton and an Elphinstone were not calculated, either by their mental or their physical capacities, to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs in Affghanistan. Men of a higher order of intellect were essential for such a command ; and, along with intellect, physical energy was indispensable. Men of this stamp were not wanting, had there been either the will or the ability to select them : and such reasons and motives, as have been alleged, must be considered a very insufficient apology for shackling a military commander in Affghanistan with a civil Commander-in-Chief, influenced by similar motives to those which lead Governor-Generals to employ envoys and agents. Macnaghten in order systematically to keep the thread of events under his own cognizance, and to maintain the exercise of general supervision and control, was forced to have a large staff of subordinate political functionaries, to whom, as his lieutenants, the guidance of such operations, as he could not himself superintend, were to be entrusted. These deputies were for the most part young men, zealous indeed, but ignorant of the country and the people, and having yet to purchase that experience in men, and practical wisdom in affairs, which, moderating the thirst for personal distinction and enlarging comprehensiveness of view, can alone mature into safe instruments the political servants of a Government. They have been much blamed ; but the system, rather than the agents, was at fault ; and some of them were not only very able men, but did important service in the line prescribed for their exertions.

The remoter causes of the insurrection trace back to an early date in the occupation of Affghanistan ; and, before entering upon the more immediate and proximate causes, it is essential for

a right and fair comprehension of the subject to carry the mind back to the time of the Shah's entry into Cabul. This period is chosen, not because the events which had preceded should be altogether cast out of a review of the remote causes of the outbreak, but because in order to bring them to bear with their own proper weight and influence, a comprehensive summary of our general policy, and of its effects upon the minds and apprehensions of the people of Central Asia, would be indispensable. But such a retrospect would demand more space than we can afford; and, as the recovery of his throne by Shah Shuja was, after the repulse of the Russians from Herat, the ostensible object of the march of our army into Affghanistan, the attainment of that object forms a real epoch in the policy pursued, and is both a natural and convenient point from which to consider the nature and character of our measures.

The Shah having been re-seated on his throne, though not (as had been prognosticated by the Governor-General) by his own subjects and adherents, a very grave and important question presented itself for the consideration and decision of Macnaghten, upon whose advice the Anglo-Indian Government was dependant. The objects of the British Government had been attained: for, in the words of Lord Ellenborough, "the Government of India had directed its army to pass the Indus in order to expel from Affghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects." Both had been effected; and the question to be decided was, whether the moment contemplated by the Governor-General had arrived: for Lord Auckland's manifesto had promised that "when once he (Shah Shuja) shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn." The promise, thus vaguely worded and qualified, admitted of fulfilment by the adoption of one of two very different courses. Macnaghten had the option, either to take advantage of the favourable juncture when the British army could be withdrawn with the honour and the fame of entire success, and to devolve upon Shah Shuja, holding with the contingent (upon whose fidelity he could rely) the main points of Cabul, Ghuzni and Candahar, the *onus*, not only of maintaining military hold of the country, but also, unshackled by the unpopular tutelage of a British Envoy and with the civil administration in his own hands, that of establishing the royal authority throughout the less accessible districts, and of reconciling by adroit management their turbulent chiefs to his sway:—or, it was open

to Macnaghten, mistrusting the Shah's power and ability thus to maintain himself, to continue the military occupation of Affghanistan by the British troops, and to govern in Shah Shujah's name, on the plea that the engagement was not alone to place him on the throne, but also to secure his power, and to establish the independence and integrity of Affghanistan. Had our policy been truthful and honest, every thing combined to favour the first proposition. Macnaghten avowed himself convinced of the popularity of the Shah, whose reception he had represented as being on the part of the Affghans "with feelings nearly amounting to adoration." The Shah was known to be by no means deficient in ability; Macnaghten himself described him to Rawlinson, as a shrewd, cool, sensible, calculating character. His courage was of a doubtful hue: but this alleged natural timidity could not fail of receiving assurance from the presence of a disciplined body of foreign mercenaries—the contingent—well armed and well officered; whilst the occupation of the key points of his country would, at small cost, have enabled the Shah to maintain, with the aid of the contingent, such a grip of Cabul, Ghuzni, and Candahar, that nothing but an army well provided with battering guns could have shaken his hold on these important points. Shah Shuja might possibly, with such a bit in the mouths of the people and with conciliatory conduct towards the chiefs, for whose restless but petty ambition he could have found scope in the civil and military service of the State, soon have been in a position to brave the return of Dost Mahomed. Freed from the dictation of a British Envoy and from the domineering presence of a British army, provided that his financial measures had proved judicious, his popularity would have increased. He would have had the winter, which, from its severity, imposes rest and peace, as a season in which to consolidate his administration, and during which he would have had leisure to work on the characters and wishes of the chiefs, and to raise an influential party favourable to his reign. A person, sincere in his conviction of the Shah's popularity, and having a clear perception of our position in Affghanistan, would have seen that it was a critical moment in the Shah's career. We know that the Envoy's representations of the Shah's popularity were the creations of his own imagination; and that it is extremely doubtful whether the Shah, given the opportunity above contemplated, would have had either the tact, or the firmness, essential to success in his position. It is certain that his failure would have proved the hollowness, if not the falsehood, of our policy, and would

have given a denial to the bold assertions advanced in his behalf, and that of the course pursued by the British authorities. We suspect, therefore, that the Envoy was rather the dupe of his own wishes, and of those which he knew to be entertained by the Governor-General, than of any real misapprehension of the exact degree of the Shah's popularity and influence. Certain it is that, inconsistently with his avowed and often-repeated persuasion of the Shah's favour in the hearts of his chiefs and people, the Envoy permitted himself to be influenced by Shah Shuja's fears, whose timidity could not rest so long as Dost Mahomed roamed at large, and who therefore deprecated the immediate withdrawal of the British troops. Macnaghten was also affected, only in a less degree than Burnes, with a dread of the onward march of Russian battalions and of the progress of the Czar's influence in Central Asia. Instead of keeping clearly in sight the primal interests of his Government, and in lieu of seizing the favourable moment for honourably and at once dis-embarrassing it from a position which every one saw to be both false and faulty, Macnaghten allowed minor motives, present importunities, and phantasms of a remote danger, to warp his judgment from a perception of his country's real honour and advantage; and, by adopting the second proposition, tarnished the one, compromised the other, and wrapped the close of Lord Auckland's Indian career in gloom and consternation. *Quincitili Vare, legiones redde!*" (Varus! give me back my legions), did not indeed break vehemently forth from that sorrow-stricken amiable nobleman: but who that saw him, will forget his deportment, both at the council-table and in private, during the last months of his rule in India?

The objections to the course which was adopted were many and incontrovertible. The number of troops requisite for the efficient military occupation of such a country as Affghanistan was far greater than India, threatened with disturbances in the Punjab, could spare; the cost of their maintenance was excessive; the difficulty of communicating with an army, so far removed from the British frontier, was great; all convoys of provisions and munitions of war must traverse the interposed states of doubtful allies, thread long and dangerous mountain defiles beset with wild, lawless, plundering tribes, and be exposed to a multiplicity of risks, before they could reach the isolated army; the civil administration, leaning from the first upon the strong arm of a British force and influenced by a British Envoy, acting through a puppet-king, could not be expected to mould itself to the habits and feelings of the people, and must therefore necessarily be disliked by them; and, worst of

all, there was no prospect that such a system could possibly terminate in a period when the Shah, dispensing with his leading strings and British bayonets, could be left to rule alone ; for under such a system, nothing native to the soil and people could arise, upon which to base his power and authority. A mock king ; a civil administration, hated because under foreign dictation, and dissonant from the feelings of the Affghans ; an Envoy, the real king, ruling by gleam of British bayonets, and thus enabled to impose his measures, however crude or unpalatable ; a large army, raising by its consumption the price of provision, and preying on the resources of a very poor country ;—these were the inevitable concomitants of having shrunk from withdrawing at once, in good faith and sound policy, the British army, while the moral impression made by its entire success was fresh and deep upon the Affghan mind, and would for some time have been an element of strength to the Shah, had he been left to establish his own throne.

In order that the reader may better understand the foregoing remarks, and may also trace the connection between the policy at first adopted, and the condition and circumstances under which the insurrection found us, we must devote a page or two to the illustration of Macnaghten's initial measures.

Shortly after the first occupation of Cabul, Macnaghten heard from Pottinger at Herat, that a Russian force, destined for Khiva, was assembling at Orenberg, and that Stoddart was still a prisoner at Bokhara, and anticipated being kept there, unless rescued by an English army. This information was coupled with the recommendation that the army, or at least one brigade, should immediately move on Balkh ; the advice was coupled with the assurance, that a single brigade would be quite sufficient, there being no posts on the route to cause delay or give trouble, and no troops that could oppose the march of the brigade. Outram's return from his unsuccessful pursuit of Dost Mahomed, and the escape of the latter to the regions of the Oxus, combined with Pottinger's report, immediately filled the Envoy's breast with apprehensions of Russian enterprize upon that famed river, and strengthened him in his resolution not to part with the British army, but to retain as large a portion of it as he could induce Keane to leave, or Lord Auckland to sanction ; and with this view he at once wrote to Keane in a tone of alarm at the march of Russian battalions upon Khiva, and their occupation of the banks of the Oxus. Keane, who had seen enough in Affghanistan to satisfy him that the Russian expedition from Orenberg might, with equal safety and propriety, be left to exhaust itself in overcoming the

difficulties of its route, replied with good-humoured pleasantry that "the only banks, he now thought of, were the banks of the Thames;" and he discountenanced indulgence in such a dread of Russian battalions, as invested them with a spectral facility of traversing long tracts of difficult and ill-explored countries. The Envoy's apprehensions were not, however, to be thus allayed; and he sent for Keane's perusal a letter addressed to Lord Auckland, the tenor of which was to acquaint the Governor-General, that the Bombay troops were to return by Kelat; that one brigade was to occupy Cabul; and that a force had moved against Bokhara without awaiting the Governor-General's approval to such an extension of the objects of the expedition, inasmuch as the lateness of the season precluded the delay of a reference to India. This proposal to push a small force across the Hindu Kúsh into the heart of countries, of which little was known, against a State with which we had no ground for war, with the vague intention of liberating Stoddart, pursuing Dost Mahomed, and forestalling on the Oxus, Russian battalions, surprised Keane, who, not trusting himself to write upon a project so quixotic, sent back Macnaghten's letter by the hands of one of his *aide-de-camps*, with the verbal message, that he could not in any way join Macnaghten in forwarding such a letter to the Governor-General. For the present, therefore, Keane's good sense caused this dreamy enterprise to be abandoned; but Macnaghten, urged by the fears of Shah Shuja, and loath altogether to forego an expedition which had flattered his imagination, resolved on making a demonstration to the westward. For this purpose a regiment of Gurkha infantry and a troop of horse artillery were despatched from Cabul with instructions to march to Bamian by the Kullú and Irak Passes, which Burnes declared to be perfectly practicable for artillery. In the event of Dr. Lord's failing to cross over by the more northerly Passes of the Hindu Kúsh, he was to join the detachment at Bamian, and it was to act under his orders.

To form a conception of this *coup d'essai* by the Envoy in military movements, the stupendous character of the Passes to be surmounted must be borne in mind. The most practicable are upwards of 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and present such difficulties, that the chief engineer, having examined them, stated as his opinion that the Kullú Pass alone would retard an army with a respectable battering train at least ten days. The winter was fast approaching, when these lofty mountain ranges are covered with snow; yet the detachment was to winter at Bamian, depending on Cabul

for its supplies—Macnaghten being of opinion that the Passes were open for the transport of provisions during the whole winter season. An officer venturing to suggest that it might be as well to delay the march of the troops for two days, within which time the chief engineer would have returned, and be able to give accurate information as to the character of the route, met with the rebuff that the Envoy did not like difficulties being made. The detachment accordingly marched ; and, as might have been anticipated, took a month in surmounting the difficulties of the route, in order, after much toil and labour to the infantry, to lodge an excellent battery of horse artillery in a position, where it could neither act, nor be of any use. In the meantime, Dr. Lord started upon his journey to the Hindu Kúsh ; but he did not go further than thirty-six miles from Cabul, when, to the astonishment of Macnaghten, he suddenly returned, reporting that the country within forty miles of Cabul was in open rebellion ; that Dost Mahomed, established at Kúndúz, was drawing the whole country to the west of the Hindu Kúsh together ; and that all Turkistan was pouring forward, to join the ex-chief in expelling Shah Shuja, and recovering Cabul.

Macnaghten hereupon immediately made a requisition that the whole of the first division of the Bengal army should remain in Affghanistan—a request with which Keane, though very sceptical as to Lord's alarming report, complied. It soon became known that Lord's sudden retreat to Cabul was the subject of merriment amongst the Affghans ; who said, "that it was in no way surprising for Shah Shuja to run away, that being his custom ; but that it was not expected that an Englishman would run so soon, or so easily." Snow had fallen on the mountains ; and the sight of their white-capped heads disinclined the Affghans, who formed Lord's escort, to attempt the passage of the Hindu Kúsh at a season when inclement weather and an early winter seemed setting in. They therefore caused various reports of the occupation of Kúndúz by Dost Mahomed to be brought, in order to try and deter Lord from prosecuting a disagreeable journey. Finding him hesitate upon these rumours whether or not to proceed, they were encouraged to dupe him still further by intelligence that a rebellion was raging around him, upon which in hot haste he rode back to Cabul. Macnaghten, after a few days, finding that the rebellion was a fiction, was not altogether pleased with his own participation in needless alarm, though well satisfied that the occasion had been afforded him of making the requisition with which Keane had complied. Dost Mahomed was meanwhile a fugitive, unable to maintain the

few dependents who had followed him, and viewed with suspicion and distrust wherever he went. No better opportunity could therefore have presented itself for the entire withdrawal of the British army ; but unfortunately Lord Auckland had left the decision, as to the retention of troops from the army of the Indus in the Affghan territories, entirely to the local knowledge and experience of Lord Keane and Sir W. Macnaghten, with the injunction only, that he would much rather have them keep too many, than too few troops, for some time after the close of the campaign. Macnaghten, who in the same breath was calling for troops and avowing the Shah's great popularity, was only too well inclined to follow the line of policy marked out by the Governor-General : and the alleged menacing attitude of Dost Mahomed Khan on the Khúlum and Kúndúz frontier, and the ghost of a rebellion of Lord's incantation, opportunely enabled the Envoy to demand, and Lord Auckland to accede to, the remaining of a large body of troops under the command of Sir W. Cotton.

Occupied with the reception of Shah Zada Timúr, with the foregoing expeditions and detachments, and with the establishment of the Shah's court and of his civil administration, Macnaghten for some time neglected to consider how the troops which he kept at Cabul, were to be lodged. The question was one demanding instant decision, as the winter of 1839 was rapidly approaching, and there was no suitable cover for troops. Though pressed upon this subject, as soon as it was decided that a portion of the British army was to remain, it was not until the end of August that any steps were taken in this important matter ; and then they consented in sending an engineer officer, Lieutenant Durand, accompanied by Mohun Lal, to examine three small forts, which Burnes had reported as affording a suitable position for the troops. These diminutive forts were west of Cabul several miles ; and, having neither cover, space, water, nor in fact any other requisite for the convenience of the troops, and being, in a military point of view, ill placed as a position for the force, were at once rejected by the engineer, who considered that it was essential to have military possession of the Bala Hissar, and that it was the proper place, under every point of view, both with reference to the present and the future, for lodging the troops. The Shah upon various pretences opposed this measure of precaution, and Macnaghten yielded to objections, which he felt and acknowledged to be ridiculous. Sale was to be left in command at Cabul ; and he had therefore a voice in the selection of the locality for the cantonment of his force. The engineer, however, stated that it was

impossible, before the winter set in, that is, in the course of six weeks, to build barracks, hospitals, sheds and stables for a brigade and its attached cavalry and guns, outside the Bala Hissar—building material having as yet to be made and collected ; whereas, inside the Bala Hissar, by taking advantage of what already existed, it was possible to obtain good and sufficient cover. Thus circumstanced, a reluctant consent was extracted from the Shah, and the pioneers of the force were immediately set to work with the view of rendering the citadel a strong work with cover for its garrison, stores and ammunition. The Shah no sooner learned that the work was seriously commenced, than he renewed strenuously his objection, urging that the citadel overlooked his own palace and the city ; that its occupation would make him unpopular, as the feelings of the inhabitants would be hurt, and that he had already received strong remonstrances against the measure. Macnaghten, with fatal weakness, yielded ; and peremptory orders were issued for the discontinuance of the work. Foiled in his avowed purpose of rendering the citadel a post, which, with a thousand men, a few guns, and proper provisions, might be held against all that Affghanistan could bring before it, the engineer was forced to content himself with keeping such hold of the Bala Hissar, as admitted of its citadel being occupied at any moment, by lodging the troops in hastily-prepared accommodation at its base. It seemed, indeed, that the troops being once in military possession of the Bala Hissar, the evacuation of that stronghold in future was an event as improbable as it would be impolitic, and that the occupation of the citadel and the repair of its works would in time inevitably follow. Macnaghten could not but coincide with the engineer and those who succeeded him and held similar views ; and, as the cost would have been trifling in comparison with the sums thrown away in Affghanistan upon objects to which political importance was attached, the Envoy for some time contemplated following up the project. But the Shah and the Kuzilbash party, as well as the Affghans, were very averse to a measure, which, so long as the British troops remained in Affghanistan, would keep Cabul subject to their effectual control ; and Macnaghten, being in the false position of having to reconcile the declared intention of the Government to withdraw the army from Affghanistan with its present actual military occupation in force, wavered on the adoption of necessary measures of precaution, which might countenance the suspicion of a purpose on the part of the British Government permanently to hold the country ; and ultimately, in an evil hour for himself and his country's arms, not only entirely neglected such salu-

tary precaution, but gave up the barracks constructed in the Bala Hissar to the Shah as accommodation for his harem, evacuated the fort, and thought no more, until too late, of strengthening himself therein.

At the very time that Macnaghten, endeavouring to unite irreconcilable objects, was thus led to a wavering course in respect to precautionary measures of graver moment than he at that juncture apprehended, he launched boldly upon a revolutionary experiment, which was absolutely incompatible with the merely temporary occupation of the country—being in direct antagonism to the feelings of the people, the influence and pride of the chiefs, and the form of Government to which for ages both had been accustomed. Rulers in Affghanistan had ever maintained their sway by a politic management of the chiefs, and, through them, of their tribes. The feuds and rivalries of the chiefs offered great facility for balancing their almost independent powers; and, by tact and judgment, the preponderance of the ruler was secured, and his measures carried out through the support and aid of the Affghan nobles. In fact, therefore, the Government approached more nearly to an aristocratic, than to an autocratic, form, and feelings of independence and pride were strong in the breasts of the nobles. Dost Mahomed had maintained himself at Cabul as the head of this aristocracy with some difficulty; but, by a mixture of adroitness and well timed daring, he had succeeded in keeping his position. It was evident that the Shah, who replaced him, could only rule in one or two ways; either by courting, conciliating, and managing the chiefs as his predecessors had done; or, by destroying their power and influence. To attempt the latter, demanded the permanent occupation of the country in great strength by the British troops, and held out the prospect of a long struggle, from the difficulties of a strong mountain country and a bold people attached to their chiefs. Yet, Macnaghten, professing merely the temporary occupation of Affghanistan, entered upon this hazardous experiment; and as a first and an important step towards the accomplishment of his object, began to raise levies of Khyberis, Jazailchis, Kohistanis, and Janbaz corps, who, looking to the royal treasury for payment and being under the supervision of British officers, it was supposed, would prove devoted to the Shah's cause, and curb the power and pride of the chiefs. The nobles were quick to perceive the blow thus struck at their influence; and feelings of resentment, ill suppressed through present dread of the British force, broke forth in remarks, which betokened that the step taken was fatal to the

Shah's popularity amongst his nobles. The measure alienated the chiefs without having the effect of attaching the very men who enrolled themselves and received the Shah's pay ; for the Affghans are fickle, impatient of control, naturally averse to the restraints of discipline, and, however they might admire the gallant bearing of the British officer when the hour of danger called him to their front, yet he was an infidel in their eyes, connected with them by no ties of clan, religion, or common country, ignorant of their feelings, language, and habits, and, with the strict notions of a British soldier, quite unable to soften their rigour by that community of sentiment and tongue, which goes far to alleviate the pressure and irksomeness of military rule. The experiment was in short thoroughly anti-national ; and the chiefs were active from the first in doing all in their power to render the service unpopular—no difficult task, as it was palpable that the Shah's standing army must be paid, and that the burden of payment must fall on the people.

If Macnaghten's course in military affairs was at starting dubious and inconsistent, that, which he pursued in the administration of the Government of the country, was of the same character. The Envoy deemed it possible to reconcile the assumption by himself of the main powers of sovereignty with the treatment of Shah Shuja as an independent monarch, and sought to effect this by leaving the administration of civil and criminal justice, the settlement and collection of the revenue, and its irresponsible appropriation, entirely in the hands of Shah Shuja, precluding him however from any control in measures concerning the external relations of his Government, or those having reference to independent or to revolting tribes. Although allowed to make grants to his favourites, and to authorize aggressions and usurpations, when these could be effected without troops, the Shah had no voice in deciding on the employment of force in support of his own, or the Envoy's measures. The Shah had thus much power for evil, and could commit the Government to measures, the odium of supporting which must fall on Macnaghten, who alone ordered expeditions, settled the strength of detachments, gave instructions to their commanders, and pointed out the objects to be attained and the mode of accomplishment. It was a vain hope, by thus incurring the opprobrium of all harsh and violent measures, and by leaving to the misrule of the Shah's greedy favourites the credit of evoking them, to dream of blinding the nobles and the people to the really servile condition of their king. The farce was too broad and too cuttingly insulting. From the first

it was pregnant with danger ; and Keane, immediately before his departure, remarked to an officer, who was to accompany him—“ I wished you to remain in Affghanistan for the good of the public service ; but, since circumstances have rendered that impossible, I cannot but congratulate you on quitting the country : for, mark my words, it will not be long before there is here some signal catastrophe.”

No such foreboding found place in the minds of the Envoy or of the Shah. The former sent for Lady Macnaghten ; and the Shah, without compunction, gave away to British officers and others the houses of chiefs who had withdrawn from Cabul, as if their property was confiscated, and no door open to conciliation. The first mission to Cabul had established for the British moral character an ill reputation : and, as the conduct of some individuals, whom it is needless to particularise, was not calculated to remove this unfavourable impression, the consequence was that, even before Keane marched from Cabul, officers searching for residencies in the city, with the desire of purchasing them from the owners, heard their guides execrated by the neighbourhood for bringing licentious infidels into the vicinity.

Let us now proceed, by as concise a review as the subject admits, to connect the normal errors, which have been noticed, with the chain of events which really linked them to the insurrection, more immediately the subject of present contemplation. The general unanimous revolt of a people, composed of a great variety of mountain tribes, often hostile among themselves, is not the work of a moment or of a single measure ; before old feuds can be stanchd, and cordial co-operation have place, the minds and hearts of men must be wrought into sympathy and deep hate of a common object of execration by a widely ramified series of events, embracing the length and breadth of the land, and bringing home to the hearts of all, the imperative need of allaying local animosities and of wreaking vengeance on the common foe.

Among the first, we may almost say the immediate, results of the anomalous Government established at Cabul by Macnaghten, was the rising of the Khyber tribes. They had motives for viewing with favour the establishment of Shah Shuja on the throne of his ancestors ; for they might reasonably hope for a grateful return from the monarch whom they had received, concealed, and faithfully protected, when formerly driven from his throne and deserted by his dependents. These hopes had been countenanced by Wade, who, whilst skirmishing with the Khyberis, was also treating with their chiefs, and as-

sureing them of the confirmation by Shah Shuja of their ancient privileges. Shah Shuja had not forgotten their generous conduct, of which he never spoke without warmth and emotion ; and, sensible of the extreme value to the British troops in Affghanistan of a free passage of the defile for their convoys, he had not hesitated, as one of his first acts, to gratify his own inclinations, and to evince good will to the staunch friends of his adversity, by promising to the Khyberis, unknown to Macnaghten, the annual subsidy, which, in former times, they had been accustomed to receive. During the troubled sway of Dost Mahomed, this black mail had dwindled down to 12,000 rupees, but was again raised by him to 20,000—a sum far less, however, than the amounts paid in former days by the kings of Cabul ; and it was to these higher scales that Shah Shuja was held to have referred.

Wade, on his return from Cabul, being entrusted with no power to treat with the Khyberis, but having to pass their defile, *finessed*, and got through without obstruction ; but left matters in such a state, that when Mackeson, who was empowered to treat, arrived, he found affairs thoroughly embroiled, and the chiefs in no humour to be quickly or easily appeased. They had attacked Ali Musjid ; and, though they had failed to carry the fort, they had destroyed a corps of Nujibs entrenched in the valley below the fort, and had only withdrawn on the news of Keane's approach with the troops returning to Indian ; these they erroneously over-estimated ; and, awed by what they deemed the vicinity of an army, opened negotiations with Mackeson. But Macnaghten's terms were less liberal than the chiefs had been led to expect by the Shah, and the payment of the subsidy offered, shackled with conditions novel to the Khyberis, entirely superseding their authority and influence in the defile. The proffered terms were consequently very unpalatable ; and, as Keane was through, and his infantry was known to be insignificant in strength, the tribes re-assembled to infect Ali Musjid and to close the pass. Keane, indeed, threw provision and ammunition into the fort, sending them back from Peshawur ; but, through mismanagement, the detachment on its return lost between four and five hundred camels : and the Khyberis could boast, not only of having cut off a battalion of Nujibs, but of having worsted a strong detachment of regular troops, British and Sikh, and of having taken the cattle of the convoy. We shall not attempt a detail of Mackeson's negotiations, and of Wheeler's march into the Pass and occupation of a post at Ali Musjid. Wheeler was indeed saved the trouble of attacking, as he had threatened, by the conclusion of a treaty, which was announced by Macke-

son to have opened the Pass, and according to which an annual subsidy of £8,000 was to be paid : but the detachment, which marched, ably protected by Wheeler, with 2,000 camels towards Keane's camp, soon had practical experience of their new allies and the security of the Pass. Though they failed in their attempt to carry off the convoy, the Khyberis celebrated the conclusion of Mackeson's treaty with a rough farewell to Keane's returning detachments.

Whilst Keane had been thus delayed at Peshawur, in consequence of the rising of the Khyber tribes, Macnaghten's alarm on account of Russian battalions had received a fresh spur, from the information which reached him of the advance from Orenberg, and the alleged capture of Khiva ; he wrote, therefore, expressing his wish that the Bombay column, marching on Kelat, should be detained in Affghanistan. Keane ridiculed such fears ; and even Lord Auckland's patience and credulity were wearied by these repeated requisitions for additional troops, evidently and avowedly founded on an uncalculating dread of a far distant and scarce rival power.

Wiltshire marched and took Kelat. For former hospitality and for protection from sanguinary pursuers, the gratitude of Shah Shuja, under British influence, awarded to Mehrab Khan the loss of his poor capital and a soldier's death in its defence. After his fall, documents were found, which proved the manner in which the Khan had been betrayed, and his endeavours to negotiate frustrated ; nevertheless it was thought advisable to consummate the threat formerly made to the Khan, and to place Shah Nawaz Khan, to the exclusion of the son of the fallen man, upon the musnud of Kelat.

Whilst the Khyber and Kelat, the northern and the southern lines of access to Affghanistan from India, were the scenes of the foregoing events, Dr. Lord, having arrived at Bamian, lost no time in making the North-Western (or Usbeg) frontier of Affghanistan, the field of petty aggressive operations. The Syghan valley, which lay between himself and Khúlúm, to which place Dost Mahomed had, in the first instance, fled, had been tributary both to the rulers of Cabul and to those of Kúndúz, according as the strength of either enabled them temporarily to assert and enforce their supremacy. Latterly, in consequence of the ruler of Kúndúz being weakened by the revolt of Khúlúm and its adjacent districts, Dost Mahomed's son, Mír Akram Khan, had taken Syghan and Kamurd, and had marched as far as Khúlúm. Syghan was in fact debateable territory, and exposed not only to the antagonistic claims and raids of Cabul and Khúndúz, but also to a subordinate struggle between

two petty chiefs for the possession of local rule and authority. The weaker of these contending chiefs applied to Khúlúm for aid ; and, as the ruler of that petty place was desirous of extending his authority and of strengthening himself in his newly-acquired independence, he so far complied with his request as to send a detachment of Usbeks, who beleaguered his successful rival in the chief fort of the valley, Sar-i-Sung, proposing to subject Syghan to Khúlúm. The opportunity was favourable to Dr. Lord for proving alike the necessity and importance of his mission, and his ability to fulfil its objects. The connection of this purely Usbek attempt on Sar-i-Sung with the influence of Dost Mahomed, and the assumption that it had been made at his instigation, were matters of no difficulty to Dr. Lord, who determined to march to the aid of the beleaguered chief, and to drive back the Usbeks. The valley of the Syghan river is separated from that of Bamian by lofty mountains ; and intercommunication in winter is difficult. In engaging to secure the ascendancy of an insignificant chief, supposed to have usurped power by the murder of his rival's father and uncle, and in making a hostile attack upon a race, with whom neither the British nor the Shah's authorities could pretend a cause of quarrel, Dr. Lord had not even the excuse that the security of the troops was threatened. The aggression, purely arbitrary, was wholly indefensible, both in point of principle and of expediency. Dr. Lord's protégé was established in the Syghan valley ; and the Doctor himself returned to Bamian, ingeniously to devise and quash embryo insurrections, and to intrench the troops, in the depth of winter to their very teeth, for fear of being overwhelmed by the march of Dost Mahomed from Bokhara with a large army ! We will not proceed with a detail of Dr. Lord's further doings, for to lay them before the reader in their full absurdity would require too much space : but well might Lord Auckland bemoan the inattention to his wishes, and Lord Keane ridicule the despatches, when the report of such vagaries reached them. These proceedings, however, merited marked disapproval ; for they bore out Dost Mahomed's assertions of the danger which threatened the countries on the Oxus from the advance of the Anglo-Indian power to the sources of that river, and from the British occupation of Affghanistan. The Khan of Bokhara, foiled in designs which he knew to be fathomed by the astute fugitive who had fled to him for protection, avenged himself for being outwitted by casting Dost Mahomed into confinement, accompanied by threats of a speedy termination to its continuance by a violent death ; but Dr. Lord's measures to the west of the Hindu

Kúsh procured his liberation. The policy which Dr. Lord pursued, had created alarm throughout the neighbouring countries, the rulers of which naturally began to entertain apprehensions of the ulterior designs of the Anglo-Indian power, and to regard with favour the victim (for such to them he appeared) of British aggression. Hence the Khan of Kokan not only remonstrated with the Bokhara ruler against the line of policy he was pursuing, but also moved a force from the banks of the Jaxartes to compel attention to demands in behalf of a Moslem ruler, expelled by unbelievers from his territory, and oppressed by the person from whom he sought asylum, protection, and support. The irritating aggressions of Dr. Lord thus raised up a friend for Dost Mahomed, where he otherwise would have found none, and instead of disturbing our occupation of Affghanistan, might only have ultimately obtained deliverance through British interference and diplomacy.

The reader will think that having carried him to Bokhara viâ Bamian, he need scarcely be carried thither viâ Herat ; but we should fail in enabling him to explore all the springs of action connected with the insurrection, were advertence to the scene of Todd's labours omitted. Sometimes designated the outwork of India, at others styled the frontier of Affghanistan, Macnaghten had accustomed himself and his subordinates to regard that place as of vital importance to our dominion in India and our sway in Affghanistan. Jealous of a fortress to which he attached such great importance, and not concealing his dissatisfaction with Pottinger's proceedings, the Envoy had, when Keane's army was at Candahar, despatched Todd from thence to Herat upon a special mission, the main objects of which were to draw Shah Kamran into closer and more cordial alliance with the British, and to examine and place in a state of defence the works of the fortress. This avowed object was to be secured by the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and alliance between the British Government and Shah Kamran, guaranteeing the independence of the Herat State, stipulating that the slave dealing, which had justified the advance of Persia, should be abolished, and that the Herat Government would abstain from correspondence with foreign powers without the knowledge and consent of the British authorities. Todd found some difficulty in concluding a treaty upon these terms : but by pledging the British Government to the payment of a fixed monthly stipend, equal to the original revenues of the country for the maintenance of Kamran's Government, and the exemption of the people from all taxation until after the harvest of 1840,

and by making large advances to enable the cultivators to resume their long-interrupted labours and trade to reopen its channels and activity, he succeeded in winning from the avarice of Kamran and his minister, an unwilling assent to the articles of the proposed treaty.

Macnaghten, bent on counteracting Russian influence, had determined to spread the web of his ever-radiating diplomacy to the shores of the Aral and the Caspian. Todd, therefore, shortly after his arrival at Herat, sent a letter to the Khan of Khiva, with the tender of British friendship and alliance. The Khan was at the time under the dread of Russian invasion ; and he consequently received favourably the advances of the British authorities, and deputed an ambassador to Todd with a reply, and propositions to which he desired the assent of the British Government : but they were of a nature which Todd could not countenance, and he therefore alleged his inability to entertain them without a reference to Macnaghten and the orders of his Government.

Kamran and his unscrupulous minister Yar Mahomed, with the example of the military occupation of Affghanistan before their eyes, had viewed with keen suspicion the eager interest displayed to acquire a thorough knowledge of the strength of the place and the resources of the Herat territory. Their apprehensions were not allayed by the diplomatic activity which sought to form alliances with the states on the Oxus, and thus threatened to envelop Herat in a mesh inimical to its independence and importance. The British agent was liberal of money, and Kamran's necessities and love of lucre, combined with the fear of incurring the hostility of the British power, did not permit him to break with Todd ; nevertheless, he knew that such profusion was not disinterested, and he apprehended that the wide expansion of diplomatic relations was only the forerunner of a proportionate extension of military activity, as soon as the state of Affghanistan admitted of the diversion of a part of the troops to the regions of Herat and its vicinity. Such an advance had been the subject of repeated discussion ; and the desire of Macnaghten was well known to Yar Mahomed and his master. The fear of Persia now became secondary to that of a foreign and infidel yoke ; communications were consequently reopened with the Shah of Persia, and the expulsion of the British power from the countries to the west of the Indus became the topic of correspondence. Yar Mahomed never seriously anticipated such a result ; but he sought to counterbalance the preponderating influence of the British power, about to ally itself with the countries on the Oxus, by

initiating a friendly understanding with Persia, and rousing her jealousy against the sweeping ramifications of British negotiation and intrigue.

Yar Mahomed did not confine his communications to Persia. When he drove Stoddart from Herat, he had done his utmost to excite the apprehensions of the Bokhara ruler, who was so far acted upon, that he cast Stoddart into confinement. As the measures of Macnaghten became more developed, Yar Mahomed, pointing to the activity of the British agents at the heads and near the mouth of the Oxus, sought to kindle the Bokhara ruler's jealousy, who, although not deeming the danger to himself imminent, could not but view with distrust the march of the Envoy's exertions. In a similar manner, Yar Mahomed endeavored to counteract the negotiations which Todd had opened with Khiva, and sought, by intrigue, by misrepresentation, and by palpable and undeniable truths, to instil into the Khiva Khan the same spirit of wakeful suspicion and hostility to British influence which animated his own breast. To the Khan, however, the Russian advance from Orenberg had been a positive and a pressing danger, and the alleged ambitious machinations of the British power were a less definite and more remote source of alarm; their scope was evidently and avowedly antagonistic to those of his older and nearer foes, the Russians; and their tendency was therefore rather advantageous than the reverse to Khiva; which, separated by six hundred miles of barren wastes from Herat, and by about the same extent of difficult country from Khúlúm, felt that British desire for territorial aggrandisement had to appropriate vast and unproductive regions, before it could think of absorbing the Khiva State. Its ruler was accordingly not unwilling to derive any benefit which might accrue from the countenance of the Anglo-Indian Government, and still less averse to share in that lavish expenditure of money, for which the British political agents were famed throughout Central Asia. The Khan of Khiva therefore received Abbott, whom Todd sent from Herat in the end of December 1839, if not very cordially, still with more of consideration and attention than the malevolent representations of the Herat minister, and the exaggerated rumours of British aggression on Khúlúm and of ulterior designs on the line of the Oxus, were likely, but for Russian operations on the Yembah, to have secured for Todd's deputy.

Fortunately, also, Abbott was a man of temper; and, though not qualified for his mission by acquaintance with the languages of the country, and therefore labouring under sore disadvantage, he made himself respected by a conduct alike creditable to

him as a Christian gentleman and a resolute officer. He had been sent, on the spur of the moment, without even credentials from his Government, and found that the seeds of distrust and suspicion had been sown by Yar Mahomed, in order to frustrate the objects of his mission. These, indeed, were not very clearly defined ; for, with proffers of friendship and alliance in his mouth, Abbott was powerless to incur engagements, or to accept and encourage any of the demands which the Khan of Khiva, with practical notions of international compacts, naturally made. The Khan remarked, almost in the same words which Dost Mahomed had once addressed to Burnes—"What then *have* you come hither for? If you will grant none of our demands, of what use is it to call yourselves our allies?" Abbott and Burnes were two very different men ; and, though nothing could well seem more hopeless or chimerical than Abbott's extemporized mission, at a time when the regions of the Oxus and Jaxartes were rife with alarm, and the Moslem rulers seemed menaced with conquest either by the Russians from the Caspian, or the Anglo-Indian army from the Hindu Kûsh, yet the patient, truthful, and pious lieutenant of artillery won the confidence of the Khivan ruler, and ultimately became his ambassador on a message of peace and of restitution of captive slaves to the Czar of Russia.

Todd had discovered Yar Mahomed's correspondence with the Persian Assuf Ud Dowlah at Meshed in October, and had acquainted his Government with the fact ; but Lord Auckland, perceiving that it was attributable to the jealousy and apprehension caused by the diplomatic measures of Macnaghten and his subordinates, and that it was neither practicable nor expedient to take serious notice of this early infraction of the treaty, forgave the minister of Herat : and, foreseeing that such breach of faith would probably not be the only one brought to light, and that the political agents on the spot, angered and excited by the irritating conduct of Kamran and his minister, might attach undue importance to such events, and seriously compromise the British Government by a breach, which would still further embroil and embarrass the Trans-Indus affairs, extended his pardon to every such offence, which might have occurred previous to the receipt of the Governor-General's letter. Being received in February 1840, this pardon embraced the communications made to Persia in the preceding January, on which occasion Kamran addressed his late besieger to the effect—"that he, Kamran, merely tolerated the presence of the English Envoy from motives of expediency, and from the necessity in which he and his people stood of the money liberally

provided by the English Envoy ; but that his hopes centred in the aid and favour of the Shah of Persia." The advances to the people and Government of Herat at this time amounted to £100,000—a sum, in respect to the country, about equivalent to the subsidy of a million to a petty German State. It had saved ruler, chiefs, and people from starvation, and had moreover replenished the ruler's coffers ; but the instinct of power, dreading British encroachment, was too sensitive to allow such munificence to outweigh the fear, which our political measures and the military occupation of Affghanistan had called into being.

The Shah, accompanied by Macnaghten, quitted Cabul early in November and marched to Jellalabad, there to pass the winter. The capital and its fort had disappointed his expectations. He often sat at a window of the palace, wiling away time, his eye wandering over the different objects which the city and its plain offered. On one of these occasions, after a long silent pause, Shah Shuja made the remark—"that everything appeared to him shrunk, small, and miserable ; and that the Cabul of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabul of his youth." He was glad therefore to escape from the severity of the winter of a place, the ideal charms of which age and the experience of the reality had banished. Jallalabad, though a still more wretched town, enjoys from its lower altitude above the sea level, a warmer climate, and the winter is far less severe.

After the fall of Kelat and the conclusion of negotiations with the Khyberis, the setting in of the winter season caused a lull in Affghanistan : and Macnaghten and the Shah for a time flattered themselves with the hope that affairs would settle into order and quiet. There was boundless activity over the whole field of diplomacy, which, extending from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Indus, effectually alarmed and unsettled the minds of rulers and people : but for the moment the British soldier had rest. That rest, however, was not to be of long continuance ; for the presence of a considerable body of troops at Jellalabad encouraged Macnaghten to assert the authority of Shah Shuja over the surrounding districts, the petty chiefs of which, awed by the British force, gave in their adherence, and submitted to the Shah's supremacy. The Chief of Kuner was an exception ; and the Envoy was under the necessity of sending a detachment under the command of Colonel Orchard, with the view of making the contumacy of this refractory chieftain an example, and of replacing him by one more subservient to the Shah's interests. The failure of the *coup de*

main attempted upon Kuner we shall not enter upon in detail ; but the event was so far unfortunate, that it gave the Affghans an early lesson, that British troops could be opposed with success ; and subsequently, in the neighbouring district of Bajore, it was shown that the lesson had not been thrown away. For the moment the occurrence was only a trifling break to the lull of winter. More stirring events were, however, at hand : and the Shah, accompanied by the main body of the British troops from Jellalabad, had no sooner returned to Cabul in April, than it became evident that the repose of Affghanistan was to be of short continuance, and that with the spring came rebellion.

The Ghiljies are a fine muscular race, characterized by an untamed ferocity of disposition, the result of ages of habitual rapine, and of constant petty warfare. Ever jealous of their wild independence, and for a short time once supreme in Affghanistan, they have never failed to prove the most obstinate opponents to invaders, whether from the east or the west ; and have, when themselves the aggressors, recorded their prowess on the plains of India by many a sanguinary contest. Hardy, confident and expert in the use of musket, sword and knife, they are, to a man, at the beck of their chiefs, for any expedition which affords a prospect of booty. The Chiefs had never submitted to the authority of the Cabul and Candahar rulers ; for, although Dost Mahomed had made tributary a portion of the Suliman Khel Ghiljies, holding districts to the east of Ghuzni, and though the Andari Ghiljies were his subjects, yet these formed but an inconsiderable part of the tribes, who, in a mass, disowned all submission or obedience to the Amir or his brothers, and, despising *their* retainers and followers of other Affghan tribes, continued, with perfect impunity, the long-established system of Ghiljie transit fees and plunder.

The advance of Keane from Candahar by the line of the Turnuk had, as is well known, excited the hostility of the Ghiljies, who, jealous of independence, and mistrustful of the Shah and the formidable power which had seated him on the throne, rejected Macnaghten's advances and proposals. The ill-timed attack by the Suliman Khel Ghiljies on the British camp, the day before Ghuzni was taken ; the fall of this stronghold ; Outram's subsequent raid though a part of their country ; and the setting in of the winter—curbed for a while any overt acts of habitual resistance to the Cabul and Candahar authorities. But it was impossible for the Ghiljies to view with patience the apparent consolidation of a power, which threatened entirely to annihilate their authority on the highways between Candahar, Cabul, and Jellalabad, and therefore to strip them of the fee

and plunder, which both chiefs and people regarded as a right. Every detachment that marched, every convoy that traversed their country, was a source of irritation, exciting the avidity and hurting the pride of the Ghiljies and their leaders. As spring set in and the weather became more favourable, the Ghiljie discontent took new life ; and disturbances arose, which showed that the tribes were afoot, and that measures must be taken to crush rebellion before it had time to become formidable.

Accordingly, from the side of Candahar, Anderson was sent forth by Nott to read them a lesson, which he did in a short, sharp combat, very creditable to the courage of the Ghiljies, who, though superior in numbers, were without artillery. The result somewhat disheartened them. Nott occupied Kelat-i-Ghiljie, and secured the communication between Candahar and Ghuzni ; Macnaghten took measures to conciliate the chiefs, who consented to abstain from infesting the highways, on the condition of being paid by the Shah an annual stipend of £3,000. Upon these easy, though perhaps not very honourable, terms, communications lying along the Cabul and Turnuk rivers were exempted from a guerilla interruption, always harassing, and not unaccompanied by loss of men, cattle, and munitions. It was a moderate price to pay for the pacific conduct of chiefs swaying tribes, which when combined, could bring 40,000 combatants into the field ; and which, but for the difficulty of uniting them in co-operation for a common purpose, were the most powerful and formidable in Affghanistan.

The communications between Candahar and Cabul were thus temporarily freed from Ghiljie interruption ; but those between Candahar and Shikarpur became suddenly endangered by the occurrence of unforeseen events at Kelat-Quetta and in Upper Scinde.

We have not space to enter minutely into the grave error of occupying, in the month of May, the isolated post of Kahun. It cost the entire loss of Clark's detachment and convoy, and kindled a flame which spread throughout Beluchistan, where our political measures had prepared material enough for combustion. The adherents of Mehrab Khan's son rejoiced at the intelligence, and were soon actively devising measures for the deposition of Shah Nawaz Khan, who, without influence amongst the Brahuis, and leaning on the unpopular political agent Loveday, was equally powerless and disliked by his subjects. The Kahurs, too, heard of the triumph of their old antagonists, the Murris, with satisfaction ; for the hatred of British supremacy exceeded even the bitterness of a

blood feud of long standing, and a rivalry of ages in acts of rapine. They knew that Bean calculated upon the strength of these feelings as a sure bond of union between the Kahurs and the British interests; and, by encouraging this idea, they lulled Bean's vigilance, and were nearly enabled to compass his destruction and that of the small force at Quetta. Nott and Leach saved him. We wish it could be added that, when perfectly in his power, he had saved Loveday by following up the insurgent chiefs, who broke up from before Quetta, shaken in confidence and suspicious of treachery amongst themselves. This he neglected, and Loveday was sacrificed.

Whilst these events were taking place amongst the Beluchis above the Bolan Pass, those below obtained a signal triumph. Clarke's disaster was followed by still graver and more dishonorable losses: the Pass of Nuffush was again to witness Murri success and British discomfiture. Clibborne's defeat was a serious calamity; and a military commission condemned him, and all the superior officers who had ordered and provided for his expedition. Errors of detail there doubtless were on the part of Clibborne, and of those who organised the expedition; but by far the most blameworthy were they, who had led to the necessity for any such expedition at all, by thrusting Brown with a hundred and forty men into a position, where he was useless except to risk the detachment sent for the purpose of providing him with what was needful for the maintenance of this strangely-selected post.

We pass rapidly over Bean's futile negotiations; the arrest of Masson; the descent into Cutch of the insurgent Beluchis, with the view of acting in co-operation with the Murriss upon the line of communication between Shikarpur and Kandahar, their check at Dadur, and retreat before Boscawen, leaving on the ground of the Beluch encampment the warm, still bleeding, body of the murdered Loveday—the first victim of the rapidly-growing hate towards the political agents of our Government—followed by Marshall's successful blow, which again sent Nussib Khan a fugitive into the wild country around Kelat, and re-established at the moment the integrity of Nott's line of communication with his base. We glance at these events, because it must be borne in mind how widely-spread was the spirit of revolt, and that on every side our measures were raising an implacable spirit of hostility. Temporary success might here and there partially quell its ebullitions; but this only made it work more secretly, more deeply, and pervade the masses more entirely, until one feeling beat in every Moslem heart to the west of the Indus.

We would willingly pass over Dr. Lord's unhealthy activity without any further allusion : but, as may be recollected by many of our Indian readers, spring had no sooner smiled upon the wintry summits of the Hindu Kûsh than the troops under his orders found occupation. Before winter was well ended, the capture of an Hazareh fortlet and the destruction of its defenders, under circumstances of a most painful nature, spread a feeling of hatred among an innocent and (at our hands) a well-deserving race. This act was the consequence of Macnaghten's sending a troop of horse artillery to Bamian, without inquiry or preparation, and therefore without advertence to the difficulty of procuring forage for them during the winter months. Once in its mountain position, it became essential to procure sustenance for the horses of the troop ; and the only available resource was the small quantities of dried lucerne and straw, which the Hazarehs habitually store for the support of their live-stock during the severities of a protracted winter. To obtain this partial supply of forage from owners to whom it was most valuable, the influence and exertions of the political agent, backed by a free expenditure of cash, were necessary. Practically, notwithstanding the price paid, this was an oppressive exaction, although for a time unaccompanied by any overt disaffection ; considering the locality, the demand was too great, and the exaction, though well remunerated, and therefore at first borne without murmur, became vexatious and injurious in proportion as it was unavoidably extended. The Hazareh impatience broke out on the occasion of a quarrel with some Affghans of Dr. Lord's detachment ; supplies of forage were refused ; and the political agent, having failed in his attempts at pacific negociation, marched with a force against the contumacious Hazareh fortlet. The troops forced an entrance into it, and made prisoners a portion of the garrison ; but part, having taken post in a tower, refused to surrender, and fired upon the troops ; the latter fired the fodder straw on the ground floor of the tower, and its ill-fated defenders were all slain either by shot or flame. Such success was, of course, bought at the expense of the good-will of the neighbourhood ; and the Hazarehs and other tribes only awaited a favourable moment to evince their hostile feelings. After the spring set in Dr. Lord's measures soon produced one.

Jubbar Khan, in charge of Dost Mahomed's family, was some time at Khûlûm, where he maintained himself and his charge by levying the transit duties of the place—a supply which the Khûlûm chief, partly through fear and partly through better

motives, assigned for the provision of a party still too numerous and well armed to be treated with disrespect. Macnaghten, anxious to have hostages as a check on Dost Mahomed's designs, endeavored to induce Jubbar Khan to submit himself and his charge to British protection and generosity. The subtle Chief was doubtful of the intentions of the Khan of Bokhara and of the ultimate fate of Dost Mahomed, and felt also the insecurity of his own position on sufferance at Khúlúm. He was not disinclined, therefore, to the only course which held out a certainty of security and liberal provision. Dr. Lord, on the other hand, was anxious to be doing, and to hint to Jubbar Khan that his residence at Khúlúm was within reach of the British troops. Accordingly a reconnoissance to the northward was determined, and the officers, weary of their winter's confinement, were eager for so amusing and interesting an expedition. In the course of its progress, an offer was made of the fortlet of Bajgah, which is situated at the mouth of the defile beyond Kamurd, and is considered by the natives of the country a stronghold of some importance. The offer of the Chief, if not suggested, was the result of apprehension, and not of good-will or policy ; nevertheless, it was without hesitation accepted, and a small party of infantry lodged in the post. Dr. Lord, if he had not planned the offer, evinced as great readiness as his reconnoitering officers to take advantage of it, and wrote to Macnaghten and Cotton, urging the expediency of garrisoning Bajgah, and making it a frontier post. The Envoy acceded ; and Dr. Lord, having his force increased by three hundred men of Hopkins's Affghan corps, pushed forward five companies of Gurkhas to Bajgah, occupying Syghan with two companies, and retaining one at Bamían. The rumour of these forward movements had hastened Jubbar Khan's decision, and, on the 3rd July, he reached Bamían with his brother's family, and proceeded onwards to place himself and them under British protection. This advantage was more than counterbalanced by the effect which the occupation of Bajgah produced upon the surrounding countries. It was regarded as the first step towards ulterior operations ; and a strong feeling of hostility was at once engendered amongst those, who anticipated that a struggle with the British power was imminent. The Walli of Khúlúm in particular, as most threatened, was most alarmed ; and Dr. Lord thus prepared a cordial ally for Dost Mahomed, where hitherto he had usually encountered jealous enmity.

Bajgah was an ill-chosen post, and the engineer, Sturt, at once condemned it : but both Dr. Lord's political consistency

and military genius would have been compromised by a withdrawal from a position, which he had pronounced excellent and imposing; and he therefore disregarded the engineer's objections.

We could, with great pleasure, follow the thread of narrative through the sequence of events—and the more willingly, as it would give us the opportunity of doing justice to the very gallant conduct of the non-commissioned officer, Douglas, and his band of Gurkhas; but, referring our readers to the military accounts of these matters, we can only allude to Hay's sickness; his call for a European officer from Syghan; the detachment under Douglas to meet and strengthen the coming officer; their disappointment; the unsuspecting bivouac under the fort of Kamurd; the fire from the forts, which told of treachery, and made the Gurkhas spring to their arms; the charge of the Usbeg horse calculating on easy victory, but checked by the Gurkha fire before they charged home; the unequal contest kept up for miles by Douglas, making good his way steadily, in order, leaving no wounded, flinging the arms and ammunition of his slain into the deep river which edged the road; the many wounded; the ammunition of all nearly expended; the destruction of the gallant Gurkhas at hand; when suddenly the engineer, Sturt, with two companies, hastening to save their comrades, broke into view, checked the ardour of the Usbegs and Hajaris, saved Douglas and his band from their impending fate, and enabled them again to reach Bajgah. The affair was full of honour and credit to Douglas and Sturt; but the Usbegs and the neighbouring hill tribes, regarding it as the defeat of a body of British troops, hailed it as a triumph;—so that Dost Mahomed, who was then in the field to reap the full advantage of the spirit evoked by Lord's proceedings, not only found the Walli of Khúlúm a staunch ally, but his subjects and the tribes of the hill countries eager to espouse his cause. Then came his advance, the withdrawal from Bajgah of our troops, and the first remarkable disaffection of an Affghan levy, Hopkins's corps.

Macnaghten, apprised of disturbances on the Bamian frontier, had at first considered them unimportant, rightly ascribing to them a local origin; but, finding that time did not allay them, that Dost Mahomed, escaped from Bokhara, was on the frontier, profiting by the spirit which pervaded all tribes and classes, that Bajgah had been threatened, that the Affghan levies had been tampered with and could not be trusted, and that the troops had fallen back on Bamian, he reinforced them with a regiment of native infantry, sending up Dennie to command.

The recovery of Kelat by the son of Mehrab Khan ; the uncertain state of Nott's communications with Upper Scinde ; the Murri successes ; the insurrection in Bajore, accompanied by the loss of a gun and the discomfiture of a party of the Shah's troops ; the near approach of Dost Mahomed, which not only operated to disturb the Bamian frontier, but likewise kindled the hopes and the activity of the disaffected in the Kohistan and in Cabul—foreboded little peace to the Shah's rule in Affghanistan. Fortunately the Khyberis, as also the Ghiljies, who had shortly before been granted an annual subsidy of 30,000 rupees, seemed to prefer British tribute to British grape-shot and musquetry. Provided the Punjab remained friendly, Macnaghten's communication with Ferozepore might be considered for the time secure. But rapid changes were taking place : the Government of Lahore and the Seikh feudatories at Peshawur were in active correspondence with Dost Mahomed, and were sedulously fomenting disaffection to the Shah, and fear and hatred towards the British power. Dost Mahomed's two sons, who had escaped from Ghuzni, were at large in Zurmut and the neighbouring districts, seeking the means and the opportunity of furthering their father's cause. The general aspect of affairs was therefore extremely sombre.

Then followed Dennie's victory : but Macnaghten's difficulties were but partially relieved by Dennie's action, which, in fact, only restored matters to the same footing on which Dr. Lord had found them, and therefore contented the Walli of Khúlúm, whose only anxiety was on account of British encroachment, and who, in reality, cared little for Dost Mahomed's cause, provided the British troops were withdrawn from the advanced posts into which Dr. Lord had so unwisely thrust them. The events at Bamian had rather added to Macnaghten's perplexities ; for it was no longer doubtful whether reliance should be placed on the Affghan levies, and the Envoy, now convinced of the futility of the measure by which he had alienated the good-will of the Chiefs, pointed out to the Governor-General that the hope of raising a loyal Affghan army must be relinquished, and that unless the Bengal troops were instantly strengthened, the country could not be held. Alarmed by Seikh intrigues, the Envoy also at this time became alive to the capital error of Lord Auckland's operations beyond the Indus, with the unsubdued power of the Punjab between the army engaged in Affghanistan and its reserves in Northern Indian ; and irritated by the machinations of the Seikh agents to excite revolt and to feed it with supplies of money, he pressed the Governor-General to break with the ruler of the Punjab. Lord Auckland however felt that the crisis, which Macnaghten depicted in Affghanistan, was

not the moment to select for opening serious hostilities with a formidable State ; and that, to maintain a hold of Affghanistan, and furnish the reinforcements so urgently demanded, a temporising policy with the court of Lahore and a prolongation of peaceable relations were essential.

Meanwhile, Macnaghten, in order to strengthen himself at Cabul, recalled Dennie with the battery of horse artillery and the 35th native infantry from Bamian. Dost Mahomed's intrigues were actively carried on, not only in the Kohistan, but in the city of Cabul itself ; his two sons were busy in Zurmut ; the Seikh feudatories were doing all in their power to raise the country between Peshawur and Cabul, and to make it pronounce in favour of Dost Mahomed against the Shah. Look where he would, Macnaghten found no stay for the support of the Shah's authority but the British guns and bayonets at his disposal.

The Kohistan chiefs when summoned to the capital, had obeyed the call, made obeisance to the Shah, and sworn allegiance. Their simulated submission was intended the better to cover deep treachery and a fixed resolve to overthrow Shah Shuja's rule : and they returned to their forts, banded together by solemn engagements, and encouraged by the knowledge they had acquired of the smallness of the force at Cabul. Neither the Envoy nor the Shah were blinded by the readiness with which allegiance had been tendered : for the letters of the Chiefs being intercepted, their schemes and temper were disclosed ; and Macnaghten, uncertain of Dost Mahomed's movements, sent Sir A. Burnes, with a force under Sale's orders, to punish the hostile Chiefs of Kohistan, and to oppose the entrance of the Amir into districts ripe for insurrection. Dennie's action at Bamian, followed by the escape of Dost Mahomed, by no means diminished the necessity of this measure.

Sale's short operations, finishing with the affair of Purwan Durrah and Dost Mahomed's surrender, are too well known to require notice. This voluntary surrender at once altered the whole state of affairs. Macnaghten and the Shah, in possession of Dost Mahomed and the greater part of his family, were now at liberty to indulge in the hope that their difficulties were at an end, and that the Shah's authority could be established. The step thus taken by the Amir must be regarded as evincing a strange pusillanimity, and was dissonant from the expectations formed of his character. The hasty resolution was probably the result of a movement of weariness at the life which, for months, he had been leading, and of the fear that the Kohistanis, who only hated him a degree less than the British, might find it more

convenient to betray him, and thus obtain peace and the large reward set upon his head, than to maintain hostilities, which cost them forts, villages, and vineyards, and threatened to render their country hopelessly desolate.

Macnaghten had written to the Governor-General—"No mercy should be shown to the man who is the author of all the evils that are now distracting the country : but, should we be so fortunate as to secure the person of Dost Mahomed, I shall request His Majesty not to execute him, till I can ascertain His Lordship's sentiments" Shortly after the voluntary surrender of the Amir, the Envoy wrote—"I trust that the Dost will be treated with liberality. His case has been compared to that of Shah Shuja ; and I have seen it argued that he should not be treated more handsomely than His Majesty was ; but surely the cases are not parallel. The Shah had no claim on us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom ; whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." As the latter view, ingenuously truthful and correct, ill corresponded with the sanguinary cast of the former, the Governor-General, probably acquainted with Vattel's chapter "of the sovereign who wages an unjust war," abstained from expressing his sentiments on a question admitting such contrariety of personal application, as that of the execution of "the author of all the evils" then distracting the country ; and Macnaghten, overjoyed at the unexpected issue of events, not only frankly urged the truth in favour of his prisoner, but treated him from the first with the attention and consideration which the English gentleman has ever shown to those, whom the chances of war may throw into his power.

The expedient leniency of Lord Auckland to Kamran and his minister Yar Mahomed, did not, as may have been surmised, produce a permanently favourable effect upon the counsels and acts of the Herat authorities. At first, indeed, Yar Mahomed seemed earnestly desirous of giving proof that his gratitude was sincere, and his attachment to the British Government not confined to mere profession. Accordingly he proposed the expulsion of the Persians from the fortress of Ghorian, possession of which they still retained. The bait took. Todd, aware that Macnaghten and the Indian Government were anxious that the Persians should retire to a greater distance from Herat, credulously put faith in Yar Mahomed's avowed intention of capturing Ghorian ; and advanced, on the strength of his promises, upwards of two lacs of rupees to aid in equipping the force, with which this stroke of policy was to be accomplished.

Pretended penitence for perfidy having secured so liberal a largess, Yar Mahomed, surprised with his own success, wrote to the governor of Ghorian to allay the fears which the vaunt of contemplated operations against that fortress might have excited, and to assure the Persians that the machinations of the British agent might be despised, and reliance be placed on the friendly disposition of the Herat authorities. Todd, at length convinced that he had been grossly duped, discontinued all further advances for the alleged preparations against Ghorian, and, about August 1840, reduced the monthly subsidy paid to Kamran and his minister to 25,000 rupees. The measure was a source of disappointment to the ruler of Herat: but his minister, nothing abashed, determined to change his game, and to play after another fashion upon the credulity and facility of the British agent. Communications with the Persian minister for foreign affairs were actively renewed, and finally arrangements made for a conference at Ghorian between accredited Envoys from the Persian court and from Herat. The Persian minister quitted Meshed, and, with the view of attending the conference, marched towards Ghorian; but Yar Mahomed, having brought affairs to this pass, thought he had at disposal a political secret sure to command a good price. Accordingly making great merit of revealing his own device, he claimed from Todd a reward corresponding in magnitude to the importance of the secret. Upwards of £200,000 had however been, by this time, thrown away at Herat, and the patient credulity of the British authorities had been taxed beyond further endurance. Yar Mahomed's scheme for adding to the hoards won by his duplicity therefore failed.

Baffled in what he had considered very skilful finesse, the minister's ingenuity was nevertheless but a short time at fault. Avarice has no shame. When, therefore, in October 1840, the state of affairs in Afghanistan became known at Herat, Yar Mahomed, thinking the moment favourable for intimidating Todd into compliance, again urgently demanded money. The successes of the Murris in Upper Scinde, the attacks on Quetta, the capture of Kelat by the son of Mehrab Khan, and the advance of Dost Mahomed upon Cabul, formed a combination of circumstances sufficiently unfavourable to Shah Shuja's authority. By receiving communications from disaffected persons in Afghanistan, and by threatening to march on Candahar, Yar Mahomed thought that the dread of such additional countenance and support for the insurgents would compel Todd to purchase the forbearance of Herat by a further heavy subsidy. These hopes were not without real foundation; but they were

suddenly blasted by the surrender of Dost Mahomed, and the complete re-establishment of security on the line of communications between Shikarpore and Quetta. Todd, reassured in his position at Herat by the favourable turn of affairs towards the close of the year 1840, refused these demands, and continued to limit the expenditure to the monthly stipend before mentioned. In the course of one year an outlay of upwards of £150,000 had been incurred by Todd at Herat: and the expenditure, initiated by Pottinger, instead of being diminished, had been carried to an extravagant excess without any resulting advantage. Indeed, so far from British influence being thereby strengthened, Macnaghten, alarmed by the reports received from Todd, had repeatedly urged the necessity of moving British troops to Herat; and the Governor-General, though averse to such an operation, had so far yielded as to have been led to contemplate the movement as a possible event; and a battering train, sent from Bombay, was in preparation at Sukkur, and under orders to be held in readiness for a march to Candahar, in case of being wanted for the fore-mentioned distant expedition. The events of November allayed the apprehensions of the British authorities in Affghanistan; and, producing temporarily an effect at Herat, the advance of a force to that fortress was, for the time, not pressed.

The lull in Yar Mahomed's intrigues was not of long continuance; for the events, which have now to be alluded to, no sooner began, than Kamran's minister engaged with great activity in correspondence and intrigue with the Dúrani insurgents of Zemindawar.

The Dúrani Chiefs, whatever their hopes when Shah Shuja was first placed upon the throne, were rapidly undeceived in their expectations of attaining power and influence under the sway of their Dúrani master. All real power was in the hands of the British functionaries, who, ignorant of the country, the people, and the Chiefs, and naturally jealous of the influence of the latter, were peculiarly liable to err in the selection of subordinates, where the nomination of these was entrusted to them. Political agents were also frequently compromised by the necessity of acting in official connection with persons deriving their dignities and charges from the appointment of the Shah. Mulla Shúkúr, his first minister, had been a faithful follower of his exile, but possessed no other qualification for so important a post; and was alike ignorant of the spirit which pervaded the people and the Chiefs, with whom he was therefore unpopular. His influence was great: and the Shah, placing confidence in his minister's judgment and inten-

tions, overlooked the fact that, in choosing the men to be placed around Prince Timour at Candahar, the fitness of the individuals for the duties to be devolved upon them was made an entirely minor consideration to the qualification of old companionship. Accordingly Timour's counsellors were the minister's old Ludiana fellow-exiles. These men and their satellites were eager to seized the golden opportunity of enriching themselves at the expence of the province ; and, knowing that they could safely calculate upon the weakness and connivance of the minister, they had no hesitation in committing acts of oppressive injustice in the collection of revenue from the people, and in the interception of royal bounty from the Dúrani Chiefs. The latter haughtily resented the bearing of greedy upstarts, whose only merit was long exile from the country they now plundered : and the Chiefs soon found that they could rely on the sympathy of the common people, who were equally disgusted, and animated by a deep feeling of hostility towards the instruments of misrule, and the power which supported them.

It has been noted that the intrigues of Kamran's minister were busy in exciting and encouraging the disaffected ; and there came in aid of the projects of the discontented Chiefs, a rumour, which, whether well or ill-founded, was widely circulated, that Shah Shúja, jealous of British supremacy and impatient of the subjection in which he was kept, desired to free himself and the Affghans from a galling yoke, and only awaited a favourable result to any revolt which might shake the British Power, in order to declare himself openly, and cordially to aid in the expulsion of allies, whose presence overshadowed the authority of the throne. Foremost amongst the discontented Chiefs was Uktur Khan, a bold, designing man, disappointed by not obtaining charge of Zemindawar, and otherwise angered by the Shah's Candahar authorities. He raised the standard of rebellion, and, on the 29th December, routed Mahomed Allum Khan, took his guns, and drove the royalist followers from the field. Nott had dispatched a regiment of native infantry, cavalry, and guns, to disperse the insurgents : but Mahomed Allum Khan was beaten before Farrington and his detachment could arrive. He, however followed up the successful enemy, crossed the Helmund at Giriskh, and on the morning of the 3rd January, came up with them at Sundi Nowah ; where to the amount of 1,500 horse and foot, Uktur Khan had drawn up his force ensconced amongst sand-hills, to screen it from the dreaded fire of the British artillery. Farrington attacked them, and drove Utkar Khan from his position, capturing a standard, and pursuing the fugitives for some distance. This smart affair, in which the enemy left

sixty killed upon the field, was a partial check to the spirit of revolt, and somewhat disheartened the insurgents. The weather being severe, they dispersed ; and the detachment was withdrawn from Zemindawar.

Two men were now at Candahar who had a clear perception of the real state of affairs in Affghanistan—General Nott and Captain Rawlinson,—both men of talent, and both good soldiers ; the one an able, high-minded commander, whose strong feeling and military pride had been most undeservedly wounded by repeated and unjustifiable supercession ; the other, a man, who added to the qualities of a good officer those of an accomplished eastern scholar, and was in the political department an active and intelligent agent. The General, compelled by accident to remain in Affghanistan, now began to anticipate that, although others had reaped laurels at Ghuzni and Kelat, a sterner struggle was at hand, and that he might have to strike a blow for his country's honour and the fame of her arms. By careful attention to the *morale* and the discipline of his troops, and by a considerate conduct towards the Affghans, he sought to allay the passions and prejudices of the latter and to gain their respect and good-will, coupled with a well-founded dread of the formidable, but orderly, force under his control. The civil being separate from the military authority and in other hands, Nott could only watch the progress of misrule and embroilment, and prepare, as best he could, for the storm which he saw approaching, and which he knew, though not raised by him, must of necessity burst upon himself and his men. Rawlinson, entrusted with examining the revenue accounts of the province, and reporting upon the expenditure of six lacs of rupees (£60,000), at a place where there was no expense of a court to keep up, and also with enquiring into and ascertaining the origin of the late disturbances, quickly perceived the false position of the British in Affghanistan, and, early and repeatedly endeavoured to impress Macnaghten with a sense of the danger attending that position. These warnings were accompanied by expressions which implicated Shah Shúja as having countenanced the revolt of Uktur Khan, and intimated the existence of intrigues of a dangerous and little-suspected character. Macnaghten entirely discredited such machinations, and acquainted the Shah with all he heard from Rawlinson. The monarch either was, or pretended to be, "well nigh frantic ;" and, ascribing such rumours to the creatures of his lately deposed minister Mulla Shukur, threatened to send for the officials the latter had placed around Timour at Candahar, and, "having ripped up their bellies, to hang them up as food for the

"crows." The Shah had reasonable ground of anger against these functionaries, as one of them had directly charged him with having made a communication by letter, hostile in tone to his British allies. Macnaghten would not doubt the Shah's sincerity, and wrote to Rawlinson—"I think you should sift these atrocious rumours to their head as diligently as possible. You have had a troublesome task lately, and have been doubtless without leisure to weigh probabilities; but it may make the consideration of all questions more simple, if you will hereafter take for granted that as regards us "The king can do no wrong." He is not so disposed, and if he were, this is not the time."—(23rd January 1841). Rawlinson, however, was neither so assured of the Shah's sincerity, nor so sanguine as was Macnaghten of the probable facility of effectually tranquillizing the province, except resort were had to—what he naively termed—"the arrest and forcible removal to India of at least fifty or sixty of the most powerful and turbulent of the Dúrani Khans;" a project, which Macnaghten could not entertain, observing that "Government would never tolerate for a moment the notion of such wholesale expatriation." Having deposed the minister Mulla Shukur, the Envoy and the Shah founded their hopes of restoring to order the province of Candahar by the removal and despatch to Cabul of the minister's creatures, who had abetted Timour in acts of violence, profited by exactions which had discontented the people, and had succeeded in rendering the British power, themselves, and the Shah, obnoxious to the Chiefs and their numerous followers. This measure and a contemplated visit to his Dúrani capital in the autumn by the Shah, when he hoped to conciliate the Chiefs, who were invited in the meantime to lay their grievances before him by petition, were the means through which the Envoy trusted to restore confidence and good-will.

The removal of the culpable functionaries produced a very transient effect. The evil lay deeper; and the spirit of disaffection to the Shah and hatred to the British power from day to day acquired strength, and began more and more to move the hearts of the people. The universal venality of the public officers and the authorized exactions of former Governments may have been occasionally—what Macnaghten, when contrasting them with existing circumstances, represented them—hardly credible. But they were so only, when there was the power to coerce, and that owing to the disordered state of the country, was not often. Amidst the struggles for dominant authority, official rapacity was effectually kept in check by the independent spirit of the people, by the readiness with which they flew to arms in order to resent op-

pression or oppose exaction, and by the dread of thus strengthening political adversaries. Under the two-fold Government of the Shah and the Envoy, the misdeeds of the native collectors had no compensating reaction to fear. The political agents were, however well intentioned, unable to cope with the interested duplicity of their subordinates; and the latter knew that the strong arm of the British force was ever at hand to strike down rebellion and enforce the payments of revenue. Amid much that was anarchical in consequence of the oscillations of superior power, the people had for years enjoyed a wild freedom and an immunity from heavy taxation, which made them impatient of a condition, such as that which was suddenly imposed upon them. The system was the more severe from the practice of paying the Shah's levies by assignments on the revenues of particular districts. These levies were larger and of a more permanent character than those heretofore entertained; and the collectors quartered themselves on the assigned districts, at the living cost of the inhabitants, until the latter liquidated the prescribed contribution. Macnaghten, aware that such a custom must alienate the people and render them as hostile to the Shah as to his British allies, instructed the new minister, Usman Khan, to abolish the system of assignments and to replace it by one less oppressive and unpopular. But the wants of the Shah were urgent; the Indian Government, meeting the enormous outlay in Affghanistan with reluctance, was unwilling to increase it; and the minister, surrounded with difficulties, could not, in the midst of disorder and rebellion, introduce ameliorations in the fiscal system of the country. Matters, therefore, necessarily continued much upon their old footing; and the prospect was remote of radical improvement.

Macnaghten no longer able to shut his eyes to a fact against which he had long contended—the Shah's unpopularity—was nevertheless resolved to view affairs in a favourable light; and he combatted the opinion that the position of the British power in Affghanistan was a false one, and that either it should take the Government of the country into its own hands, or relinquish all military occupation of it. "If either McNeill or Sir J. Hobhouse should entertain a similar opinion, I have little doubt that it has originated in the atrociously false reports, that have been circulated regarding His Majesty's personal character. In common honesty we can neither take the country, nor withdraw our troops so long as His Majesty is sincere in his alliance. If we are to take countries on account of the misgovernment of their rulers, why should we not begin with Lucknow, Hydrabad, &c. ? Surely our

"unfortunate Shah ought not to be the only victim, and condemned without trial. He has incurred the odium that attaches to him from his alliance with us ; and it would be an act of downright dishonesty to desert him, before he has found the means of taking root in the soil to which we have transplanted him." After denouncing either alternative as impolitic and impracticable, and urging that "we should require ten times the number of troops that we now have to support our position, were we ostensibly to appear as rulers of the country," he expressed this opinion, in allusion to the Dúrani and Ghiljie disaffection, which he deemed transient,—“All things considered, the present tranquillity of this country is, to my mind, perfectly miraculous. Already our presence has been infinitely beneficial in allaying animosities and pointing out abuses : but our proceedings must be guided by extreme caution. Rome was not built in a day. But I look forward to the time, when His Majesty will have an honest and efficient administration of his own, though the time must be far distant, if ever it should arrive (certainly it cannot arrive during the present generation, to whom anarchy is second nature), when we can dispense with the presence of our Hindustani contingent. Here we are gradually ferreting out abuses and placing matters on a firm and satisfactory basis.”—February 7, 1841, Jellalabad.

Written at a time when the punishment of the Sungo Khil in the Nazian valley was only delayed until the necessary disposition could be effected, and Shelton, with a strong force, could be detached upon the duty, Macnaghten's view of affairs was little in accordance with reality. Truth is seldom insulted with impunity. The *miraculous tranquillity* existed nowhere except in Macnaghten's wishes and imagination : for, whilst he was engaged in checking, through the operations of Shelton on the 24th February, the rising spirit of revolt amongst the tribes bordering the Khyber, the Ghiljies in the vicinity of Candahar, and between that place and Ghuzni, were evincing an implacable hostility, which determined the British authorities to occupy Kelat-i-Ghiljie, and thus, by establishing a garrison in the heart of the disturbed districts, to curb insurrectionary movements, and to ensure greater security of communication along the line of the Turnuk. The expedition upon which Shelton was sent into the Nazian valley, had a colourable pretext in justification of the measures enforced ; but the Ghiljie rising on the line of the Turnuk was preceded by the capture of a small fort under circumstances, in which the gallantry of Sanders, Macan, and others was no excuse for the original error which led to its

attack, and the destruction of its Chief with fifteen of his men. This occurrence deeply embittered the Ghiljie hatred of their invaders ; and they were resolved to contest the permanent occupation of their country. With great jealousy they watched the preparations for rendering the old fort of Kelat-i-Ghiljie tenable, and began to assemble in order if possible to interrupt and prevent the completion of the design. Nott, hearing of this, and having to dispatch stores of various descriptions to the post, sent them under the escort of seven hundred bayonets, a detachment of horse, and two guns, the whole commanded by Colonel Wymer. When the convoy neared its destination, the Ghiljies broke up from the loose beleaguer of Kelat-i-Ghiljie and marched to oppose Wymer. Macan followed them ; but, apprehensive of a *ruse*, and that the enemy, having lured him from his post, might double back and carry it in his absence, he halted. The Ghiljies were however intent upon Wymer ; and, at 5 P. M. of the 9th May, they boldly attacked him. Having a large convoy to protect, he was forced to stand on the defensive. In spite of Hawkins's guns, which threw their shot with effect amongst their masses, the latter advanced with good courage, and sought to assail one of Wymer's flanks, and thus discomfit him ; whilst making a partial change of position to meet fairly this movement, the Ghiljies, thinking the sepoys shaken, rushed sword in hand to the charge ; but the 38th were quick and steady in forming, and their close, well-delivered fire, aided by the grape of the guns, made the swordsmen reel and recoil from before the bayonets. The combat nevertheless lasted until 10 P. M., when the Ghiljies despairing of success, having lost many killed, and having to carry off many wounded, withdrew from their purpose, and left Wymer to accomplish his march.

Meantime Uktur Khan had been actively engaged in recovering from the check Farrington had given him, and a number of fresh followers had gathered around him. Macnaghten warned that the state of the country was becoming " worse and worse every day," chafed at the truth and received it ungraciously. " These idle statements," he wrote, " may cause much mischief ; and, often repeated as they are, they neutralize my protestations to the contrary. I know them to be utterly false, as regards this part of the country (Cabul), and I have no reason to believe them true, as regards your portion of the kingdom (Candahar), merely because the Tukkis are indulging in their accustomed habits of rebellion, or because Uktur Khan has a parcel of ragamuffins at his heels." The seizure of Uktur Khan by a night march of the Janbaz, whom he knew to be untrustworthy ; the offer of a large pecuniary

reward for the capture of the rebel leader ; and the notice that he should be hung "as high as Haman" when caught, were Macnaghten's instructions for the tranquillization of the districts to the west of Candahar : whilst he hoped by transferring to another Ghiljie Chief, on condition of his seizing the Guru who had beleaguered Kelat-i-Ghiljie and attacked Wymer, the Guru's portion of the stipulated allowances or black mail, to sow disension amongst the Ghiljie leaders, and to obtain by treachery possession of an inveterate enemy of the British power.

Uktur Khan who was to be thus summarily dealt with, had assembled about 6,000 men, and had taken up a safe position before Girishk, on the right bank of the Helmund, which rapid river effectually secured him from surprise. Nott sent Woodburn at the head of his regiment of sepoys, the Janbaz horse, and a detail of guns under Cooper, to search for and attack the insurgents. Woodburn ultimately beat them ; and the next morning crossed the river and encamped at Girishk. He could shew three standards taken from the enemy, as trophies of the combat ; but he wrote to Nott, that the conduct of the Janbaz (his only cavalry), the notoriously disaffected state of the country, and the numbers of the enemy, did not seem to warrant the pursuit of Uktur Khan, unless a reinforcement of cavalry and infantry joined him.

Nott determined to strike both at the Ghiljies and at Uktur Khan : two detachments, therefore, one under Colonel Chambers against the Ghiljies, and another under Captain Griffin against Uktur Khan, marched from Candahar, both strong in cavalry. Chambers on the 5th August was slightly engaged ; the enemy, however, made no stand, but fled before the charges of the troops of horse, before the infantry and guns came into action. Griffin had more decided fortune ; for, on the 17th August, at the head of four guns, eight hundred sabres, and three hundred and fifty bayonets, he drove Uktur Khan from a position at Rawind. The rebel leader had chosen ground on which walls and gardens afforded cover for his men, about 5,000 in number, and promised to nullify the fire of the artillery and the compact discipline of the handful of infantry ; but Griffin boldly attacked him, drove the rebels from their cover, and forced them out of their position. They were in the act of forming beyond the broken ground they had yielded, when Hart, seeing that the moment was favourable, charged with the Janbaz : Suftur Jung, a son of Shah Shúja, shared in the honour of this charge ; and the Janbaz displayed no slackness, but following their leaders, broke the enemy, and hotly pursued them.

The victory was decisive : and thus both the Dúrani and the

Ghiljie outbreaks received severe disheartening blows from Nott's detachments. Whilst the result of the military operations was still uncertain, Macnaghten had rebutted the existence of any difficulty in overcoming the national feeling against British supremacy. "From Múkur to the Khyber Pass, all is content and tranquillity; and wherever we Europeans go, we are received with respect and attention and welcome."—(August 2, 1841). Persisting in regarding the insurrections in the vicinity of Candahar, as transient manifestations of an habitual spirit of independence, from which nothing unfavourable to the popularity of the British rule was to be inferred, he unhesitatingly denied the difficulty of its position in Affghanistan. "On the contrary, I think our prospects are most cheering; and, with the materials we have, there ought to be little or no difficulty in the management of the country. It is true, the population is exclusively Mahomedan; but it is split into rival sects, and we all know that of all antipathies the sectarian is the most virulent. We have Hazarehs, Ghiljies, Dúranis and Kuzzilbash, all at daggers drawn with each other; and in every family there are rivals and enemies. Some faults of management must necessarily be committed on the first assumption of the administration of a new country, and the Dúrani outbreak may be partially attributable to such faults; but what after all do such outbreaks signify?" Supporting his opinion of the evanescent character of such insurrections by examples drawn from the history of India, Macnaghten, in allusion to Uktur Khan and his followers, thus summed up his views—"But these people are perfect children, and they should be treated as such. If we put one naughty boy in the corner, the rest will be terrified. We have taken their plaything, power, out of the hands of the Dúrani Chiefs, and they are pouting a good deal in consequence. They did not know how to use it. In their hands it was useless and even hurtful to their master, and we were obliged to transfer it to scholars of our own. They instigate the Múllahs, and the Múllahs preach to the people; but this will be very temporary. The evil of it is, we must have force; we have abandoned all hope of forming a national army." Thus thought and wrote the Envoy. Nott, to the full as bold a man, in spite of the successes of his troops, took a wholly different view of affairs from Macnaghten. "The conduct of the thousand and one politicals has ruined our cause, and bared the throat of every European in this country to the sword and knife of the revengeful Affghan and bloody Beluch; and, unless several regiments be quickly sent, not a man will be left to note the fate of his comrades. Nothing

"but force will ever make them submit to the hated Shah Shuja, who is most certainly as great a scoundrel as ever lived." Nothing could thus be more opposed than were the views of the Envoy and the General, who only concurred on the single point of ascribing blame to the subordinate political functionaries. Their errors, admitted by Macnaghten, and prominently adduced by Nott, were however, as has been seen, but secondary causes, rather affording occasion for the exhibition of, than originating, that deep hate which now pulsed in the hearts of Affghans. The whole policy of the Anglo-Indian Government was a grievous wrong to this people; and the instruments who strove to work out a faulty system with a devotion and zeal worthy of a better cause, cannot justly be made responsible for its failure. If some were vain, shallow, and immoral, others were able, good and valorous men. The usual proportion of ability and merit was there; but these qualities had to struggle against adverse circumstances and false positions, and were expected to reconcile incompatibilities.

Cotemporaneously with the Dúrani insurrection in Zemindawar, events took place at Herat which must now be noted.

Yar Mahomed, in constant communication with Uktur Khan and the rebels, sought to encourage the outbreak, and, by embarrassing the British Government and finding full occupation for its troops in the suppression of revolts in Affghanistan, to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the military occupation of Herat. He knew that, so long as the Dúranis and Ghiljies were in arms, Nott could not spare men and cattle for a march on Herat. Secure on this point, the object next in importance was to devise means for re-opening the sluices of British prodigality. The minister was well aware that from the side of Persia there was now nothing to dread. A confidential agent was therefore despatched to Meshed, inviting Persian co-operation, pointing out the distracted state of Zemindawar and the Ghiljie country, and urging the opportunity as favourable for an armed demonstration in support of the kindling spirit of insurrection—the northern division of the British army of occupation having its communications with the southern interrupted by the snow on the highlands of Ghuzni. Yar Mahomed was well apprised of the inability and unwillingness of Persia to act on his suggestions. His purpose was to operate upon the apprehensions of the British agent, and thus again to effect a renewal of the now staunch donations. Todd, however, at the same time that he ascertained the nature of Yar Mahomed's letters to Meshed, learned that strong reinforcements were in Upper Scinde, and that there was a probability of Nott's hands being early strengthened.

ed. He, therefore, deemed the occasion favourable for marking his sense of the conduct of Kamran, by enforcing a measure, which would be a severe blow to the avaricious ruler and his minister. On the 1st February 1841, he informed the Herat authorities, that even the monthly stipend would be discontinued until the pleasure of the British Government were known. Yar Mahomed sought to parry this blow by artfully offering to accede to the admission of a British force into Herat—a measure, which Macnaghten had much at heart, and which had been the real object of the mission. Hitherto Yar Mahomed had carefully thwarted its fulfilment, nor had he any intention of altering his policy in this respect: but he rightly judged that it would at once induce Todd to re-open negotiations; that it might not improbably lead to a grant of money; and that it was entirely free from danger, as no troops were disposable, nor for months could be, to dispatch to Herat. The immediate payment of two lacs of rupees was the condition coupled with the proffered concession. Todd, without adverting to the fact, whether troops were available or not for Herat, eagerly caught at the hope of realizing the object of his mission: but he required, as a guarantee, before payment of the demand to which he otherwise made no objection, that Yar Mahomed's son should proceed to Girishk to meet and conduct the force to Herat, should the arrangement meet with the approval of the Anglo-Indian Government. The security demanded was in accordance with the Envoy's views; but Yar Mahomed, who never dreamt of admitting willingly a contingent of British troops, finding that Todd was no longer to be duped into actual payments without an equivalent, declined to furnish the desired guarantee and, as a last resource for compelling Todd to submit to exaction, demanded either the payment of the stipulated allowance, or the withdrawal of the mission. Kamran's minister, in adopting this course, thought that the state of Zemindawar and the Ghilje country would render Todd averse from taking a step, which involved open rupture with Herat: but Todd, having failed in his ill-timed endeavour to accomplish the grand object of his mission, refused to meet the requisition, and, to the alarm of Yar Mahomed, withdrew the mission from Herat. The news of this rupture reached the Governor-General, accompanied by the Envoy's strenuous advocacy of a military expedition to reinstate British influence by the occupation of Herat, at a time which rendered the event and Macnaghten's suggestions thereon, extremely unpalatable. By the cession of Ghorian, the differences with Persia had been brought to a conclusion; and there appeared, therefore, no real basis for

the stringent measures pursued by Todd, founded on a jealousy of Herati intrigues with Persia. Not only however did the grounds for the sudden break with Herat appear insufficient, but the latter event had the effect of casting ridicule on the whole of the operations in Affghanistan—clearly announcing to the world, that British interference and protection were more dreaded by Herat than Persian thirst for conquest.

The Dûrani and Ghiljie outbreaks were a source of alarm to the Government of India, which was further irritated by the fact, that the Secret Committee, startled by the cost of the war which, after exhausting the accumulated treasure had plunged India into debt, had addressed the Government of India in terms, which, in reality, called in question the whole policy of the war. The weak Government in England, conscious that the then approaching elections would prove the downfall of the existing ministry, would, when too late, have gladly withdrawn from a conquest, the evils of which were forcing themselves upon the convictions of its originators, and could not stand scrutiny, should power pass into other hands. Lord Auckland, vexed at the aspect of affairs, resolved at once to disavow Todd's measures. Conciliatory letters were immediately written to the Herat authorities, and regret expressed at the occurrences, which had partially interrupted mutual good understanding.

Todd had certainly acted imprudently in pressing a measure which Macnaghten, at the time, from the want of available troops, and the state of the country around Candahar, was clearly unable to carry into effect ; but the Envoy was as eager as his deputy, and, having led him into the mistimed attempt, deserved as much blame. It fell, however, wholly on Todd, who was removed from political employment ; whilst Macnaghten was simply advised, that "we should first learn to quiet and to control the positions that we occupied, before we plunged onwards."

Yar Mahomed's fears were completely allayed by the letters of the Governor-General. Both Kamran and his minister regretted the large sums which at one time were lavishly granted them ; but, as the patience and credulity of the British Government had on this point been exhausted, the Herat authorities were glad to find themselves independent of its tutelage and domination. The Envoy was indeed amused by a friendly correspondence, particularly as such still held out the prospect of a continuance of the stipend of three lacs of rupees per annum, which Yar Mahomed did not despair of obtaining upon very easy terms ; but it was only on such, that he entertain-

ed any intention of favouring the British Government by the acceptance of its subsidy. Macnaghten, as late as August 1841, still hoped to effect a reconciliation, and to bring round Yar Mahomed to a more cordial understanding. The Government was advised to stipulate that Yar Mahomed must agree to follow the advice of the British authorities in all matters ; that no demand beyond the three lacs per annum should be made ; and that one of Yar Mahomed's sons was to reside at Calcutta, or Bombay, as a hostage for his father's sincerity. But events soon followed, which threw into utter insignificance Yar Mahomed, his petty intrigues, and the weakness and credulity of our over-reached agent's proceedings at Herat.

The observation has already been made, that the Secret Committee had taken alarm at the aspect of affairs to the westward of the Indus : and as the altered tone in which they suddenly expressed themselves upon the operations in Affghanistan, had a marked and an unfortunate effect upon the Envoy's measures, it here becomes essential to note the manner in which the opinions of the Secret Committee influenced the current of events.

Most readers are aware that the control of the Government of India is a power entrusted to the President of the Board of Control—a member of the Ministry—and empowered by Act of Parliament to dictate instructions to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The influence of the latter body is, therefore, in all matters of real importance of a purely subordinate character, and is entirely dependent upon the ability and energy of the President, and the interest which the ministry for the time being may take in the welfare and good government of the vast empire under the sway of the British Crown. The name of the Secret Committee, the channel of the injunctions of the President of the Board of Control, must not, therefore, when subsequently used, be misunderstood as attaching undue importance to that small section of the Court of Directors, which has always a qualified, and often a nominal, rather than a real participation in the conduct of affairs of weight.

The insurrection which recovered Kelat for the son of Mehrab Khan ; the reverses sustained in Upper Scinde ; the attacks on Quetta ; the alarm produced by the return of Dost Mahomed, and his movements and intrigues in the Kohistan ; the great cost of the occupation of Affghanistan ; and the state of anarchy into which the Punjab seemed fast falling, and by which the position of the army to the west of the Indus threatened to be still farther compromised—had excited the vivid apprehensions of the Home Government, who under the impulse of anxiety, addressed the Governor-General in a tone of complaint and

reprehension, inconsistent with the spirit of full approbation which had encouraged the opening of the war. The series of reverses were attributed to the error of having, at the close of 1839, withdrawn too many troops from Affghanistan; whilst the spirit of hostility to the Shah's Government was charged to an absence of sufficient vigour in amending the defects of the civil administration of the country. The difficulty of meeting the extraordinary disbursements consequent on the war, and the continued occupation of the conquered territories, and the financial embarrassment, which the deficiency of revenue as compared with expenditure, could not fail to entail on India, were, with reason, mooted—it being evident, that, unless a change of policy took place, for many years to come the restored monarchy would have need of a British force, and that not a small one, in order to maintain peace in its own territory and prevent aggression from without. The Indian Government was therefore called upon to consider, with the utmost seriousness, the question of its future policy with respect to Affghanistan—the British position in that country being one, which must be either abandoned, or fully maintained at whatever sacrifice, and with all the consequences which a movement so far beyond our frontiers must entail.

These instructions, penned under a sense of alarm at a threatening crisis, reached the Governor-General when the surrender of Dost Mahomed, the re-occupation of Kelat and flight of Mehrab Khan's son, and the successes of Nott's detachments against the Dúraní and Ghijie insurgents, had not only improved the aspect of affairs in Affghanistan, but also brought about an opportunity most favourable for withdrawing with credit from an erroneous and dangerous policy. The unexpected surrender of Dost Mahomed was a second test of the honesty and sincerity of the Indian Government in its trans-Indus operations. No more striking event could be conceived for an honourable termination to the armed occupation of Affghanistan, and for the triumphant return of the Anglo-Indian army to its own frontier; and, by furnishing so unhopèd an occasion, Providence removed all reasonable ground of excuse or hesitation, and afforded the Indian Government the very moment which it professed to await. But man, in his short-sighted elation, clung to ill-gotten conquests, and, rejecting the proffered occasion, was overtaken by a fearful and terrible retribution.

The Governor-General, vexed at the altered tone of the Secret Committee and at the blame imputed to the course pursued, was gratified that circumstances were such as enabled him

in reply to adduce plausible reasons for continuing the policy which had been called in question, and to speak, with a show of confidence in its ultimate success, of the necessity for maintaining the military occupation of Affghanistan, and supporting Shah Shúja until his authority should be securely established. Lord Auckland admitted that the British Power was unpopular in Affghanistan, and that it rendered Shah Shúja so; that the latter, leaning entirely on his British allies, had no military means of his own worthy of the least reliance; that the actual condition of feeling in the country (whatever the degree of discontent with the established order of things) was owing rather to our presence and pervading ascendancy, than to any general sentiment of personal dissatisfaction toward Shah Shúja, whom the Governor-General believed to be intelligent, just, lenient, and zealously attentive to the duties of his station; that the cost of the British force in Affghanistan was a heavy burthen upon the Indian finances—so much so, indeed, that it caused a yearly deficiency of a million and a quarter, which could only be provided for by loan, and was therefore rapidly plunging the Indian Government into a heavy public debt; that it was clear that the Indian Government could not go on for many years providing for a deficit so considerable; that the restored monarchy, if we remained on the scene, would for many years to come need the maintenance, at an overwhelming cost, of a strong British force; that Russia had receded from her advance towards the Oxus; and that invasion from the westward by a large force, over an immense extent of barren country, occupied by tribes destitute of union and force, could only be made with much time and preparation. Yet, notwithstanding these plain and forcible admissions of the difficulties and embarrassments attending our position in Affghanistan, and of the withdrawal of Russia from the attempt to establish her influence on the Oxus, the Governor-General was averse from seizing the opportunity of retiring with honour from a false position: and he found a countervailing advantage in the repose of the public mind in India from our command of the avenues, by which the approach of invasion was alleged to have been apprehended, and in the facility which the tenure of Affghanistan was asserted to afford, for watching and counteracting the first movements of hostile intrigue. On such visionary grounds, dignified with the name of advantages of vital importance, he, with the greatest earnestness, deprecated a retrograde movement from Affghanistan, unless under the control of an imperious necessity.

To palliate this decision in favour of the alternative of continuing to occupy Affghanistan, necessarily in great force and at the cost of the financial prosperity of India, hopes were held out, that the embarrassments of the latter country might be ameliorated by its growing resources—from the falling in of large pensions—the escheat of lands—and reductions in the cost of the Civil establishments—all remote, and some of them but insignificant contingencies.

The alleged neglect of the Civil administration of Affghanistan was rebutted ; and the impolicy and impracticability of the sweeping reforms, contemplated and recommended by the Secret Committee, in the system of collecting the revenue and of paying the Affghan troops, were characterized as admirably calculated to throw everything into confusion. Nevertheless, anxious to reduce the expenditure as much as possible, and to evince a spirit of economy in consonance with the objects of the Secret Committee, Lord Auckland pressed Macnaghten to effect reductions of outlay, and to diminish the amount of the various subsidies paid to the different Chiefs in Affghanistan. The Envoy had objected to this measure, foreseeing some of its possible consequences ; and he had urged that the payments to the Chiefs were nothing more nor less than a compensation for the privileges given up of plundering the high roads through their respective jurisdictions, and that “we should be found in the end to have made a cheap bargain ;” but, finding himself alone in his opinion, and pressed to reduce these stipends by Burnes, the Governor-General, and the Secret Committee, he resolved—as the outward aspect of affairs was improved, and his position strengthened by the presence of the troops sent to relieve the corps which were to return to India—to satisfy the wishes of the home authorities and of the Government of India, before resigning control and authority to his successor. The Envoy therefore summoned the Ghiljie Chiefs to Cabul, and communicated to them, that the necessities of the State rendered the reduction of their stipends necessary. The Chiefs received the announcement without any apparent discontent or remonstrance : but they were no sooner clear of Cabul and amongst their own dependants and followers, than they issued orders to infest the Passes between Cabul and Jellalabad, and to interrupt the line of communication with India.

Such was the discretion, which after selecting, on the question of the main policy to be pursued, the worst of two alternatives, injudiciously and perniciously sought at once to enforce a petty economy, incompatible with the course adopted. The heedless profusion, which could waste upwards of two hundred

thousand pounds upon Kamran and his Minister, suddenly turned with a nice parsimony to pare down the stipends of the Ghiljie Chiefs, in order to boast of a saving of three thousand pounds per annum.

We find that, in endeavouring to lay before the reader a brief but comprehensive outline of the political transactions and of the general state of affairs to the West of the Indus immediately prior to the insurrection, we are exceeding the usual limits of an article. Yet, it was necessary to remedy, or attempt to remedy, a defect, which we have observed to pervade every work, which has hitherto treated of this event. It was essential that the reader should perceive that the whole tendency of our policy, from the moment that the Shah was re-seated on his throne, had been to excite far and wide, over the whole of Affghanistan and the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes, the spirit of distrust and hostility ; that this went on deepening into hate and open revolt where the circumstances of the moment appeared favourable ; that these occasional outbursts of the national mind and feeling, partially successful and incompletely subdued, were but the minor craters on the mountain's side, betokening the threatening presence and activity of deep subterrene fires, before the volcano itself opened with the paroxysmal burst of a mighty eruption. The custom has been to treat the subject as if it were independent of these precedent occurrences ; as if it were an insulated fact, which could be viewed singly, and could even be discussed as a purely military question, disconnected from its intimately associated political adjuncts : it was necessary, therefore, to show the reader that the antecedents had a most important bearing upon the disastrous sequel, and to make him sweep with his eye the broad circle of a heaving, stormy sea, and trace the approach of the hurricane. We are no admirers of the apologetic fashion of writing, which sacrifices truth to falsehood. Our nationality, under the convenient screen of consideration and delicacy, does not lead us to veil gross errors and manifest injustice, in order to soften the hues of an iniquitous policy, which no colouring can impose upon the world as other in character than nefarious and unwise. In what we shall have to say on the proximate causes of the outbreak at Cabul, and on the political and military measures which followed it, our speech will be as plain as on the events which were the forerunners of that calamity. Such admonitions are from the hand of Him who administers them for man's warning and contemplation—not with the view of their being filmed over with the web of a nice and curious vanity, which shrinks from calling things

by their right names, and shows truth no further than may serve to keep falsehood in countenance. We shall ill fulfil our mission in the east, if we cannot speak and write of our actions without flattery or subterfuge ; if we cannot brook to read the lessons which God gives us. Great power is great temptation : and the smiter of its excesses is the giver of the abused power, who can as easily humiliate with the hand of retribution, as raise by that of favour.

Major Hough, in his treatment of the subject, forms no exception to the general rule. His book is deficient in lucid arrangement ; his array of authorities is sometimes out of place ; his parallels are frequently remarkably inapposite, and the military doctrines and arguments advanced, often open to question in their mode of application. He either omits, or was not aware of much that had an important influence on the current of affairs. But in this he is by no means singular : for nothing can well be more bald and poor than the manner in which the insurrection at Cabul is treated by an historian (Thornton), who, from the circulation of his works by the Court of Directors, seems to be a favourite with them.

Macnaghten, warned throughout 1841, both by Rawlinson at Candahar and by Pottinger in Kohistan, of the real state of feeling which pervaded the country, but blinded by his own wishes, reasonings, and fancied strength, was obstinate in depicting the Ghiljies rising as a partial and easily quelled revolt. Yet he knew that Akbar Khan was on the Bamian frontier, and that intrigue and disaffection were rife in Cabul, Zúrmüt, and the Kohistan ; and he soon learned that the Ghiljies were assembling in earnest on the line of the Cabul river. Nevertheless, Sale's brigade was permitted to march upon its return towards Hindústan, as if the passes were clear, the Ghiljies contented, and no opposition to be anticipated. Monteith, with the 35th N. I., marched in advance on the 9th October, and halted at Bútkak, about nine miles from Cabul ; whilst Sale, with the remainder of the brigade, remained at the latter place, being detained to complete his wants in baggage-cattle. The fact of the march of the brigade in such a manner is the more inexplicable, as it was known at Cabul on the 2nd that the passes were blocked up, and Burnes on the 3rd wrote to an officer, Captain Gray, returning with a small escort to India, advising him to join a Chief, who, with a party of four hundred men, was marching to Lugham. Gray did so : and we refer to the narrative of the adventurous march and of the chivalrous conduct of Mahomed Uzín Khan and his party for a detail of this officer's escape from the Ghiljies. Fellow-

ship in danger makes hearty friends. The fore-named Chief, interested in the fate of Gray and his companion, to save whom he had perilled himself and his followers, now frankly told Gray that "all Affghanistan were determined to make one cause, and to murder or drive out every Feringhi in the country ; that the whole country, and Cabul itself, was ready to break out ; that no confidence could be placed in the escort, and that the safety of Gray and his companion was matter of alarm and anxiety to him." Gray wrote to Burnes on the morning of the 7th, and reported officially all that had occurred, and the plot revealed by his gallant protector. The letter reached Burnes, for he wrote to the Chief acknowledging its receipt ; yet Monteith marched on the 9th, exactly as if all between Bútkak and Jellalabad were as quiet as the Envoy (about to proceed to take up the Government of Bombay) wished to be the case ; and Sale, the firearms of whose corps were worn out by constant service, failed to obtain permission to replace the bad weapons with new, though at the time four thousand lay idle in store at Cabul.

Elphinstone, the General, who had relieved Cotton, was a brave gentleman, but inexperienced in command, a tyro in eastern warfare, ignorant of Affghanistan and its people, and so shaken by severe attacks of gout and illness before he quitted Hindústan, that he accepted the command in Affghanistan, because repeatedly desired by the Government, and from the honourable feeling that it is a soldier's duty to go wherever his services may be required, but from no personal wish ; for he felt that although partial recovery forbade him to decline the service, it left him in reality physically unequal to much exertion. Had he been experienced in men and affairs, and gifted with mental energy and ability, the vigour of a commanding intellect might, in some degree, have counterbalanced the disadvantages of physical debility, and have prevented his infirmities from rendering him a mere cipher. The proper man to have succeeded to command in Affghanistan was Nott :—but it was felt from his known character that, if he were appointed, it must be to real, and not to nominal, command—and this was not what either Burnes or Macnaghten desired. He had therefore again the mortification of being thrown into the background and a secondary position, in order that the highest military authority might rest in the hands of a more manageable man.

Monteith's intimation of the state of the country was a rough one. On the night of the 9th his camp was attacked at Bútkak ; the assailants were repulsed, and, as the firing might have been heard at Cabul, and a report of the event

was quickly communicated, Sale, with the 13th, was suddenly ordered on the 10th to move out to Bútkak, and to clear the passes. Having joined Monteith, Sale was at the head of two regiments of infantry, Dawes' guns, Oldfield's squadron of 5th cavalry, a rissalah of irregular horse, and Broadfoot's sappers; besides two hundred Jazailchis under Jan Fishan Khan. Sale, with this very respectable force, resolved to force the Khurd Cabul Pass, and to encamp the 35th N. I. in the Khurd Cabul valley—the 13th returning to Bútkak after this should have been accomplished. Accordingly, on the morning of the 12th, he attacked and forced the Khurd Cabul Pass, with small loss, considering its length, strength and the numbers of the enemy; the 35th was encamped as intended; and the 13th, again traversing the Khurd Cabul Pass, returned to Bútkak. Sale, wounded on first entering the Pass, was thenceforward carried in a dúlí throughout the subsequent operations of his force.

The isolation of the 35th N. I. in an unfavourable position encouraged the Ghiljies again to attempt a night attack, and with greater chance of success than at Bútkak, where an open plain offered no special advantage to Ghiljie tactics. From the 12th to the 17th full leisure was enjoyed to observe Monteith's encampment; and Macgregor, as Political Agent, being with him, it was no difficult matter, through the Political functionary, to obtain permission for a body of friendly Affghans to pitch their camp close to Macgregor, and therefore virtually in the British camp. Suspicious of no treachery within, Monteith's picquets were on the alert without; and, on the night of the 17th, they reported the advance of a strong column of the enemy on the rear of the camp. Thither the Grenadier company was sent; and it had passed the place where the camels were parked together, when, from behind the baggage-cattle, a body of armed men sprung up, fired, and brought to the ground Captain Jenkins and thirty of his men. The "friendly" Affghans having given this signal to the advancing column of the enemy, the latter pushed on to take advantage of the confusion, which unexpected treachery was likely to create, and in a short time the 35th was warmly engaged. Monteith, a cool soldier, though partially surprised, was not to be easily beaten; on the contrary, he repulsed his assailants, friends and foes, and made them pay for their audacity by some loss, but could not prevent eighty camels being taken off—at the moment a serious loss.

Sale now saw the error he had committed—that the Ghiljies, flushed with partial success, would not fail to be encouraged, and

that the 35th N. I., left for days isolated and useless in the Khurd Cabul valley, was likely to suffer. Having received reinforcements from Cabul, he therefore marched on the 20th to effect a junction with Monteith; and, having accomplished this without loss or difficulty, and on the 21st obtained additional camels from Cabul, he on the 22nd marched towards Tazín. He had with him three corps of infantry, Abbott's battery of nine-pounders, Backhouse's mountain train, Broadfoot's sappers, Oldfield's squadron, a rissalah of irregular horse, and the Jazailchis. The Ghiljies offered no opposition on the Huft Kotul, and the column was permitted to thread the deep defile, which opens upon the valley of Tazín without contest; but the enemy were in force around the debouche into the valley, and seemed to contemplate there making a stand. A few rounds from the guns made them give ground; and the force took post in the plain without difficulty. An ill-managed, unnecessary skirmish, for which Sale (who was lying wounded in his dúlí) was not responsible, cost him a gallant young officer killed, two wounded, and (worst of all) a run before a pursuing enemy, which was a baneful occurrence amongst young soldiers.

Sale with a stout force, was now in a position to strike a blow, from which important effects might have resulted; for the fort and possessions of one of the leaders in the revolt were within his grasp. The Chief had kept his men together in the valley, rather than on the Huft Kotul and Tazín defile, in order to defend his property and the winter stock of food for his cattle and followers: but the skirmish of the 22nd had, though very ill-managed on the part of the British, shown him that to save his fort he must have recourse to artifice, rather than to the valour of the Ghiljies. Affghan Chiefs were avowedly of the opinion of the French author—"Et sans point de doute (comme 'j'ay dit ailleurs) les Anglois ne sout pas si subtils en traités 'et appointemens, comme sont les François; et, quelque chose que l'on en die, ils vont assez grossièrement en besogne (besogne); mais il faut avoir une peu de patience, et ne débattre point colériquement avec eux." The Chief therefore determined to open negociations, and again to over-reach Macgregor. Sale had given orders for an attack on the fort in question, and Dennie, with half the infantry and most of the artillery, was about to proceed upon the execution of the enterprise, known to be an easy one by the acting engineer Broadfoot, when a messenger from the Chief presented himself before the Political Agent, tendered the submission of his master and the Chiefs leagued with him, and deprecated the impending attack on his castle. Macgregor, whose eyes were nothing

opened by the conduct of the "friendly" Affghans and the attack on the 35th before described, was immediately satisfied of the sincerity of these advances, and prevailed upon Sale to countermand the attack, whilst an agreement to prescribed conditions should be concluded and the Chief furnish hostages. This was a fatal error. Hostages were known to be perfectly safe in a British camp, and the British authorities equally known to be ignorant of the personal appearance of the individuals demanded. To furnish ten miserable-looking men and to subscribe the treaty of submission was therefore an easy mode of staving off a punishment and loss, which could not fail of proving most disheartening to the Ghiljies; and the Chief had consequently no hesitation in accepting terms of such present advantage to himself. How they were to be kept was soon shewn: but, in the meantime, it was an object in any way to be rid of Sale and his troops, and to effect their complete separation from the force at Cabul—that is, without the permanent establishment of a strong detachment in the valley of Tazín, a measure which the Ghiljies dreaded as sure to consume their resources, cramp their activity, and curb their confidence of action in the Passes.

Macnaghten, who felt the importance of the duty entrusted to Sale, expected sterner and more vigorous measures; and, in evident disappointment at the delays which had even then occurred, he thus wrote on the 21st October:—"Our troops have halted "to-day at Khurd Cabul from want of camels!!! I had "hoped ere evening to have announced to you the capture or "dispersion of the Tazín rebels, but of this there is no hope "till to-morrow. Our people in this quarter have a happy "knack of hitching matters. However, let that pass. All's well "that ends well. In the meantime it is very satisfactory to "think, that, notwithstanding we had rebellion at our very "doors, not a single tribe has joined the rebels. The interruption of our communications is very provoking; but the "road will soon be opened." Sale, however, on Macgregor's advice, let slip the opportunity of giving an effective blow to the Ghiljie revolt, and wasted three days in nonsensical negotiations. It was a time for action—for striking, and not for talking; but Sale, a man of limited capacity, failed to comprehend his position, and the importance to Macnaghten of the blow aimed, the moment for which had arrived. He had given Sale a strong force: and the following part of the letter of the 21st October, already quoted, shows expectations of, and the view of affairs taken by, the unfortunate Envoy:—"I do "not think I can possibly get away from this before the 1st "proximo. The storm will speedily subside; but there will be

"a heaving of the billows for some time, and I should like to see every thing right and tight before I quit the helm. Burnes is naturally in an agony of suspense about the succession to me. I think and hope he will get it. I know no one so fit for the office. "Quieta none movere" is his motto; and, now that tranquillity is restored (or will be in a day or two), all that is required will be to preserve it." Wilfully blind, and seeking to blind others, as to the real state of the country, Macnaghten had yet acted on a perception of the necessity for instantly crushing, if possible, the Ghiljie rising, the danger of which he felt far more than he could bring himself to confess. Bitter therefore must have been his disappointment to learn that Sale's arm, when uplifted to strike the desired blow, had been paralyzed by the credulity, which, after the events in forcing the Khurd Cabul Pass and the treacherous attacks on the 35th N. I., could conclude a treaty, betraying the utmost weakness, and calculated to breed rebellion had it not already existed. The original cause of the revolt, the reduction of the stipendiary allowance, was retracted; 10,000 rupees were granted to the Ghiljies to enable them to raise the tribes in order to keep clear the Passes; and they in return promised to restore the property plundered by their followers, who were courteously assumed to be acting in violation of the wishes and authority of their Chiefs! Had the purpose been to stamp with crass imbecility the conduct of affairs, to excite the scorn of embittered foes, and to debase the British character, as wanting alike in courage and common sense, no surer course could have been pursued. Its fruits were such as might have been anticipated.

Sale, not satisfied with the quantity of baggage-cattle at his disposal, now resolved to part with the 37th N. I., three of the mountain-train guns under Green, and three companies of Boardfoot's sappers—appropriating, to the use of the troops he took with him, the disposable cattle of the detachments, with whose services, after the conclusion of the treaty, he dispensed. In so doing he left the 37th N. I., the guns, and sappers, in a more perilous situation than that into which he had first thrust the 35th N. I., and then been compelled to extricate it. With the Tazín defile, the Huft Kotul and the Khurd Cabul Pass in their rear, no means of movement, and no hold of the valley in which they were placed, the 37th N. I. was to be left in a truly unenviable position. Sale was neither a diplomatist nor a commander, but his measures at this period may have been affected to some extent by his inability to move, and therefore to see things with his own eyes. Be this as it may, they were very unfortunate.

Whilst the enemy was thus amusing Sale and Macgregor with a show of submission, a stout resistance was in preparation at the Purri Durra and Jugdulluck Pass. Sale marched on the 26th, and reached his first encamping ground with no other opposition than some sharp skirmishing between his baggage and rear guards with the enemy. There was no intention, however, of allowing him to effect the next marches so easily. But Sale's eyes had been opened, in spite of Macgregor's assurances, to the real value of the treaty; and, mistrusting the good faith of his allies, he wisely avoided the Pass of the Fairy, and, taking the road to the south, baulked the enemy who were massed on the edge of the defile, and thus reached the valley of Jugdulluck with small loss or opposition. He had the opportunity, in the course of this march, of avenging on the Ghiljies their late treacherous attacks; their plans had been laid on the supposition that Sale, placing the same confidence as Macgregor in their professions, would move by the usual route along the pass of the Fairy (Peri); and their bands were accordingly collected, chiefly along its southern margin, prepared to overwhelm the column, when once fairly locked in amid the windings of the chasm. Sale, instead of playing into their hands, moved along the chord of the irregular arch, a segment, of which was occupied by the enemy; and, had he turned, when opposite to the defile, sharp to his left, he would have caught the Ghiljies in this hopeless position, and forced them to give battle on the edge of the chasm, with that obstacle in their rear. It was the moment for striking the most terrible blow ever delivered in Affghanistan,—for the enemy was snared in his own net; but Sale's was not the eye or mind to seize the opportunity, and the Ghiljies took good care not to draw on the fight, which must have proved their ruin. They, therefore, let him pass quietly on, and deferred their hopes of successful contest for the Jugdulluck Pass, the last serious military obstacle to Sale's safe withdrawal to Gundamuck. It is both possible and probable that, notwithstanding the time that Affghanistan had been occupied by our army, no one in Sale's camp knew how completely, from the singular conformation of the country, the Ghiljies were on the foregoing occasion at the mercy of the British bayonets; or that, notwithstanding the attacks on his baggage and rear guards, Sale still thought himself bound by the Tazín compact and was loath to jeopardize, whatever the amount of provocation, a peaceful termination to so dangerous a revolt. Whatever the reason, certain it is that Sale again lost the occasion for striking terror into his foes, and the moment for crushing the Ghiljie insurrection.

Between Sale and Gundamuck now lay that spur from the Suffeid Koh range of mountains, which constitutes a great step in the face of the country. All to the west of it are highlands; for the Tazin valley is at the same elevation above the sea as that of Cabul—upwards of 6,000 feet; and the Jugdulluck valley itself is between 5 and 6,000 feet. To the eastward of the spur, the descent is rapid to the lowlands; Gundamuck is between 4 and 5,000 feet, Futtehabad 3,000 feet, Sultanpūr 2,300 feet, and Jellalabad only 1,964 feet above the sea level. Travelling from the eastward (or Cabul) side, the ascent from the encamping ground at Jugdulluck is along three miles of road, very trying for laden camels and gun-horses, and following the bends of a ravine, which receives the drainage of part of the western side of the spur. The road is therefore commanded by the heights on both sides of the ravine until the summit is reached, when the snow-capped range, called the Suffeid Koh, or White Mountains, bursts in all its magnificence upon the view, and forms the gigantic southern boundary of the prospect. As far as the eye can range east, the lower mountain ridges, which form the northerly off-shoots from the main axis, cast their snow-derived streams into the Cabul river.

Up the three miles of ascent, under every disadvantage of ground, Sale's baggage-encumbered column advanced; and, so timorously conducted were the efforts of the enemy, that the crest of the spur was reached and won with small loss, and complete command of the pass and of the descent towards Gundamuck obtained. Due advantage was not taken of this success; but the long trail of slow moving baggage with its harassed rear-guard was left to disengage itself, apparently on the presumption, that as the enemy had yielded the most difficult gorges without a severe struggle with the main body, they would be disinclined to renew a conflict from which they had shrunk. Ghiljie tactics are, however, of a different character. As soon as they found that the main body of the fighting men had left the baggage and rear-guard to make good their own way, the Ghiljies boldly attacked, threw the rear-guard into disorder, and spread confusion and dismay amongst the baggage-cattle and their drivers. Matters were going very ill in the rear, when three brave and excellent officers, Broadfoot, Backhouse, and Fenwick, restored the fight, and checked the pursuers; but not before upwards of 120 men were killed and wounded—so costly is retreat and confusion. The only officer killed, Wyndham, a Captain of the 35th N. I., fell nobly. Himself lame from a hurt, he had dismounted at that moment of peril to save the life of a wounded soldier by bearing him from

the combat on his charger. When the rear-guard broke before the onset of the Ghiljies, Wyndham, unable to keep pace with the pursued, turned, fought, and, overpowered by numbers, fell beneath the swords and knives of an unspairing foe.

On the 30th, Sale encamped at Gundamuck, where Ferris' and Burnes' Jazailchís were cantoned. The troops there, had concert and forethought existed, were admirably placed for co-operating with Sale, and facilitating his march over the Jugdulluck Pass. But they were permitted to remain without orders, and in ignorance of his movements. Their sudden march and occupation of the crest of the Jugdulluck spur, would have baffled the Ghiljies, and saved Sale his loss in men and officers, as well as a very serious check to the confidence of his young European soldiers. When too late to be of any other use than to join the insurgents, Bukhtar Khan, the Chief in charge of the district, sent 500 of his tribe to Jugdulluck; and strong bodies of Jazailchís from Ferris' and Burnes' corps were to be pushed still further westward to keep open the road as far as Seh Baba.

The impunity with which the Ghiljies had raised the standard of rebellion—had repeatedly, and not altogether unsuccessfully, attacked the 35th N. I.—and had finally freed themselves from Sale not only without any serious check or loss to themselves, but with a considerable booty in camels, baggage, treasure, arms and ammunition, to attest their pretensions to victory,—proved a spur to the spirit of revolt which pervaded Cabul and the Kohistán. Macnaghten's attempt to crush the insurgent Ghiljies had undeniably failed. Macgregor's treaty and concessions evoked a feeling of contempt, and countenanced the general belief, which Múllahs and Chiefs not only spread but actually entertained, that Sale, too weak to perform his hostile mission, had thus purchased permission to retreat at the expense of the honour of his troops, and the credit and character of the British power.

Supreme authority was about to be transferred to Burnes, a man hated as the treacherous cause of the invasion and occupation of the country. Macnaghten, accompanied by Elphinstone, whose sufferings and infirmities forced him to quit his unsought command, was about to leave Cabul. Nott, an able soldier, had indeed been summoned to assume command: but winter was close, and it was as improbable that Nott would be able, when the order reached him, to march for Cabul, as that Sale with his weary force could, or would, return to the capital. Thus Macnaghten, anxious to impose upon the world the false notion that he quitted Affghan-

istan in a peaceful and prosperous condition under her puppet king, had not only obstinately shut his own eyes to danger, but also had systematically sought to blind others; and, afraid to betray any want of confidence and to be charged with inconsistency, had allowed the most obviously necessary military precautions to be neglected. Shelton and his troops were new to the place and to the people, and not fully aware of the ill-suppressed spirit which animated the latter. Now, therefore, time and circumstances combined to favour an attempt to throw off a yoke, which it had long been rumoured throughout the length and breadth of the land, was as hateful to Shah Súja as to his subjects, and which evidently the Indian Government had no purpose of voluntarily removing. The Kohistanís, thoroughly disaffected, as Pottinger had early in the summer reported, had long nursed a deep resolve to avenge themselves for the demolished forts and desolated villages, by which Burnes and Sale had rendered their names peculiarly obnoxious to these sanguinary mountaineers. The news of the Ghiljie successes against Sale roused their passions: and, still further excited by the emissaries of Akbar Khan and the preaching of the Múllahs, they now felt that the moment had arrived for wreaking vengeance on Burnes and on the British power. The tidings of the Ghiljie attacks and Macgregor's humiliating treaty, followed by still more marked successes on the part of the Ghiljies (for thus ran the news), spread with great rapidity. On the night of the 1st November, a considerable number of Kohistanís introduced themselves into the city of Cabul; and, being met by parties from the Ghilzie insurgents, and by the disaffected, at the head of whom was Amín Ullah of Logur, a Chief in the confidence of Macnaghten and the Shah, all was found ripe for revolt—the foreigner sleeping the while in fancied security.

It has been already noted, that the tenacity of purpose displayed by the engineer Durand, had forced Macnaghten and the reluctant Shah into the precaution of constructing barracks and occupying with troops the Bala Hissar; also, it has been mentioned, that the Envoy subsequently gave up these barracks to the Shah for the use of the 160 ladies and women of the harem, and threw up all military hold of this important post. Sturt, Durand's successor, was in no wise participant in this grievous error: for he, too, pertinaciously advocated placing the troops in the Bala Hissar, clearing it of all private houses, and rendering it a good stronghold. It is bitter to think that had the repair of the works and their improvement been commenced in 1839, when urged by the first engineer, or even later, when again pressed by the second engineer, a tithe of the

sums thrown away at Herat would have rendered the Bala Hissar, by November 1841, a fortress impregnable, when held by a British garrison, against all that the disaffected Affghans could have brought before its walls.

The error of neglecting so vital a post was not alleviated by the selection made by Sir W. Cotton of the site for the cantonments. Had it been clearly understood, that the cantonment was not to be regarded as a defensible post, in which the troops could shut themselves up to stand a siege—had the surrounding forts been occupied or demolished—had easy and secure communication with the Bala Hissar by good bridges over the river and small canal been ensured—had, in short, occupation of the cantonment been held as entirely conditional on our undoubted supremacy in the field and on the loyalty of the city of Cabul—no great objections could have been advanced to this site. But when Cotton threw up a weak breast-work round a space of 1,000 by 600 yards, commanded and swept by forts in every direction, which he neither occupied nor demolished, he induced the blunder of attempting to defend these wretched works, rather than the Bala Hissar. This was still further induced by lodging the Commissariat stores, on which the efficiency and existence of the force depended, in a small ill-placed fort, access to which from the cantonments was at the mercy of an unoccupied fort and the walled Shah Bagh, or King's garden, on the opposite side of the road. The Commissariat and all other stores and magazines might, and ought, from the first, to have been lodged in security in the Bala Hissar. These grave errors had been committed, it must be remembered in justice to the memory of the gallant but luckless Elphinstone, before his arrival at Cabul. He at once observed them, and sought to have them remedied; but, holding a secondary place, the safety of his troops and their magazines was made likewise of secondary consideration, and sacrificed to a false show of security.

On the morning of the 2nd of November, Shelton was encamped on the Seah Sung hills, about a mile and a half from the cantonments, from which he was separated by the Cabul river. He was about the same distance from the Bala Hissar, and had with him H. M. 44th Foot, a Wing of the 5th N. I., the 6th Shah's infantry, the 5th cavalry, and a battery of European horse artillery. In cantonments were the 5th N. I., a Wing of the 54th N. I., Warburton's battery of five six-pounders, three companies of Broadfoot's sappers, and two rissalahs of irregular horse. Elphinstone had, therefore, on that eventful morning, four regiments of infantry, two batteries of field artillery, three

companies of sappers, a regiment of cavalry, and two rissalahs of irregular horse—a strong, well equipped force. The Shah was in the Bala Hissar, and had, as a guard, what was called Campbell's Hindústani Regiment, some Affghans, 400 Jazailchís, 500 Hindústanis, and several guns.

The Bala Hissar, particularly the citadel, completely commands the city : but the streets are so narrow and winding, that from the summit of the fort an expanse of flat-roofed houses is alone seen, and the thoroughfares of the city are seldom to be traced. The houses, of unburnt brick walls and mud roofs have as little timber as possible in their construction—this material being costly at Cabul, it follows, therefore, that they are not easily set on fire. From their irregularity of height and structure, and from the jealousy which guards each flat roof from the gaze of the curious by surrounding walls, communication from housetop to housetop would be very difficult, except in a few portions of the more regular parts of the city. The line of hill between which and the river the city lies, is steep and difficult, but accessible ; and its domincering aspect formerly led to its being included within the defences of Cabul ; for a stone wall with a crenelated parapet runs along its summit, and dips down to the gorge, by which the Cabul river, breaking through the chain, enters the city. The ends of some of the streets which cross the main thoroughfares, abut upon the foot of the hill, which thus looks into them ; but, as the minor streets are still more tortuous than the main ones, such views along them are very partial.

In utter disregard of every sane precaution, the Treasury, containing at this time a lac and 70,000 rupees, besides other sums, not public property, was in a house close to that of Burnes, distant from the Bala Hissar about nine hundred yards, and only approachable through narrow streets, unless the base of the hill were followed. The juxtaposition of Burnes and the Treasury, far from support, and in houses presenting no particular advantages for defence, was a circumstance well known to the Kohistanís and other insurgents. To kill Burnes and sack the Treasury was to open the revolt in a manner that would silence the timid or wavering, feed the thirst for gold, and compromise all irrecoverably. It was to open the insurrection in the city of Cabul with imposing success. Accordingly, on the 2nd November, the rebels, having occupied the surrounding houses, opened fire upon the Treasury and Burnes' house. Burnes hastily informed Macnaghten of the excited state of the populace, but, mistaking the attack for a desultory riot, endeavoured to harangue the insurgents, and to induce them to disperse. The sepoy guards

in both houses were with this view at first restrained from returning the assailants' fire, and from defending their posts : but they were soon compelled to maintain a gallant struggle ; and a fierce combat raged, until, both Burnes and his brother and the intrepid W. Broadfoot being slain, both houses were taken, and the Treasury rewarded the victors.

Shah Súja, hearing that Burnes was attacked and the city in revolt, ordered Campbell's regiment and a couple of guns to march to Burnes' assistance. Macnaghten, as soon as he received notice of the state of affairs, called upon Elphinstone to act, who immediately sent orders to Shelton to proceed to the Bala Hissar, taking with him a company of the forty-fourth, a regiment and a half of sepoy, and four horse artillery guns. The remainder of the troops encamped at Seah Sung were ordered into cantonments ; and instructions were despatched to the 37th N. I., to march with all haste from the position in which Sale had left them, to Cabul.

Shelton, who received final orders to advance to the Bala Hissar about mid-day, was upon arriving there to act upon his own judgment, in communication with the Shah. The latter, when he ordered the march of Campbell's corps into the city, left the movement to the discretion of the Commandant, who thoughtlessly plunged his men and guns into the narrow main thoroughfare, opposite to the north-western end of the fort and nearest to the city gate, by which he quitted the Bala Hissar. Had he moved without the embarrassment of guns along the hill base, he could have reached without difficulty or danger the end of the short street, in which Burnes and the Treasury were, and could easily have forced his way to them, but, by endeavouring to make good his passage through the heart of the city, struggling in vain to drag his guns through its winding obstructed streets, he courted defeat. Accordingly, he was resolutely attacked, and repulsed with a heavy loss of men, without being able to reach the scene of plunder and butchery.

Shelton, on reaching the Bala Hissar, kept his detachment under arms, but took no steps against the insurgents. After losing an hour in inactivity, the sound of the fight drew nearer, and he then sent an officer to ascertain how matters were proceeding. The officer quickly returned, and reported that Campbell's corps was beaten and retreating. Shelton then ordered a company of sepoy to move out, and cover the retreat of the fugitives. They fell back, bringing their guns with them up to the ditch of the fort ; but here the pieces were left, both by Campbell's corps and the company of native infantry, though the latter had only lost one man killed, and four wounded in the

skirmish, and the guns were so close under the walls, that the Affghans never could succeed in removing them, until the troops were withdrawn from the Bala Hissar.

The Shah was thus the only person who made any endeavour to quell the rising revolt. Had Campbell's corps, without guns, been sent, either all by the base of the hill, or part by the main thoroughfare and part by the hill foot, Shah Súja would have saved Burnes and the Treasury. Although he failed, he yet deserves the credit of having displayed more resolution and energy than either Shelton or Elphinstone. The former did nothing; the latter, upon whose conduct and decision all now depended, broken down by ill health, proved unequal to the emergency.

Long misled as to the state of feeling in the city and country, Elphinstone, at the mercy of Macnaghten for all his political information, may be excused for having failed to observe the coming storm. When it burst upon the gallant but health-shattered veteran, he may be pardoned for having been taken by surprise, and for having failed, deceived both by Macnaghten and Burnes as to the real character of the revolt on the very morning in question, vigorously to crush it. But, that he should have limited his exertions to a recall of the 37th N. I., and to the mounting of artillery for the defence of cantonments, admits of no apology, except, that pain and severe suffering had not only worn the frame, but weakened the judgment and mental energy of as brave a gentleman as ever fought under his country's colors.

After the death of Burnes, the loss of the Treasury, and the defeat of Campbell's corps became known, much was to be done—even though it had been resolved not to hazard regular troops by exposing them to a murderous contest amid narrow streets. Trevor and Mackenzie should have been immediately supported, and the Shah's commissariat stores either brought off or destroyed. Self-preservation pointed out the vital importance of the Commissariat Fort near to cantonments⁶; and neither skill nor military genius was requisite, by a prompt occupation of the King's Garden, Mahmúd Khan's and Mahomed Shuriff's Forts, to secure the communication with this all important post. There was no want of cattle; and the transport of the Commissariat stores from the crazy fort in which they had been carelessly lodged, to the Bala Hissar should have occupied day and night, until completed. With ordinary exertion, every woman and child, all stores, whether Commissariat or Ordnance, every gun, and every fighting man, might have been within the Bala Hissar before daybreak of the 4th Novem-

ber. The force thus concentrated, with its magazines secure from insult or capture, would have been at liberty to act either on the offensive or defensive, according as circumstances required. All this was safe, obvious, and practicable. But ordinary military prudence, let alone ability or decision, were on this occasion wanting ; and Elphinstone preferred paralyzing his whole force by giving it two separate *enceintes* to defend, instead of one ; the larger of the two being in reality indefensible, and but little strengthened by the precaution, which mounted guns, for which there were not gunners. Trevor and Mackenzie he left to their fate.

In contrast with all this, right soldierly was the conduct of Major Griffiths, who, on receiving the order to return to Cabul, made good his way through the Passes in spite of the Ghiljie attacks, and, on the morning of the 3rd, brought in his regiment, the 37th N. I., without even the loss of any baggage, to comfort the enemy for the men they threw away in vain endeavours to disorder the march of this gallant corps. Griffiths was pressed hotly and boldly by the Ghiljies—3,000 of whom continued the pursuit of his column almost within range of Elphinstone's guns : but the enemy gained no advantage, and suffered severely from Green's three mountain guns, which were throughout this movement skilfully and boldly worked. Thus reinforced, Elphinstone now strengthened Shelton in the Bala Hissar, sending him the remainder of the 54th N. I., four guns of different calibres, and two small mortars, with the gallant but ill-fated young soldier Green. Shelton then made dispositions for the security, of the Bala Hissar, occupying the Lahore and city gates and the citadel with detachments, and the Palace Square with his reserve.

Unfortunately, Sturt, the only Engineer present, had been severely wounded by an assassin, when entering the Shah's palace on the morning of the 2nd. He was a good and a resolute officer ; and, as soon as partial recovery from his wounds enabled him to speak or write, he urged the occupation of the Bala Hissar and the abandonment of the cantonments. But petty difficulties are the bugbears of petty minds ; and unhappily around the General, himself weak and undecided in judgment, were men with whom the minor considerations of the value of the public and private property to be sacrificed, weighed more than the young soldier's counsel and the crisis which evoked it. Small objections and poor cavils swayed the General to delay.

Meanwhile the enemy, successful beyond their expectations, were encouraged to act with energy. They occupied those parts of

the city which looked upon the plain between the Bala Hissar and the cantonments : they occupied the Shah's Garden, Mahmud Khan's and Mahomed Shuriff's fort : and, thus with good cover to protect them, threatened the Commissariat Fort, and closely beset the south-western end of cantonments. The officer defending the Commissariat Fort with a party of sepoys, entertaining apprehensions for the firmness of his men, repeatedly, throughout the 4th, applied for reinforcements. Elphinstone, in lieu of this, endeavoured to withdraw the garrison, sending out three several detachments to effect this suicidal measure. The enemy, never dreaming of such imbecillity, and regarding the detachments as reinforcements, fired heavily from Mahomed Shuriff's fort and the King's Garden, and forced them back into cantonments with severe loss. The execution of the order to evacuate the fort being thus prevented, Elphinstone, now aware of the criminal folly of the step, in consequence of the entreaties of the staff-officers, contemplated reinforcing the garrison during the night, which might easily have been accomplished. But the time of action was spent in discussion ; and, when the morning of the 5th broke, the parties destined to attack Mahomed Shuriff's fort, and to reinforce the Commissariat one, were only assembling, when the fatal announcement was made, that Lieutenant Warren, despairing of maintaining his post, had evacuated it, having cut a passage through the wall of his fort on the cantonment side. Thus, without a struggle for its defence, was this vital post abandoned and given up to the enemy ; who as easily became masters of the means of existence of the force, as if the five thousand British troops, in whose face it was done, had been spell bound to the Bala Hissar and cantonments. Well might the Shah, as he gazed upon the melancholy spectacle from the Bala Hissar, exclaim—"The English are mad !"

Very different had been Mackenzie's defence of Anquetil's fort, the Shah's Commissariat depôt. Nevertheless, being unsupported, he too had been forced to evacuate his post and escaped to cantonments with great difficulty. Thus, by the 5th, the insurgents were in possession of the treasure and of the provision of the force, without having endured other than a trifling loss of men. The capture of the Treasury had been a sufficiently disgraceful event ; for there can be no doubt that had Shelton moved early to the support of Campbell's regiment, and Elphinstone, from the side of Anquetil's fort and the Kuzzilbash quarter, pushed detachments to Burnes' house, the insurgents, attacked along the line of the main

bazar from the hill side, and from the Kuzzilbash and Doh Affghan quarters, could not have had permanent success, but would have been dispersed, and probably with heavy retribution for the onslaught on the Treasury. The ignorance or the apathy of the military leaders was sufficiently inexcusable on that first occasion. Yet, it must be remembered, that the Political Chiefs had misled every one up to the very moment, when they suddenly called upon the Military Chief to act; and that Elphinstone, into whose hands the game was thus flung at a most critical instant, from his ignorance of the train of political events, was not in a fair position to judge of the nature of the crisis, and to cope with it in the manner, which full acquaintance with the thread of affairs might have ensured. After matters have been embroiled to the uttermost and rebellion is rampant, a broken, painworn man may be pardoned, if he fail in two minutes to apprehend distinctly the difficulties of a position, into which two years of continuous error and mismanagement, on the part of others, unexpectedly plunge him. But, although such considerations may account for some indecision on the first flash of revolt, they form no excuse for the palsied patience, with which the Commissariat fort was not lost in fight, but ignominiously relinquished to the enemy. Many were the gallant officers around Elphinstone, who urged a more manly resolution: and had Eyre's advice been taken, the Commissariat fort would have been immediately attacked in force and must have been recaptured. But his counsel was too wise and soldierly for the vacillating weakness of the General; and, though the storm of Mahomed Shuriff's fort was ultimately decided upon, and Eyre with his guns acted his part gallantly, the storming party never stirred form a wall under which they found cover, and the General, though the 37th N. I. were burning with desire to be permitted to do that from which others shrunk, could not be induced to allow them. The evacuation and loss of the Commissariat fort and the abortive show of assailing Mahomed Shuriff's fort were equally disgraceful.

Orders were now sent to Sale and to Nott directing them to advance upon Cabul. From the season at which he received them, it was impracticable for Nott to obey his instructions: but Sale was differently circumstanced: for he received the order at Gundamuck—the messenger bearing the despatches having been so fortunate as to effect the journey with speed and in safety. It has already been seen, that Griffiths, with a single regiment of sepoys and three mountain guns, had, in obedience to a similar mandate, made good his march to Cabul

from the dangerous position in which Sale had left him, and, in spite of Ghiljie attacks, had, after forcing the Khurd Cabul Pass, reached cantonments with small loss in men and much gain of honour. It is true, that Elphinstone, by thus suddenly withdrawing Griffiths from his isolated position on the road between Gundamuck and Cabul, had apparently somewhat diminished the facility of Sale's advance: but, on the other hand, Griffiths's departure had drawn after him a strong body of Ghiljies, who not only pursued him to Cabul, but remained there to strengthen the insurgents, and to partake in their successes. Sale would therefore have found the enemy weak on the line of road, had he, on receipt of his dispatches, made immediate arrangements for the security of his sick, wounded and baggage, in one of the defensible forts in his neighbourhood—and then, unencumbered, made a rapid march upon Cabul. No doubt can be entertained, that his unexpected appearance on the scene of conflict would have given a severe blow to the insurrection and new life to the British cause. Such a resolve, however, was foreign to Sale's nature; and unluckily, the instructions were so qualified as to cast responsibility always on his peculiar terror, upon Sale's own shoulders. He therefore called a council of war, wherein compliance with the mandate from Cabul was pronounced inadvisable, and prepared to march in a contrary direction, and, throwing up connection with Cabul, to occupy Jellalabad. This decision was regretted by some of the ablest officers in his force, foremost amongst whom was Broadfoot. Humanly speaking, Sale thus denied himself the honour and the satisfaction of retrieving the state of affairs at the capital.

The relief or reinforcement of Elphinstone was, however, a wholly distinct question from a hasty retrograde movement from Gundamuck, in order to throw his brigade, which was perfectly well able to keep the field, into Jellalabad—a place of no military strength or importance, without magazines, in utter disrepair, and so situated, that to coop up the brigade within its dilapidated walls, served no conceivable purpose, except to betray weakness and still further encourage revolt. At Gundamuck, Sale's Brigade threatened the Passes between that place and Cabul, necessarily paralyzed a portion of the Ghiljie strength, and checked Ghiljie co-operation with the insurgents at the capital; whilst, at the same time, insuring to Elphinstone the comparatively safe and easy withdrawal of the force from Cabul, should circumstances compel the adoption of so extreme a measure. Had Sale maintained his position at, or near to, Gundamuck, he might have influenced the fate of Elphinstone's army: and one of the most disastrous

retreats on record must have been spared to the British arms by the co-operation of Sale's moveable column. The severest comment upon the inutility of the precipitate occupation of Jellalabad was afforded by Sale himself, when, after having long suffered himself to be blockaded and bearded by a foe, flushed with the successful destruction of Elphinstone's force, he overthrew without difficulty Mahomed Akbar in the open field, driving him in confusion from the plain with no other troops than that very brigade, which, when the issue of the rebellion was as yet uncertain, and energy might have quelled it, he withdrew from the struggle, and shut up within distant walls, there to court and abide investment at the leisure of an unembarrassed and triumphant enemy.

If Macnaghten be culpable for the effrontery with which he sought to blind and mislead others as well as himself, as to the feelings of the Affghan people and the state of their country, he proved free from that imbecile weakness which henceforward characterized the military leaders and their measures. His spirit chafed at the despondency evinced, at the errors committed, and at the resulting disasters. Himself a man of courage, the gloom of others did not unnerve him; and, had he insisted energetically upon the adoption of his counsel, the occupation of the Bala Hissar, Elphinstone must have yielded, and affairs might have been retrieved. But the puerile arguments brought forward by Shelton and others against this necessary step, not only influenced Elphinstone, but also led Macnaghten to waive his own and adopt analogous opinions, and, in an evil hour, to coincide in rejecting the only wise and safe course. However brightened by traits of individual heroism, it would be needless to trace in detail the gallant defence by the Gúrka battalion of Charikar, the destruction of these brave soldiers and their excellent officers, of whom Pottinger and Haughton alone miraculously escaped; the wretchedly conducted actions at the village of Beymaru, ending in discomfiture and indelible disgrace; the shameless loss of Mahomed Shuriff's fort; the relaxation of discipline, and the prostration of energy and courage, which ensued upon a long series of dishonouring reverses. The normal errors, from which flowed such fatal consequences, have been already noted; and the harrowing details of incompetency, written in the blood of brave officers and valiant men (for there were many such who fell), only form a heart-rending commentary upon the grievous truth, that the lives, and worse still, the honour of soldiers, are the price paid for the gross political and military blunders of those in authority.

By the time that Mahomed Akbar arrived at Cabul (the 22nd November) the military leaders had lost all confidence in themselves and their men ; and Macnaghten was pressed to save the force, by negotiating for its safe retreat upon the humiliating condition of evacuating the whole of Affghanistan. The Envoy was loath to entertain a proposal so derogatory to the fame of the British name, and so subversive of the policy and plans, which he had strenuously advocated, and proved mainly instrumental in furthering. Moreover, he nursed hopes of accomplishing, by secret intrigue and the distribution of large sums of money, that which the British arms failed to effect. To strike down the leaders of the rebellion, to create discord among their followers, and thus to break up the league against Shah Súja and his allies, was Macnaghten's dream. It must not be supposed, that upon the outbreak of the 2nd November, the Envoy limited his exertions to the request that Elphinstone should act. At the same time, that Macnaghten called upon the military authorities to quell the revolt by the employment of force, he secretly, with the same object in view, adopted measures of a much more doubtful character, which, failing of issue, subsequently exercised a most unfortunate influence, not alone upon his own individual fate, but upon that of the whole force at Cabul.

Mohun Lal, who was in the suite of Burnes, escaping massacre when his Chief and all with him were killed, ultimately found an asylum in the house of the Kuzzilbash Chief, Khan Sherín Khan, in the Kuzzilbash, or Persian quarter of the city. Mohun Lal, in the opinion of the Envoy, was there favorably situated for carrying on negotiations and intrigues with such Chiefs, as Macnaghten entertained hopes of winning to his cause, and of rendering willing instruments in the fulfilment of his purposes. Accordingly, Mohun Lal was, shortly after the first burst of the rebellion, in daily communication with both Macnaghten and Captain J. B. Conolly, who, as Political Assistant and in the confidence of the Envoy, wrote early on the 5th November to Mohun Lal, and thus opened the correspondence with him.—“Tell the Kuzzilbash Chiefs, Sherín Khan, Naib “Sheriff, in fact, all the Chiefs of Shiah persuasion, to join “against the rebels. You can promise one lac of rupees to “Khan Sherín on the condition of his killing and seizing “the rebels, and arming all the Shiahs, and immediately attack- “ing all rebels. This is the time for the Shiahs to do good “service. Explain to them that, if the Súnns once get the “upper hand in the town they will immediately attack and “plunder their part of the town ; hold out promises of reward

"and money ; write to me very frequently. Tell the Chiefs, who are well disposed, to send respectable agents to the Envoy. Try and spread 'nifak' amongst the rebels. In everything that you do consult me, and write very often. Mír Hyder Purja Bashí has been sent to Khan Sherín and will see you." As a postscript followed the important addition—"I promise 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel Chiefs." Mír Hydar Purja Bashí did not fail to see Mohun Lal ; and, having repeated what Conolly had written respecting the reward of 10,000 rupees upon the head of each of the principal rebel Chiefs, he urged Mohun Lal to exertion, pointing out that he "would do great service to the State, if the principal rebels were executed by any means whatever." Mohun Lal was, however, in a position requiring address : for although the Kuzzilbash Chiefs were not heartily with the Ghiljies, the Kohistanis and other rebels, yet, there had been no such display of energy on the part of the British troops as encouraged Khan Sherín Khan and his Kuzzilbash friends hastily to compromise their own safety by at once taking a decided course in favor of the Shah and his unpopular allies : and the attempt to raise a hostile party amid the rebels and to take off their principal leaders, at the moment of their first brilliant successes, was evidently both a very delicate and a very hazardous operation. Mohun Lal was therefore forced to await a more favourable time, and to watch for such opportunity, as the course of events, or the fickle humours of the Chiefs, into whose hands fate had thrown him, might offer. The Envoy becoming impatient of the state of uncertainty in which the wary silence of the timid Mohun Lal left him, Conolly, on the 11th, again wrote—"Why do you not write ? What has become of Mír Hyder ? Is he doing anything with Khan Sherín ? You never told me whether you had written to Naib Humza. What do the rebels propose doing now ? Have you not made any arrangements about the bodies of the murdered officers ? Offer 2,000 rupees to any one, who will take them to cantonments, or 1,000 to any one, who will bring them. Has not Sir Alex's body been found ? Give my salaam to the Naib. If Khan Sherín is not inclined to do service, try other Kuzzilbash Chiefs independently. Exert yourself ; write to me often, for the news of Kossids is not to be depended on. There is a man called Haji Ali, who might be induced by a bribe to try and bring in the heads of one or two of the Múf-sides (*i. e.*, rebels) : endeavour to let him know that 10,000 rupees will be given for each head, or even 15,000 rupees.

"I have sent to him two or three times." Mohun Lal, feeling more secure as to his own personal safety, now reported to the Envoy the receipt of these instructions, and the steps taken to carry them into effect. To Aga Mahomed Soudah, the friend of Hajt Ali, was explained Conolly's offer of 10,000 or 15,000 rupees for the head of each rebel Chief; and, as the two friends had also received direct communications from Conolly to the same effect, they entertained Mohun Lal's overtures. But, however desirous of obtaining so enormous a reward, they feared themselves to undertake the deed, and therefore suborned two others, Abdúl Azíz and Mahomed Ullah. Besides the foregoing particular instructions from Conolly, Mohun Lal had been further empowered by the Envoy to promise to the extent of five lacs of rupees, and to distribute as far as 50,000 rupees in aid of the Shah's cause. He therefore did not hesitate to advance at once 9,000 rupees, and to promise that a balance of 12,000 rupees would be paid, as soon as the heads of Mir Musjidi and Abdúllah Khan were brought in;—selecting these Chiefs as the first victims, because he believed them to have been actively concerned in the attack upon the Treasury and Burnes' house, and in the slaughter of his patron, and knew them to be the boldest and most influential leaders of the insurgents. Having thus set on foot this affair, Mohun Lal reported his proceedings to the Envoy, adding with naive simplicity, that he "could not find out by Lieut. Conolly's" notes, how the rebels are to be assassinated; but the men, "now employed, promise to go into their houses, and cut off their heads, when they may be without attendants." Macnaghten, nothing startled by the plain term applied to the transactions by his subordinate agent, replied on the 13th November,—“I have received your letters of this morning's date, and highly approve of all you have done.”*

Mir Musjidi and Abdúllah Khan were soon numbered amongst the dead. The former died very suddenly: how, Mohun Lal could not with certainty learn; but Mahomed Ullah assured him, that, in fulfilment of the engagement, the wretched man had been suffocated when asleep by the hands of Mahomed Ullah himself. Abdúllah Khan fell severely wounded by a shot, whilst standing amongst his countrymen engaged

* At a later period (December 1st) Sir Wm. Macnaghten, awakening to the impolicy, if not to the immorality of such treacherous practices, wrote to Mohun Lal, in reference to a similar proposal to take off Amin Ullah, "I am sorry to find from your letter of last night, that you could have supposed it was ever my object to encourage assassination. The rebels are very wicked men; but we must not take unlawful means to destroy them." We do not pretend to reconcile the discrepancy, [E.D.]

in fight with the British troops; but whether struck down by a ball from the piece of Abdúl Azíz, who claimed the merit of having shot his victim from behind a wall, or by the fire of the troops, Mohun Lal was not confident. Abdúl Azíz, however, assured him, that Abdúllah Khan would soon die, as poison would complete what the shot had not done. He lingered for a week, and then fulfilled Abdúl Azíz's prediction; who, as well as Mahomed Ullah, then demanded, through their suborners, Haji Ali and Aga Mahomed, the balance of the reward due to them. Mohun Lal, with a Shyllock nicety, refused to pay the balance; alleging that the heads had not, according to agreement, been brought in, and that Abdúllah Khan might probably have been wounded by the musquetry of our troops. The Envoy having received intimation from Mohun Lal, who sent the suborners' notes making the demand and his own reply in refusal, Kurbar Ali, a confidential messenger in the employment of Macnaghten, was despatched by the latter with a message, attested by a reference to a past event known only to the Envoy and Mohun Lal,—“that had Mahomed Ullah and Abdúl Azíz sent the heads to the Envoy, Mohun Lal would have been ordered to pay the balance; but, as they had failed in so doing, they must rest content with the advance they had received for their doubtful services.” The Envoy was forced to deliver this, and other dangerous injunctions, by the expedient (well known in the East) of an attested message, because some native writers of English, having gone over to the enemy, had made them acquainted with the contents of several of his intercepted letters.

The two ablest and most resolute leaders of the rebels in field and council being thus, either by fair or foul means, struck down, Macnaghten was unwilling to comply with the urgent, but, as he thought premature, requests of the military authorities to treat: for he laid much stress on the effect, which might result from the fall of these two obnoxious Chiefs, and anticipated deriving advantage from an event, which must leave the insurgents a prey to the factious emulation of the less influential leaders. Subsequently to the fall of Abdúllah Khan, severely wounded in the last action at Beymaru, circumstances seemed to favour the indulgence of such a hope; as, not only did the enemy fail to follow up their success, when our troops fled into disorder to cantonments, but, for a while, there was a lull in the activity with which hostilities were prosecuted, and the enemy seemed unaccountably paralyzed. Neither Conolly, nor Macnaghten, nor indeed Mohun Lal, had, however, been sufficiently cautious

in the overtures made to accomplish the destruction of the principal rebels. Too many persons had been entrusted with the secret, and some of them men upon whom it is wonderful that reliance should have been placed. When, therefore, in addition to such a dangerous diffusion of the secret, Macnaghten and Mohun Lal refused to fulfil the promises made, and withheld the reward claimed, not only was it impossible for Mohun Lal to find instruments willing to strike down more of the obnoxious Chiefs, but the latter became aware of the price set upon their heads, and were exasperated at the discovery of a tampering with the cupidity of their Affghan followers, and a base endeavour to effect, by the knife or shot of the assassin, that which the courage of the troops was unequal to secure. Their minds were therefore well disposed to support any leader who could control their minor jealousies and advance undeniable claims to their allegiance. At this juncture Akbar Khan appeared upon the scene, and immediately became the rallying centre of hostile feeling and action. Naturally embittered against the British power, the intimation he received of the Envoy's secret machinations against the lives of the Chiefs, enabled him to keep alive their suspicions, destroy all confidence in British good faith, and fan into a flame the spirit of implacable hostility.

Macnaghten, constantly pressed by the General, and himself aware that the supplies of the force were nearly exhausted, the troops spiritless and disorganized, and, with few, (but those noble) exceptions, not to be depended upon for the exercise of either discipline or courage, at length, in spite of his own aversion to a task beset with so much dishonour and difficulty, began, in apparent earnest, to negotiate for the safe withdrawal of the army and the evacuation of Affghanistan. Never was courage more conspicuous than in the case of the ill-fated Envoy, who sought by the display of a truly daring confidence towards Chiefs whom he knew to have much cause for distrusting him, to inspire them with confidence in the sincerity of his intentions. No one, judging from the hardihood with which he exposed himself to the knives and pistols of these exasperated men, would have imagined him conscious of having set so high a price upon their heads. On the 11th December, accompanied by Lawrence, MacKenzie and Trevor, Macnaghten met the assembled leaders of the rebellion on the plain near the Seah Sung hill, and there discussed the conditions of a draft treaty which he had sketched. The unmolested withdrawal, not only of the force at Cabul, but also of all the British troops in Affghanistan; their supply with food, fodder, and means of transport; the return from India of Dost Mahomed and every Affghan in exile; that Shah Shujah

was to be given the option of remaining at Cabul, or accompanying the British army to India; an amnesty for all political opponents and the partisans of the Shah; and that no British force should again be sent into Affghanistan, unless called for by the Affghan Government—were the main features of the treaty. Mahomed Akbar, distrustful of Macnaghten, would not accede to an engagement which bound the rebel party to furnish provisions for the force without any stipulation for the immediate evacuation of the Bala Hissar and cantonments; and he forced the Envoy to specify three days as the period, after which the troops were bound to quit the cantonments. Upon this compact, the terms of the treaty were accepted: but, as there was a thorough want of confidence in the Envoy's sincerity, Captain Trevor had to accompany the Chiefs as hostage for the good faith of Macnaghten.

Cold weather was now set in, but snow had not fallen: and, as it was sure to fall in the course of a few days, it was of the greatest importance, after once retreat had been decided, that all further delay should be avoided. Thus, not only did the obligations of good faith impose a necessity for the rapid withdrawal of the troops, but every consideration for their safety and existence imperatively urged the most prompt fulfilment of this condition. Four thousand and five hundred fighting men, and from twelve to fifteen thousand followers, by an immediate march, might surmount the lofty Passes between them and Gundamuck, whilst still free from snow; and thus, with comparatively less hardship and suffering, make good their way over a country which, when once enveloped in snow, could only be passed with extreme difficulty and the severest misery and loss. The loose manner in which the treaty was worded, and the insertion of conditions in terms so general as to render (if not their import) their fulfilment, matter of easy cavil, afforded Macnaghten specious grounds for delay. He still clung to the hope of receiving aid from Nott, who had dispatched Maclaren with a brigade: and he was not sorry at being able to allege the irresolution of the Shah, and the non-fulfilment on the part of the enemy of their agreement to furnish provisions and baggage-cattle, as reasons for procrastinating and prolonging his stay at Cabul. In despair of the disgrace with which so ignoble a treaty overwhelmed himself and the British name, he clung to the faintest hope of retrieving events.

The Shah, perplexed at the position in which the treaty placed him, was still further embarrassed by the conduct of the rebel Chiefs, who, on the 12th, invited him to remain as king—only stipulating the intermarriage of his daughters with the

leaders of the revolt, and the discontinuance of some of the ceremonials of royalty, to which Shah Shuja was attached, but which were particularly distasteful to the Affghan nobles. Whether this proposal was made as a test of the sincerity of the Shah's generally alleged aversion to British domination, or to confirm the impression, by inducing him at this juncture to make common cause with the rebels, or, as is most probable, to ascertain by the mode in which such a decided separation from British connection was received, the ultimate real purposes of the Envoy is uncertain. Shah Shuja, after deliberation, consented to hold his throne upon the proffered conditions, and signified his assent to the Chiefs accordingly.

On the 13th and 14th, the Bala Hissar was evacuated, but in a manner so ill-conducted, that the greater part of 1,600 maunds of wheat and flour, which Captain Kirby had had the foresight to collect for transport to cantonments, where provisions were very scarce, instead of being taken with the garrison, were left in the fort for the enemy's advantage. Ten days' supply for the whole force was thus madly deserted, at a time when the utmost dearth prevailed in cantonments, when the camp followers were feeding upon the flesh of the animals dying from starvation, and when there were barely two days' supply of flour on half rations for the fighting men.

Shah Shuja, always timid and irresolute, now refused to accept the throne, which the rebel Chiefs had, on easy conditions, permitted him to retain. As the moment for the departure of the British troops appeared to draw near, his heart failed him, and he shrunk from the dangerous allegiance of such men as Mahomed Akbar and the banded Chiefs. His change of purpose increased their suspicions; and they declined to furnish provisions to the force, unless, in fulfilment of the compact, cantonments were evacuated.

On the 18th snow fell, but Macnaghten still procrastinated; and, the distrust of the Chiefs waxing greater in proportion as the specified time was exceeded, their demands also increased; and, on the 20th, the delivery of guns and ammunition and of Brigadier Shelton as an hostage was required. The engineer, Sturt, perceiving that every day's delay was fraught with peril, now urged that the treaty which had been broken by both sides, should be no longer considered binding, and that, making every possible arrangement for the conveyance of the sick, the wounded, ammunition, and stores, the army should march to Jellalabad. The Envoy's hopes of aid from Nott had now vanished, as Maclaren had countermarched with his brigade, finding snow upon the highlands as he drew towards Ghuzni, and despair-

ing at that season of effecting his march to Cabul. Macnaghten, therefore, had now no motive for putting off the march of the force, the destruction of which from starvation was imminent, and could only be avoided by a movement of decision such as the engineer recommended. Elphinstone and his advisers thought otherwise. There was an unearthly faintness upon their hearts ; and it was, as though some great crime had caused the wrath of God to settle down upon the host, withering the hearts of its leaders, unnerving the right arms of England's soldiery, and leaving them no power to stand before their enemies.

On the 21st December, the Envoy again met Mahomed Akbar, and other Chiefs ; two hostages, Conolly and Airey, were at once given over, and two more were to follow. The dilatory conduct of the Envoy and of the military leaders had now so confirmed the suspicions of Mahomed Akbar and the principal rebels, that they determined to test the intentions of Macnaghten, whose secret schemes for the destruction of the most influential Chiefs had never been forgotten, and whose present conduct, ignorant as the enemy were of the utter prostration of energy and courage among the military authorities, seemed inexplicable, except on the supposition of the existence of some deep design against the lives and power of the Chiefs.

Captain Skinner, an officer to whom Mahomed Akbar had given protection, was sent by the latter with secret proposals to Macnaghten to the following effect :—that Mahomed Akbar undertook to seize Amin Ullah, one of the most obnoxious and powerful of the rebel leaders, and deliver him up to the Envoy ; that Shah Shuja, remaining king, was to reward Mahomed Akbar for this important service, and for supporting his throne, by making him Wuzir ; that the Bala Hissar and Mahmud Khan's fort were to be immediately re-occupied by the British troops, who were to remain in their then position until the spring, upon the arrival of which they were with honor to evacuate the country—Mahomed Akbar receiving from the British Government for these services a donation of thirty lacs of rupees, and an annual pension of four lacs. Skinner did not himself deliver the message ; but he was accompanied by one Mahomed Sudiq and two other Affghans in the confidence of Mahomed Akbar, who were entrusted with sounding the Envoy, and to whom Skinner, ignorant of any hidden design, referred Macnaghten for the particulars of his mission. Mahomed Sudiq, in the course of stating the foregoing propositions, made one, which should have put the Envoy upon his guard, betraying, as it did, a reference to foregone events ; the head of Amin Ullah was to be presented

to the Envoy for a certain sum of money. Macnaghten's eyes were, however, not opened by this remarkable offer of Amin Ullah's head, coupled with the promise of Mahomed Akbar's co-operation in subduing the other Khans: and, failing to observe that Mahomed Sudiq's language was an ominous echo of Conolly's early instructions to Mohun Lal, he eagerly caught at the general proposal, disclaiming, however, in the presence of auditors, any willingness to give a price for blood, and therefore rejecting the specific offer of Amin Ullah's head, though not of his capture by treachery, in which the Envoy and the British troops were to play a conspicuous part. The distinction was too nice to weigh with men, conversant with the degree of scrupulousness evinced by the Envoy in the case of Abdúllah Khan and Mir Musjidi, and who judged of his sincerity by the eager readiness, with which he was captivated by an offer too specious to have imposed upon any man of sound thought and principle, and which involved the perfidious sacrifice of one of their own members. Hitherto, however shaken by what was known of Mohun Lal's proceedings, acting with the cognizance of Conolly and Macnaghten, the British character for integrity and good faith stood high enough to command some respect for the representative of the Anglo-Indian Government. But the deliberate faithlessness, which led the Envoy to accept Mahomed Akbar's proposal, sealed his doom. The worst suspicions of the confederate Chiefs and their exasperated leader were confirmed; and they resolved, as no dependance after such proof could be placed on the most solemn and formal engagements, to ensnare Macnaghten in the net he was spreading for another, and to take vengeance upon him and the starving disorganised force, for the insults and injuries, which an injudicious, selfish, and ambitious policy had heaped upon Affghanistan.

On the 23rd December, Macnaghten with a courage undiminished by the sense that, like a desperate gamester, he was risking all upon a hazard cast, went out to hold conference with Mahomed Akbar, and to carry into effect the projected measures. The Envoy, accompanied by his three brave companions, Mackenzie, Trevor and Lawrence, heedless of the warning which the first mentioned officer gave him, boldly met the assembled Chiefs, among whom was a brother of Amin Ullah's. No suitable preparations had been made in cantonments on the part of the military; and even the Envoy's escort were so backward in assembling and following him, that he had ridden on and confidently entrusted himself to the mercy of his enemies, without his body-guard being at hand to

protect him. When warned of the danger of the meeting and the perfidious character of Mahomed Akbar, the Envoy had replied—"Dangerous it is; but if it succeeds, it is worth all risks; the rebels have not fulfilled even one article of the treaty, and I have no confidence in them; and, if by it we can only save our honour, all will be well. At any rate, I would rather suffer an hundred deaths, than live the last six weeks over again." Thus felt Macnaghten, as he rode forth to meet his murderer.

The violation of the treaty had been mutual; the first infraction being on the part of the Affghans under Mahomed Akbar, who attacked the troops, when they evacuated the Bala Hissar; but, instead of immediately breaking with them on this plea, Macnaghten had continued to treat and negotiate, as if the compact were valid, although, by prolonging the stay of the troops at Cabul he himself violated its most essential specification. After having made the customary salutations, and presented a handsome Arab horse to Mahomed Akbar, both parties dismounted; and Macnaghten, with his three companions, seated themselves beside Mahomed Akbar, and surrounded by Affghans, upon a small hillock, which partly concealed them from cantonments. Lawrence, eyeing with suspicion the numbers of armed attendants which encircled them, remarked to the Envoy, that if the conference were of a secret nature, they had better be removed. Macnaghten spoke to Mahomed Akbar, who replied:—"No, they are all in the secret." In an instant the three officers were seized, overpowered, disarmed, and carried off: whilst Macnaghten, struggling on the ground with Mahomed Akbar, was shot by the latter, and then cut to pieces by his followers. The escort instead of charging to the rescue, fled to cantonments, and left the Envoy and his brave companions to their fate. In cantonments all was apathy and indecision. Although within sight of the scene, no attempt was made to avenge the slaughtered Envoy, and to recover his body from a cowardly mob, who bore off in triumph his mangled remains to parade them in the city of Cabul.

Energy might still have saved the wretched force; and Pottinger, now called upon by Elphinstone to renew negotiations with the enemy upon the basis of the treaty violated by Macnaghten, made a last effort to rekindle the military spirit of the council of war convened by the General. Declaring his own conviction, that no confidence could be placed in any treaty with the Affghan Chiefs, he disapproved of all humiliating negotiations; and, instead of binding the hands of Government by ignoble promises to evacuate the country, to subsidize the rebel Chiefs, and to restore Dost Mahomed, he counselled,

either to hold out to the last at Cabul, or to march to Jellalabad. His own high courage and undaunted spirit met with no sympathy in that gloomy depressed council, which overruled his opinion, and instructed him to negotiate at all cost alike of money and of honour.

The deplorable weakness which could adopt a resolution unexampled in British military history, was productive of the results which might have been anticipated. We draw a veil over the transactions which occupied the political and military leaders from the 26th December to the 13th January. Macnaghten might well prefer death to such protracted humiliation and ignominy. Would that oblivion could swallow up all record, all memory of that dire destruction of a well equipped army, sufficient in the hands of a Nott, or a Napier, to have swept its discomfited foes in haughty triumph before the colours of England; but these, alas, were doomed to droop beneath the withering spell of fatuous imbecility; to see their host delivered into the hands of the enemy, confounded and utterly destroyed; to witness the fiat of supreme vengeance which had given over 20,000 souls as a prey to famine, cold, and the edge of the sword.

On the 13th January, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him, reached Jellalabad, and told that Elphinstone's army—guns, standards, honour, all being lost—was itself completely annihilated.

Such was the consummation of a line of policy, which, from first to last, trod right under foot, and, acting on a remote scene, was enabled for a time unscrupulously to mislead the public mind. But time brings truth to light; and gradually, the collection of facts from indubitable sources, and the perusal of private and public memoranda have enabled us to form a more correct idea of the Envoy's policy and conduct. Its victims were many: for insulted truth amply avenged herself,⁶ recording a terrible lesson for the contemplation of man's ignorant, short-sighted ambition. Amongst those victims many a man fell, whose heart burned with a soldier's indignation at the ignominy brought upon his country's arms. Foremost in this feeling, in justice to his memory, be it said, was the ill-fated Macnaghten. His high courage, if anything could do so, would almost atone for his moral and political errors. The victim of his own truthless and unscrupulous policy, he shrunk from no personal risk, and fell in the vain hope and endeavour of accomplishing by subtlety a blow, which might prove, if successful, the saving of

the force, and (in his opinion) of its honour. On this he daringly staked his own life and fame.

Mere courage, however, cannot palliate moral delinquency : nor should the melancholy end of a talented and erudite gentleman's career blind us to the lesson and example it affords of the falsity of Macchiavelli's advise—"Non può pertanto un signore prudente, nè debbe, osservare la fede, quando tale osservanza gli torni contro, e che sono spente le cagioni che la fecero promettere. E si gl'li nomi ni fossero tutti buoni, questo precetto non sarebbe buono ; ma perchè sono tristi, e non l' osservarebbero a te, tu ancora non l' hai da osservare a loro." (A prudent lord cannot, however, neither ought he to, keep faith, when such keeping turns against himself, and the reasons which induced him to promise, exist no longer. And if men were all good, this precept would not be good ; but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you also need not keep it with them).

Upon the character of the general policy of the Government which could engage our armies on so distant a scene of operations as Affghanistan, whilst Scinde and the Punjab were unconquered, it is, in the present day, almost needless to animadvert. It must needs bear Lord Auckland's name, because he permitted its adoption : yet, we cannot close this article without regretting, that one, who was at heart so much opposed to it, must bear the reproach, and even ignominy, of having his name connected with a policy, as essentially unjust, as it proved to be unfortunate.

BROOME'S HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARMY.

BY CAPTAIN STAPEES.

1. *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army.* By Captain Arthur Broome. Vol. I. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co. 1850.
2. *History of British India.* By James Mill.
3. *A Voyage to the East Indies.* By Mr. Grose.
4. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation, in Indostan.* By Robert Orme, Esq., F.A.S.
5. *The Life of Robert, Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey.* By Mr. Caraccioli.
6. *Life of Lord Clive.* By Major-General Sir John Malcolm.
7. *Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays.*
8. *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons.*
9. *The Seir Mutakherin.*
10. *Ives's Voyage and Historical Narrative.*

THERE is perhaps no task so difficult as that of having to blend together, and form into a connected narrative, a series of petty military actions, which, although highly important as a train of events all bearing upon one object, yet are in themselves apparently trivial and unimportant. The early history of our military exploits in India, as detailed in the pages of Orme, is a striking instance of the difficulty we allude to: and the *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, by Captain Broome, is only relieved from it by the skill with which the author has contrived to bring prominently forward such details as are interesting even at the present day. The first volume of this history extends from the earliest period of our connection with India to the close of Lord Clive's second administration. It does little more than trace the progress of this now mighty kingdom from its infancy to the time when it first exhibited signs of its future power. It shows how our success in war has been generally owing to the triumph of discipline, skill, and energy, over the untrained and misdirected efforts of a brave but inexperienced and unskilful foe. It gives us many highly interesting details which cannot be found in any other volume, but have been collected and condensed with a skill, patience, and perseverance, that are entitled to lasting praise. The military student of our early wars will here find the best and most connected narrative that we have yet seen of those transactions; and he will also find the authority for each fact or statement given with scrupulous fidelity.

Most of the works, to which Captain Broome has referred, are not procurable in mofussil stations in India; and even the best formed libraries are deficient in many of them. We have now before us an array of not less than fifty volumes, which we have collected for the purpose of reference; yet we have been unable to procure many works to which we wished to refer in our examination of this work. Much of Captain Broome's information has been derived from the India House; and much labour and expense have been incurred by him in causing references to be made to the manuscripts existing there: indeed, we are convinced, that no pains have been spared to render the book substantially correct. We could have wished that a more copious detail at the head of each chapter had been added, to aid in our notice of the book; and a simple reprint of the running title at the head of each page, if prefaced to each chapter, would have added much to the value of the work.

The first chapter closes with the oft-told tale of the fatal night of the Black Hole; and the second as appropriately concludes with the narrative of the early death of the sanguinary tyrant who caused that massacre. It is only in Eastern climes, where vice and profligacy are as rapid in their growth and as gigantic in their evil consequences, as the rank vegetation in the jungles around, that a monster like this could have been so precociously matured in evil, as to perish with such universal execration at the early age of twenty years, after a reign of only fifteen months.

We pass over the few unimportant military records of the first chapter, observing merely that the charges on that head for the five years preceding the capture of Calcutta by Suraj-ud-dowlah scarcely averaged £ 20,000 a year! It was by sea, and not by land, that the Company, trading to the East Indies, first prominently signalized themselves, by fitting out (what was for those days) large and expensive fleets: and had they been as successful in securing good naval, as they afterwards were in securing military, commanders, their power might have been more early and successfully developed.

An ensign and thirty men were sanctioned in 1652 in Bengal, to do honour to the principal agents there: and this small party was the nucleus of the present army at this Presidency. In 1653 this force had only increased to 250 men, although at that time a ship of war, mounting seventy-two guns, was employed in the Bay of Bengal to act against interlopers, who appeared to be the enemies then most dreaded by the Company. Aurungzebe, in 1685, was in the zenith of his

power: and yet, so conscious were the Company of their strength, even at that early period, that they did not hesitate to commence hostilities against him, and to appeal to arms, when the Nawab of Dacca tried to impose, in Bengal, a duty of three and a half per cent., which was customarily levied at Surat, but had hitherto not been imposed in Bengal. On this occasion, a fleet of no less than ten ships, of from seventy to twelve guns each, was fitted out in England, and the command given to Captain Nicholson, with the rank of Admiral. The orders were, that the Company's ships then in the Bay of Bengal should join this fleet, which would increase its numbers by nine vessels: and Chittagong was fixed upon as the place of debarkation and attack. Two hundred pieces of cannon were sent out to be placed on the works which were ordered to be erected there:—

As soon as Chittagong should be captured, and put in a state of proper defence, the troops and the smaller vessels were to proceed against Dacca, which, it was contemplated, would offer but little resistance; and, when masters of his capital, terms were to be offered to the Nawab on the following conditions: "*That he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, and pay the debts due by him: that he should allow rupees coined at Chittagong to pass current in the Province, and restore all privileges according to the ancient Phirmaunds—each party to bear their respective losses and expenses in the war. On these conditions alone, the Company would agree to re-settle the factories in Bengal,*"—p. 13.

Unforeseen and disastrous circumstances frustrated these plans of conquest. Contrary winds and bad weather detained or destroyed portions of the fleet; and, instead of going to Chittagong, the remnant of the fleet, when it arrived at the mouth of the Hugly in October 1686, was ordered up to the English factory which had been built at Hugly. Four hundred European troops had been that year brought round from Madras to that place; and the Nawab Shaistah Khan, alarmed by all these demonstrations, assembled a considerable force, both of horse and foot, in the immediate neighbourhood. A bazar row, which took place between some of his men and some of the English soldiers, ended in a regular fight, in which the English killed sixty of the enemy, wounded many more, spiked eleven guns, and, with the assistance of Admiral Nicholson's fleet, burnt or destroyed upwards of 500 houses in the town of Hugly. No pillage was allowed by Mr. Charnock, for which lenient conduct he was reprimanded by the Court, who remarked that such a measure "*would have convinced the natives of our power!*" The claims of the Company upon the Nawab then amounted to sixty-six lakhs. One item was "for protecting Haggerston from justice, 45,000 rupees"—which

was an easy way of recovering "*the debts remaining and owing us in the country.*" Admiral Nicholson appears to have undertaken nothing of importance, except the bombardment of Hugly; and the proceedings of Mr. Charnock and his council were characterized by so much irresolution, that the Court sent out Captain Heath with two more vessels, one of which mounted sixty-four guns, to reinforce the expedition, and carry out their original intentions. This officer might well have been called "hasty Heath," and was said to be "*of a variable disposition, not far removed from craziness.*" He arrived off the village of Chutanutti in October 1688, resolved to commence hostilities immediately; and for this purpose, ordered all the Company's servants to embark on board the fleet, which sailed for Balasore on the 8th November. Having captured and pillaged that place, he next proceeded to Chittagong; but, finding the works there stronger than he expected, he proceeded to Arracan, and proposed to the King to co-operate with him against the Mogul. On the rejection of these proposals, he tried, in order to obtain a settlement, to enter into a negotiation with a chief of some consequence, who had revolted against the King: but, being too hasty and impatient to wait even for an answer to his proposals, he sailed with the whole fleet to Madras—thus abandoning the trade in Bengal, and leaving the property there to be confiscated by the Emperor, who was now much incensed against the English.

About eighteen months after the failure of this mad expedition, Mr. Charnock, the founder of our capital, received permission to renew the trade in Bengal, and landed at Chutanutti in August 1690, with a guard of one officer and thirty men, the original military establishment, which power was increased to 100 men by the close of the year. The disputes between the old and the new East India Companies do not seem to have retarded the progress of the settlement in Calcutta; and their junction considerably increased the power of the British nation there. In the year 1707-8, the rival Companies were united, and in the same year, the Emperor Aurungzebe died. With him fell the power of the Mogul monarchy, which speedily passed into the hands of the united Company which had just been formed. The coincidence was remarkable; but half a century elapsed ere they were able to avail themselves of the rapid decay of the Muhammadan power, which ensued on the death of Aurungzebe. During great part of this period, the Governors in Bengal were friendly to the English. But at length, in 1756, Suraj-ud-dowlah succeeded to the Government; and he, by his vices, his

ignorance, and his folly, soon paved the way for the conquests of the English in India. Captain Broome has given a very interesting account of the dissensions, which speedily ensued between the English and the Nawab ; the siege and capture of the old fort of Calcutta ; the cowardly and disgraceful conduct of many of the principal gentlemen in the service ; and the sufferings and cruel fate of those who were taken and imprisoned in the Black Hole.

The temporary downfall of Calcutta served but to increase its dominion, power and splendour ; and under the able rule of Clive, it rose like a phoenix from its ashes. He arrived about the middle of December at Fultah, where the miserable remnant of the Presidency were then assembled, anxiously awaiting succour from Madras. The aspect of affairs was now soon changed. The fleet which bore the expedition, constituted its main strength : and in this, as in all the early contests of the Company, there is nothing so remarkable as the disparity between the land and sea forces employed. Our power in the East had not at that time taken firm root in the soil, and it was necessary to have at hand the means of transplanting it at any moment to a new settlement. Hence the naval force employed was necessarily much greater in proportion, and even in actual amount of ships and guns, than it has been at any later period of our history.

Five large ships of war, the smallest mounting twenty guns, under two Admirals, with five of the Company's merchantmen as transports and store-ships, formed a force sufficient to have annihilated the whole power of the Nawab, had it consisted in naval strength. But unfortunately the ships could not proceed far up the rivers, and the land-forces of the expedition were inconsiderable, while the strength of the Muhammadans in Bengal was too far removed from the coast to be much affected by our superiority at sea. Suraj-ud-dowlah was however ignorant of this. He knew not the draft of water required for our ships, and his officers were probably equally ignorant ;—so much so that we find them even sinking large piles above the city of Mûrshedabad, lest the English ships of war should proceed up the great branch of the Ganges, and then come down the smaller river to Mûrshedabad. When we reflect, therefore, on what was then accomplished in Bengal, we must never lose sight of the great naval power which we then had here, and the effect of the broadsides that was so rapidly shewn at Calcutta, and even at Chandernagore. The land forces on the other hand, were inconsiderable. Clive's whole army at Plassey only mounted to 1,100 Europeans and 2,100 native troops, with ten

field-pieces, against a nominal army of 18,000 horse and 50,000 foot, accompanied by fifty-three pieces of heavy ordnance, which were, however, too unwieldy to be of much real service.

Clive had been early trained in the Madras wars, and had but lately returned from the expedition against Angria, so that he had considerable experience in native warfare; and his stern, forcible and impetuous character led him to despise the armies of the native powers. Though he may be considered to have been, on the whole, the best leader that our troops ever had in those early days in India, still we cannot quite subscribe to the opinion of Macaulay, that he exhibited rare talents for war: and the assertion of that talented writer, that Clive was the only man, except Napoleon, who had ever at so early an age, given equal proof of talents for war, can only have arisen from his own want of military experience.

How Clive landed below Budge Budge; how he lost his route in the jungles through the ignorance or treachery of his guides; how he was attacked, when sleeping on his post in rear of the fort by Manik Chund; how he subsequently defeated that officer; and how Strahan, the drunken sailor, took the redoubtable fortress of Budge Budge—are all detailed in the narrative before us with much spirit and faithfulness.

Calcutta was soon reduced by the fire of the ships. Indeed there is nothing in all this warfare, as far we have yet gone, to equal even the feeble resistance which our troops experienced in China. Thus the forts of Thannah and Allyghur, which mounted fifty guns, were abandoned without firing a shot; and although a few rounds were fired from the fort in Calcutta against the advancing squadron, which killed nine men on board the *Kent* and seven on board the *Tiger*, yet as soon as the ships "took up their position, and commenced to return the cannonade, the fire from the fort slackened, and the enemy, observing that Clive with the troops had nearly invested the place "on the land side, abandoned the defence, and hastened to seek "safety in flight." This was on the 2nd January 1757, just fifty years after the death of Aurungzebe and the junction of the two Companies.

A force was next sent up to attack Hugly, and it was equally successful. After battering the town for a whole day, the place was assaulted and taken—the enemy flying as soon as our men had mounted the breach. Meanwhile, intelligence had been received that war had been declared between France and England, and it was naturally anticipated that the French, who had then a considerable force at Chandernagore, would join with the Nawab at once against us. This led Clive at first

to endeavour to open negotiations with the Nawab : and there appears to be no reason to suppose that any thoughts of permanent conquests were then entertained by the English, or that they would not have been perfectly content, if left alone with the successes which they had already obtained. It was, however, otherwise destined. The Nawab would not listen to their overtures, and gave orders to march immediately with his whole force to Calcutta. Fortunately no official information had arrived of the breaking out of hostilities between the French and English : and, as the former had then at Chandernagore no man of ability able to seize the crisis of affairs which was at hand, that nation let slip the great opportunity which was presented to them, of crushing the English by joining the Nawab, and left him single-handed to deal with the haughty islanders.

On the 30th January, the Nawab crossed the river, a few miles above Hugly, with a force of 18,000 horse, 15,000 foot, 1,000 pioneers, forty pieces of heavy cannon, fifty elephants, and a vast assemblage of camp-followers. The position which Clive took up, had he intended to assail the army of the Nawab while on its line of march was a good one, but we cannot see that he properly availed himself of the advantages of his situation. He encamped about half a mile from the river, rather in advance of Perring's redoubt, which stood near the site of the present Chitpore suspension bridge. His head-quarters were thus not far distant from the junction of the Dum-Dum, Cossipore, and Barrackpore roads. The army of the Nawab swept round his position ; and, although Clive marched out with the greater part of his force, supported by six field-pieces, and commenced a cannonade, yet he effected nothing, and gradually drew off his troops. This was on the 2nd February : and so completely was Clive's position now surrounded, that the followers of the Nawab's camp spread themselves beyond the Mahratta ditch, and proceeded to plunder the town. A sally from the detachment, posted at Perring's redoubt, quickly stopped the plundering : but mass after mass of the enemy had by this time established themselves in force, and entrenchments had already been commenced a mile and half to the south-east of the British camp, which were in such a state of forwardness, as to be able from their batteries to bring a fire of ten heavy guns on Clive's army when it advanced that day. We are disposed to criticise Clive's conduct in thus permitting the Nawab to get into his rear, between the Mahratta ditch and the Salt-water Lake, and to occupy the whole

plain of Chowringhi, where his cavalry had ample room to act, and to fix his head-quarters in Omichund's garden, within half a mile or less of Perring's redoubt. Had it been Clive's intention not to attack the Nawab's force when on their line of march, we cannot help thinking that, had he himself occupied Omichund's garden, it would have been a much better position for his forces, as he would then have been able to debouch, either by the Dum-Dum road, or by the two causeways leading to the end of the Salt-water Lake, in any attack he might make on the Muhammadan army. By taking up his position at Cossipore, and abandoning the line of the Mahratta ditch, he permitted the enemy to avail themselves of the advantages which it afforded them; and when Clive attacked the camp of the Nawab on the 4th, after wandering about on the plain for a considerable time, being bewildered in a fog, he had to lead his men to the attack of the barricade which the enemy had formed across the causeways, and was, in so doing, exposed to the fire of the guns which they had posted along the whole circle of the Mahratta ditch. Our military readers will at once understand the radical defect in Clive's position and tactics on this occasion, by considering that he had permitted the Nawab's force to get into the interior of the circle; thus he was compelled to attack on the circumference, while the troops of the latter had the more easy task of acting on the radius of the circle, with a ready-formed ditch to protect their position. Clive, after moving round the Nawab's position, and forcing an entrance at the barrier on their extreme right, succeeded in gaining the fort about noon, having been harassed by the enemy's cavalry and artillery almost the whole way, and having lost three officers, thirty-nine Europeans and eighteen sepoy killed, and eighty-two Europeans and thirty-five sepoy wounded—a greater loss than was sustained at Plassey. The greater part of this mischief was done by the enemy's guns, mounted on the ramparts, inside our own ditch. The enemy had, however, suffered very considerably, having, it was said, 1,300 killed and wounded: but possibly this loss was exaggerated. Orme, in his account could not help seeing, that, had Clive advanced from Perring's redoubt, direct on Omichund's garden, the attack might have been more successful. We think Clive is much to be blamed for this rash proceeding; for he had still the command of the direct road, leading through Perring's redoubt to the fort, by which he returned to his position at Cossipore in the evening, and could, by that road, have easily got within the circle of the Mahratta ditch, and thus attacked the Nawab in a direct line, instead of

leading his men round the circumference of the circle, exposed to the fire of all the guns mounted along its face. Captain Broome says of this attack, that it was altogether "a dashing affair, and the conception not unworthy of the *heaven-born General* who formed it:" but we are doubtful whether he intends to express any great praise of the design, however bold may have been its execution. Although the spirits of our men were damped by the result of this expedition, yet its discouraging effect on the Nawab was much greater. He was astonished and terrified by the courage and intrepidity displayed: and, on the following morning, he sent proposals of peace, and drew off his army to the northward of the Salt-water Lake, to be out of the reach of so daring a foe. A treaty of peace was concluded, on very advantageous terms for the English: and the Nawab on the 11th commenced his march homeward.

Clive immediately turned his attention to an attack on Chandernagore, and sounded the Nawab, as to the views which he entertained of the meditated attack on the French. The Nawab was greatly incensed, and accused the English of breach of faith: but this did not deter Clive from crossing the river on the 18th, and marching against Chandernagore. The Nawab was too much in fear of the English to commence hostilities again in person: but he peremptorily forbade them to commit any act of hostility, and ordered the Governor of Hugly to assist the French. Upon this Clive desisted for the present, and the troops re-crossed the river: but, adds Captain Broome, "he did not ultimately despair of obtaining the Nawab's consent, for which the English agents, Mr. Watts and Omichund were directed to apply." Things remained in this uncertain state for some time; and the English Council, who were evidently afraid to act in a hostile manner without the Nawab's consent, endeavoured to patch up a treaty of neutrality with the French: but, Chandernagore being subordinate to Pondicherry, a difficulty arose, by which the negotiations were broken off. This was unfortunate for the French: as the Affghan invasion, which then occurred in Northern India, alarmed the Nawab, lest an attack should be made on him from that quarter, and induced him to give the English a tacit permission to attack their rivals. They speedily availed themselves of this permission; and the *Tiger*, the *Kent* and the *Salisbury* were chosen to attack Chandernagore by water, while Clive attacked by land. The difficulty of getting these large vessels, mounting from fifty to sixty-four guns each, up the river, and placed in position opposite the fort, was

considerable: but, that difficulty once overcome, the fall of the place could be calculated on, as certain. The *Tiger* got into position at 7 A. M. on the 23rd March; and, by 9 o'clock, the batteries were silenced, their parapets destroyed, and a flag of truce hung out by the garrison, upon which the cannonade was suspended. We do not think that the land forces materially influenced the reduction of the place; for though batteries had been erected, which opened their fire at sunrise, it appears to have been of little effect; whereas one well directed broadside from the *Tiger*, on its coming into action, completely cleared the defences of the ravelin next the river. It is the number of guns which can concentrically be brought to bear on one spot, and the vast weight of shot, which can at the same instant be hurled by them upon a fortress, that renders the broadside of a man-of-war so effectual: and here, as at Algiers, and, in subsequent times at Beirút, the enemy found it impossible to resist the fury of its power.

A sum of £ 130,000 sterling was acquired by the capture of Chandernagore: and the way was now paved for the destruction of the Nawab. Ignorant and irresolute, that prince at one time flattered the English, and the next instant strove to attach the French to his person: but finally he dismissed Monsieur Law, who had been chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, and to whom all those, who had escaped from Chandernagore, had fled, and thus formed a considerable party. The Nawab thus detached from him all those, who had the most interest in protecting him, while, at the same time, he continually weakened the fidelity of his own subjects by his cruelty and licentiousness.

The crooked policy which was pursued at this time by the chiefs of the English factory, does not necessarily come under review in a consideration of the military details of the campaign; but it would be unpardonable to omit all notice of the conduct of our officers on this occasion. It is difficult for us now to realize the position in which they were then placed; without any thoughts of conquest, they found themselves solicited and courted by the most influential parties in the province to aid in overthrowing a ruler, whom able historians have united in painting as a monster, and as one who had uniformly exhibited himself as hostile to the English and their trade. The temptation to aid in this meritorious work was too strong to be resisted; and the moral delinquency of Clive and his confederates consisted in their plotting the destruction of Suraj-ud-dowlah, at the same

moment that they were outwardly professing friendship for him. Clive was evidently led into these dishonourable negotiations by the representations made to him of the character and cruelty of the Nawab, and the chances which were afforded by the excited feelings of his subjects against him, for the recovery and extension of the English power and trade. We look upon it as unfortunate, that any treaty was made with the Nawab in the first instance, and think that full reparation should have been exacted for our unfortunate officers and men who fell victims to his cruelty in the Black Hole. Had Clive taken a higher and a bolder tone, he would not have left this stain upon his memory, and the English could not have been reproached with unfaithfulness in their engagements.

Three months were consumed in negotiations with the conspirators, and on the 13th of June, the whole force, which had assembled at Chandernagore, commenced their route—the Europeans with the ammunition and stores in boats, and the sepoys marching along the right bank of the river. On the same day, Mr. Watts, who had up to this time continued on terms of apparent amity with the Nawab, made his escape from Múrshe-dabad, and, with the gentlemen who were at Cossimbazar, fled to Aghardip, and thence in a small boat proceeded down the river to meet the expedition. His flight overwhelmed the Nawab with terror. He had been about to attack Mir Jaffer's house, when he heard of it : but he immediately endeavoured to patch up a hollow truce with that old friend of his grandfather, and strove to detach him from the confederation. The Nawab moved out with all his force on the 19th, but halted at Munkarah ; and Clive with all his force had, the previous evening, arrived at the small fort of Kutwa, where he found sufficient grain to supply an army of 10,000 men for a year. The rains set in with great violence on the 20th ; but Clive felt he had now advanced too far to retreat ; and, after some hours of mature reflection, on the 21st, and in opposition to the advice and opinion of a council of war, he determined to cross the river and attack the Nawab. His situation at that moment was not devoid of peril. At a distance of 150 miles from his ships, and without either support or reserves, he could but cast all upon one throw ; and, if he lost, with a rapid river in his rear, he was sure to be annihilated. Notwithstanding these considerations, there is no doubt that he acted right, not perhaps so much in a military point of view, as in a political ; for we cannot believe, upon a careful review of the case, that Clive ever coolly calculated upon engaging and defeating the

vast force of the Nawab with 3,000 men and six guns. He was merely to play his part in the coming action, and the conspirators were to do the rest for him. Thus we find Clive taking up such a position at Plassey, as enabled him to sustain during the whole day the ineffectual cannonade of the Muhammadans ; and although he kept up a fire from his own guns on the enemy, yet his anger, when Major Kilpatrick advanced to attack the enemy's guns, showed that he wished rather to wait upon events, than to strive to bend them to his purpose. The conspirators persuaded the Nawab to retire from the action ; and then the whole native army, ignorant of the intentions of their chiefs, and suspecting that each man was more a traitor than himself, speedily fled from the plain. The small French force made a decided stand ; but, partly from the fire of Clive's guns, and partly from the pressure of the crowd of fugitives, they soon also gave way, and Clive remained master of the field.

Ours is not perhaps a very flattering view of an action which generally has been considered so famous : but we do not think the praise which has been bestowed on Clive and his army for their intrepidity, misplaced, although the courage exhibited by them was more of a moral than of a physical nature. Had Mir Jaffier not been a traitor, Clive would probably have been destroyed ; and to compare this action with the victories gained over the intrepid Mexicans by Cortez, is to assimilate things which are totally dissimilar. There was no fighting worth speaking of ; and had a mob of totally unarmed men of equal numbers been assembled together, they could scarcely have opposed less resistance to the English than the Nawab's army did ; or, if moved by such an extreme panic, as was exhibited on this occasion, could they well have separated with less loss. We are told that Clive cannonaded a body of 50,000 men for a whole day ; yet their casualties only amounted to 500 killed and an equal number wounded : while on his own side, there were only 23 killed and 49 wounded.

After the battle, Clive hastened on towards Mūrsheda-bad, and on the 29th, he entered the city ; when all the arrangements were made for the installation of the new Nawab, Mir Jaffier Khan, and the payment of the different sums to the English leaders, and the army and navy. A sum of Rs. 72,71,666 in coined silver, was paid as a first instalment, and a large part of the force was employed in the welcome duty of escorting it to Calcutta. Many disputes, however, arose as to the proper division of the spoil ; and, when some of the military officers drew

up and signed a protest, remonstrating with Clive for the part which he found it necessary to take, he instantly put them all in arrest, and sent the ringleaders to Calcutta. His conduct in apportioning so much of the gifts of Mir Jaffier to Admiral Watson and the fleet, shows a generous nature; and the following letter, to the officers of the army who remonstrated on that occasion, is characteristic of the man:—

GENTLEMEN,—I have received both your remonstrance and protest. Had you consulted the dictates of your own reason, those of justice, or the respect due to your commanding officer, I am persuaded such a paper, so highly injurious to your own honour as officers, could never have escaped you.

You say you were assembled at a council to give your opinion about a matter of property. Pray, Gentlemen, how comes it that a promise of a sum of money from the Nabob, entirely negotiated by me, can be deemed a matter of right and property? So very far from it, it is now in my power to return to the Nabob the money already advanced, and leave it to his option whether he will perform his promise or not. You have stormed no town, and found the money there; neither did you find it in the plains of Plassey, after the defeat of the Nabob. In short, Gentlemen, it pains me to remind you, that, what you are to receive is entirely owing to the care I took of your interest. Had I not interfered greatly in it, you had been left to the Company's generosity, who perhaps would have thought you sufficiently rewarded in receiving a present of six months' pay; in return for which, I have been treated with the greatest disrespect and ingratitude; and, what is still worse, you have flown in the face of my authority, for over-ruling an opinion, which, if passed, would have been highly injurious to your own reputation, being attended with injustice to the Navy, and been of the worst consequences to the cause of the nation and the Company.

I shall, therefore, send the money down to Calcutta, give directions to the agents of both parties to have it shroffed; and when the Nabob signifies his pleasure (on whom it solely depends) that the money be paid you, you shall then receive it, and not before.

Your behaviour has been such, that you cannot expect I should interest myself any further in your concerns. I therefore retract the promise I made the other day, of negotiating either the rest of the Nabob's promise, or the one-third, which was to be received in the same manner as the rest of the public money, at three yearly equal payments.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
ROBT. CLIVE.

We must rapidly pass over much of what follows in Captain Broome's work. A detachment under Major Coote was sent in pursuit of the French, who had fled to the northward: but they succeeded in making good their retreat, and took refuge at Benares; and the detachment, after suffering considerable hardships at such an inclement season of the year, and having advanced as far as Chupra, considered it prudent to return to Patna, which they reached on the 13th of August. The immediate object of the expedition was not accomplished, but it was useful as showing

the determination of the English character ; and it was possibly the means of keeping the Rajah Ram Narain of Patna from openly joining with the French, or raising his standard in revolt against the new Nawab. The situation, in which this prince now found himself, was by no means agreeable. The great Hindu and Muhammadan leaders at Patna, Midnapore, Dacca and Purneah, together with Rajah Dulub Ram, the Dewan and Chief of the Hindu faction, were all more or less inimical to him : and those, who did not actually revolt, were only restrained from it through fear of the English : wherever this fear did not extend, revolts and insurrections arose. Such was the state of the province of Bengal for several years.

Meanwhile, Clive sedulously applied himself to raising and training a body of native infantry of a superior description—those formerly entertained in this Presidency having been very inferior. When he first landed, he commenced what was a new system in Bengal, and supplied the men, not only with European arms and accoutrements, but with similar clothing to that of the Europeans, and drilled and exercised them in the same manner. Most of the men so raised were Muhammadans, for the natives of the province did not make good soldiers, and the Muhammadans, who came from the Upper Provinces to seek service with the native princes, were a much finer race of men than the people of Bengal. Clive had already raised and equipped one battalion, and the organization of the second was steadily progressing. The judgment which he shewed in the formation of this force is worthy of great praise, although he was by no means the first person who sought to raise a native force after a European model. On Clive's return to Calcutta, after arranging affairs at Múrshedabad, he first turned his attention to the state of the fortifications in Fort William, which had been commenced in the close of the previous year, and were progressing but slowly. He soon had the outline of the *enciente* completed : and, in September 1758, the ravelins and the covered way were finished.

The Court of Directors previous to the receipt of the intelligence of their brilliant prospects in Bengal, and of how much they were indebted to the one leading man there, had appointed a new council for Bengal, making no mention at all of Colonel Clive ; but, when the orders came out, it was felt that it would have been highly injudicious to act upon them, and Clive continued at the head of the Government. The time was, indeed, critical, and few could have been found in India, who would have ventured to undertake the responsibility which Clive did. He exhibited far greater qualities as a statesman and a ruler

than as a general, and has this great praise, that he never shrank from incurring responsibility. Had he at this moment left the helm, the ship would have speedily foundered; the French would have triumphed at Madras, or the Dutch might have driven us from Bengal. But Clive remained; and, taking advantage of the opening presented by the Rajah of Chicacole and Rajahmundri, who solicited the aid of the English against the French, he fitted out an expedition under Colonel Forde, and sent it to Vizagapatam to cause a diversion there, and thus indirectly to aid Madras, which was then hard pressed by Monsieur Lally.

The Marquis de Conflans, who commanded the French force in the Northern Sircars, had under him a European battalion of 500 men, with thirty or forty guns, 500 native cavalry, and 6,000 sepoy. On the other hand, Colonel Forde could only muster 470 Europeans, 1,900 sepoy, and six field-pieces; his ally the Rajah, had certainly 5,000 foot and 500 horse, but they were considered a miserable rabble. The sepoy under Forde were better trained, and probably better equipped than the French native troops; and they advanced with all the *prestige* of victorious troops, as some of them had assisted to recover or conquer Bengal. Forde landed on the 20th October; and, after some delay and much difficulty, having made his arrangements with the Rajah, he marched against the enemy on the 8th December. We extract the whole of Captain Broome's animated description of the Battle of "Condore:—

Here Colonel Forde took up his position again, determined to be guided by the movement of the enemy. Condore was as far from the French camp as the old position at Chambole, but with more advantageous ground to advance upon, and with a village half way, which would serve for an advanced post. M. Conflans, imagining that the possession of this village was the object of the English movement, pushed forward with his whole force to anticipate this supposed intention; and he attributed Colonel Forde's inaction, in letting him seize this post without an effort, to a consciousness of inferiority. Fearing that the English might now attempt to regain their old position, he determined upon an immediate attack, and, hastily forming his troops in line, advanced towards Condore. His European battalion was in the centre, as usual, with thirteen field-pieces divided on their flanks; immediately to the left of the battalion were the 500 cavalry, and, on either wing, 3,000 sipahis, supported by five or six heavy pieces of cannon.

Colonel Forde drew up his force in like manner, with the European battalion in the centre, and the six field-pieces divided, three on each flank; to the right was the 1st battalion of sipahis commanded by Captain Knox, with half of the Madras sipahis; to the left, the 2nd battalion of sipahis commanded by Captain-Lieutenant MacLean, with the remainder of the Madras sipahis; extended on either flank were such of the Rajah's troops as possessed fire-arms, and the remainder of the rabble in the rear. Cap-

tain Bristol, with his party and four field-pieces, took post with the three guns to the left of the European battalion.

Both sides now advanced—the English steadily and deliberately, without firing a shot—the French moving more rapidly, but keeping up a hot cannonade from their artillery as they approached. When they came near, the impetuosity of the French infantry carried them in advance of their guns; upon which the English halted to receive them, and both sides commenced a fire of musketry which lasted for some minutes.

It so happened that, when the English line halted, the European battalion was immediately in rear of a field of Indian corn, which grew so high as to intercept them from the view of the enemy; but the sipahis on either flank were fully exposed. Colonel Forde, probably with a view of leading the enemy into the very error into which they fell, ordered the sipahi battalions to furl their small colours, of which one was allowed to each company, and to lay them on the ground. This circumstance, and the men being dressed in scarlet uniform, resembling that of the Europeans, for which the French were unprepared—the English sipahis on the Madras side wearing the native dress—led them to suppose that the Europeans were divided on the flanks; the French battalion, as their line advanced, instead of moving directly forward, obliqued to the left, to engage the 2nd native battalion, which they thus mistook for Europeans. When they arrived within the distance of 200 yards, they halted, dressed their ranks, and commenced firing by platoons. Colonel Forde, who perceived their error, rode up to the 2nd battalion to encourage the men to stand:—but the latter, observing the enemy's line of sipahis outflanking them to the left and gaining their rear, and being dismayed at finding themselves opposed to Europeans, began to fire in a hurried and irregular manner, and finally to give ground, retreating in the direction of the village of Chambole. Flushed with this success, the French battalion advanced rapidly, though in a disorderly manner, to follow up their advantage. Colonel Forde, who anticipated what would occur, had hastened to the European battalion, and forming them in line to the left, upon the left company, commanded by Captain Adnet, advanced and took the French in flank, just as they were clearing the field of Indian corn. As the several companies came up into their new alignment, they poured in a deadly fire of musketry upon the enemy, which did great execution. Half the French grenadiers went down at the first volley from Captain Adnet's company; and, being taken completely by surprise and thus roughly handled, the whole French battalion went about in great confusion, and hastened to regain the support of their field-pieces, which they had left nearly half a mile behind. The French rallied at their guns, thirteen in number, which were scattered about the plain in details, as they had been left when the advance commenced; these guns opened their fire on the English, as soon as their own troops were clear, and killed and wounded several men. Captain Adnet fell mortally wounded at the head of the leading company; but the men were not to be denied: the enemy's fire only induced them to hasten to the charge; and, forming line, they rushed on with the bayonet, drove the enemy from their guns, and once more put the French battalion to flight.

The day, if not completely gained, was at least secured from reverse by the possession of the enemy's field artillery and the flight of their European battalion; but much yet depended on the conduct of the 1st native battalion. When the European battalion advanced, its field-pieces had been left with this corps. Encouraged by this support, and the spirit of their gallant commander, Captain Knox, the sipahis though opposed by nearly four times their own number, stood their ground nobly; taking

advantage of the cover of some embankments in their front, they kept up a warm fire upon the enemy,—to which the latter replied with great spirit, until they saw their own European battalion driven from the guns and in disorderly flight, when they also began to retreat. Captain Knox now advanced with his battalion and the six field-pieces to join the Europeans. The enemy's right wing of sipahis and the cavalry had retreated, as soon as they saw the French battalion defeated, without making any attempt to follow up the 2nd native battalion—which, having rallied, also joined the advance. Colonel Forde now determined to push on and complete his success by attacking the enemy's camp, to which they had all retreated; and he sent to the Rajah to beg that he would advance, particularly with his cavalry, which would have been of the greatest use in following up the broken troops of the enemy;—but the Rajah and all his force were cowering in the hollow of a large tank during the action, and could not be induced to stir.

Colonel Forde having made his arrangements, now advanced with his own troops; but the ground being very bad, the guns, drawn by bullocks, were unavoidably left considerably in the rear.

A deep hollow way passed along the skirt of the camp, behind which all the French troops had rallied, supported by their heavy guns, placed so as to command the line of advance. But just as the English troops had taken up their position to attack, and the leading company had stepped out to give their fire, the field-pieces came in sight—and the enemy, as if panic-struck, went to the right about, and fled again in the utmost confusion, leaving their camp and the remainder of their guns in the hands of the victors; but the English following them up rapidly, many threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. No victory could have been more complete. The enemy were totally routed and dispersed. Thirty-two pieces of artillery, including seven mortars of from 13 to 8 inches calibre, 50 ammunition carriages, a large supply of shot and shell, 1,000 draught bullocks, and the whole of the camp equipage and stores were captured; 6 French officers and 70 Europeans were killed or mortally wounded, and about 50 more slightly wounded; 6 officers and 50 Europeans, rank and file, were taken prisoners, and the loss of their sipahis must also have been considerable.

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Thus ended the battle of Condore, one of the most brilliant actions on military record; which, however, is generally but little known or mentioned in the service; and, by a strange chance, not one of the corps employed has ever received any distinction for this most important victory, whilst the 1st Madras European fusiliers, of which not an officer or man, excepting Captain Callender, was present, have the word 'Condore' emblazoned on their colours and appointments. The corps, properly entitled to this distinction, are the present 1st Bengal European fusiliers, the 1st Regiment of Bengal native infantry, and the Bengal artillery. The 2nd native battalion is no longer in existence, and the Madras sipahis present were never organized as a regular corps.—*pp.* 215-220.

There is a slight misprint in this excellent description of the battle; thus the French battalion is described as obliquing to the left to engage the second native battalion, instead of to the right, which it actually did. This should be corrected, as it involves in obscurity an important movement in the action, and might puzzle a young military reader.

After this engagement, although the French force was still superior to that of the English, yet Colonel Forde did not hesitate to advance and fight his way to Masulipatam. He was delayed, however, for six weeks, in consequence of the vacillating conduct of the Rajah, and the difficulty in procuring supplies of money, cattle, and carriage. On the 28th January, the force at length moved forward, and on the 6th February reached Ellore; but Anundíraj still delayed them; so that it was not till the 1st March that he was ready to march from thence. On the 3rd March, Captain MacLean took the little fort of Konkale, where he met with a gallant resistance; and on the 6th, the force arrived before Masulipatam. We have no space to extract the full description of the siege of this strong fort; but the determined conduct of Colonel Forde in reducing it, entitles him to the highest military praise. The garrison consisted of 500 European and 2,000 sepoy, independent of an army of observation under Monsieur Du Rocher; while the forces of Salabut Jung, Subadar of the Deccan, amounting to 15,000 horse and 30,000 foot, were actually on their way to raise the siege of the place:—

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The treasure chest was completely empty. Colonel Forde and all the officers of the force had advanced whatever sums they possessed, and the prize money had been used and all expended in procuring provisions, whilst the troops were several months in arrears of pay.

Such was the condition of the English detachment—besieging a superior force, which was well supplied with all the means and material for defence in a place of acknowledged strength—themselves with the most scanty material, ill supplied with provisions, and entirely without funds; whilst the enemy possessed a separate force without the wall, which crippled their resources, and prevented the arrival of the money sent from Bengal;—in addition to all which, a powerful army was advancing to the relief of the place.—*p.* 230.

Colonel Forde saw that the taking of Masulipatam was the main object of the campaign; and, like a good General, he sacrificed every thing to gain that vital point. By his authority, example, and influence, he quelled a serious mutiny amongst his men; he negotiated and temporized with Salabut Jung, who had advanced within forty miles of the place; and, just at the moment that his small stock of ammunition was almost exhausted, and his enemies were rejoicing in anticipation of his speedily falling a prey to the combined army of Du Rocher and the Deccan troops, he stormed and took the fort on the night of the 7th of April. With 372 Europeans, and 700 sepoy, he took a place containing a garrison, as shown by the muster roll of the previous day, of 522 Europeans in the battalion, besides nearly 100 European agents of the Company, officers, and merchants, and

2,537 Caffrees, topasses, and sepoy. One hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance were found in the fort, and a large supply of military stores, which were of great value to the English at the time. The conduct of our troops in the assault was admirable the sepoy emulated the Europeans in gallantry, and to their conduct on this occasion, much of this brilliant success may be justly ascribed :—

When the whole of the attendant circumstances are considered—the numerical superiority of the enemy, the strength of the place, and the disadvantages under which the English force was labouring, as also the great importance of the conquest—few achievements on Indian record can be compared with this brilliant affair, which is surely deserving of commemoration ; and it is to be hoped that the corps still in existence, which were employed in that assault, may, even at this late date, receive the distinction so justly due, and be permitted to emblazon the word “ *Masulipatam* ” upon their colours and appointments. These corps are the Bengal artillery, the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, and the 1st regiment of Bengal native infantry.

The apparent impossibility and rashness of such an attempt were probably the chief causes of its success : for the garrison was only waiting the arrival of Salabut Jung and the army of observation, to commence a concerted and combined attack upon the English force, which they already looked upon as completely in their power, and consequently treated all its efforts with perfect contempt.—p. 241.

Salabut Jung was astonished and surprised at the fall of the place. He re-advanced to within fifteen miles of it, but finding it impossible to retake it, he concluded a treaty with the English, and hastily retraced his steps—his presence being urgently required in his own dominions, in consequence of the preparations that had been made by his brother Nizam Ali, to seize the Subahdari. Thus every thing fell out as Colonel Forde had hoped and anticipated. The most effectual aid was given to the English cause by the capture of Masulipatam, and the French interests in that part of the country were entirely destroyed. We must pass over the rest of the gallant acts of this detachment : but we give our readers Captain Broome's admirable summary of the effects of this expedition, which returned to Bengal in March 1760 :—

Thus terminated this brilliant expedition, during which the troops obtained all the objects contemplated, diverted the attention and means of the French from the prosecution of the war at Madras, gained one glorious and complete victory in the field, took one of the strongest forts in that part of India, captured upwards of 200 pieces of cannon, acquired a most valuable and extensive tract for the Company, drove the French completely out of the Northern Provinces, and destroyed their influence at the Court of the Nizam ;—and all this, in the face of a superior force of regular troops, and in spite of difficulties and obstacles of the most serious nature. Viewed under all the circumstances attending it, and the results obtained, this may be considered one of the most successful and important expeditions ever

undertaken by this army, although the details have been slightly passed over by historians generally.—*pp.* 249-250.

While Forde was assaulting Masulipatam, Clive was not idle in Bengal. The attempt of the Shah-Zadah Alli Gohur Khan, to emancipate himself from the thralldom in which the now almost nominal Emperor of the Moguls was kept by the ruling minister Ghazi-ud-din Khan, and to recover for himself some portion of the former power of his house, caused great alarm at Mûrshedabad. His party meditated an attack on Bengal and requested aid from Clive ; but, when he refused to assist them, made overtures to Monsieur Law, and advanced as far as Patna, where the Prince strove to gain over to his cause Ram Narain, the governor of that place. This latter, temporized and negotiated ; but, when well assured of the advance of the English under Clive, he shut his gates, and defied the Prince ; who, after assaulting the place, was obliged to retreat, about the very time that our troops were successfully assaulting Masulipatam. The English thus triumphed in both quarters at the same time : nor could Monsieur Law, on his subsequent junction with the Prince, induce him to return and renew the siege, although he engaged to take Fatna in an hour, which might easily have been done, as it was by no means a strong place, and the main body of the English had not then arrived, but only a small detachment under a native officer. The French, in this instance, as in many other parallel cases, endeavoured to *persuade* their native allies ; the English, on the other hand, usually acted for themselves with a much greater tone of authority, and thus *compelled* the wavering inclinations of the fickle races of Hindustan.

The next affair of importance which occurred in Bengal was the attack of the Dutch, which threatened the most serious consequences to the Company's establishment—if not its total subversion. Mir Jaffier was only too glad to find some power which he could use in opposition to the English, and he rather too eagerly attempted to treat with the Dutch Company, hoping through their assistance to coerce his too powerful allies.

In a former number, in the "Notes on the right bank of the Hugly," a slight sketch was given of the transactions which took place at this time ; but we must now partly again go over the same ground. In that account we stated that the English under Clive, during a period of profound peace, captured the Dutch vessels proceeding up the river, and sent Colonel Forde to attack the Dutch army on its route to Chinsurah ;—in short, that the English were the aggressors, and that Clive determined to defeat the projects of the Dutch at the risk of his

own commission. A closer and more searching investigation however shows, that the Dutch were the first to attack the English: and as this involves the great case of a breach of national faith, we notice prominently the account given by Captain Broome, as truer and more substantially correct than our own.

Clive never at any time hesitated at incurring responsibility, but in this case he incurred none: and although he wrote that he most anxiously wished, that the next hour would bring news of a declaration of war with Holland, yet the Dutch themselves relieved him from this source of anxiety by commencing hostilities. They seized seven vessels under English colours, transferred the cargoes and stores to their own ships, and made the crews prisoners. They also attacked the factories at Fulta and Raepúr, burned the houses, and destroyed the effects of the Company, and finally fired upon and destroyed the *Leopard*, carrying an express to Admiral Cornish. Hence Clive inferred that war had been declared; and he prepared for hostilities. We are well aware that Mill states that Clive was the aggressor, and that he explains away the acknowledgment of the Dutch council, that they were in the wrong, by stating that they did so to avoid expulsion from Bengal; but all the authorities are against Mill. Orme, Grose, and Caraccioli, the author of the *Life of Clive*, all agree in stating that the expedition was fitted out against the English by the Dutch, and that these latter took the initiative. The facts of the case also, when critically examined, shew clearly that this must have been the case. The Dutch ships arrived in the river in the beginning of October, and landed and committed several acts of violence: and it was not till the 18th November, that Clive took, and hoisted the English flag in Baranagore. Captain Broome says it was the 20th; but this is evidently incorrect, as the letter from the Dutch council, dated "Hugly, 18th November 1759," states, that they had that morning received the disagreeable news. Clive certainly appears to have acted uncourtously towards the Dutch authorities at Hugly, as he does not appear to have stated to them officially that he would hold them answerable for the ravages committed by their fleet; but letters had been passing between the parties for two months, and they must have been well aware that Clive had a full right, by the law of nations, to retaliate for the injury done. When the Dutch fleet advanced, and refused to make any apology for the insult of tearing down the English flag, or to restore the English property they had plundered, Clive ordered Commodore Watson to attack them at all hazards. This order was promptly responded to in true English style; and three merchantmen attacked and defeated the whole Dutch fleet of seven

men-of-war, four of which mounted thirty-six guns each. This was on the 24th; and, early in the morning of the 25th, Forde marched to encounter the troops of the Dutch, which had been landed from their ships the day before the naval action. The Dutch had entered the river, eager, confident, and audacious. They were the aggressors, and not the English. They trusted in their great superiority both in ships and men, but they were *bitterly deceived; for their fleet was captured in a couple of hours, the broad pennant of the Commodore of the Dutch striking to an English merchantman; and the next day saw their army routed, and the memory of the massacre of Amboyna obliterated in the carnage on the field of Bedarrah :*

The action was short, bloody and decisive. In half an hour the enemy were completely defeated and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field. 950 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, whilst Colonel Roussel and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans, and 200 Malays were made prisoners. The troop of horse and the Nawab's cavalry—which latter did nothing during the action—were very useful in pursuing the fugitives afterward, which they did with such effect, that only fourteen of the enemy finally escaped and reached Chinsurah. The loss of the English on this occasion was comparatively trifling. The advantage of a skilfully chosen position, the effect of a well-directed and well-served artillery, and finally the aid of cavalry, all tended to render this victory so decisive and complete, in despite of the disparity of numbers.—*p.* 270.

The Dutch were now as abject in their submission as they had formerly been insolent in their supposed superiority. Deputies were appointed on both sides, and a treaty was speedily arranged. In noticing this, Captain Broome has committed the error of following Mill, by saying, "The Dutch being willing to place themselves in the wrong," which is inconsistent with his former clear statement that they were the first aggressors.

Soon after this, Clive, whose health had for some time been failing, determined to proceed to England, and left in the February following. His departure was considered a serious evil by all parties, and, in the words of a contemporary observer, "It appeared, as if the soul was departing from the Government of Bengal."

We now come to the consideration of the very worst period in the whole history of the connexion of the English with India. The large sums of money which had by some been suddenly acquired, created an insatiable craving in the minds of all the Company's servants. The wealth of Bengal was considered to be unbounded, and the disgraceful method of acquir-

* This is the battle which drew forth Clive's celebrated letter :—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow."

ing fortunes by the unblushing sale of the highest appointments was openly resorted to by those in power ; while the whole class of inferior civilians, by means of the free licenses given under the broad seal of the Company, battered on the prostrate carcass of their victim. Nor do the military annals of that period altogether redound to our credit : as we were defeated on several occasions, and the love of money bore its baneful fruit amongst the ranks of both the European and native troops. The Shah Zadah hovered on the frontiers. On the death of his father, having proclaimed himself Emperor, he, by this means, recruited his falling fortunes, and again, with more prospect of success, advanced to the attack of Bengal. He invested Patna and defeated the army of Ram Narain, its Governor, consisting of 40,000 men ; in which action, the small English detachment of Europeans and sepoys, amounting to 700 or 800 men, were very severely handled ; all the European officers, except Dr. Fullerton, killed, and four companies of sepoys almost annihilated.

This Dr. Fullerton deserves more than a passing notice ; he was a brave, amiable and skilful man, and his almost miraculous escapes must have been due to some more constant cause than the mere chances of war. On this occasion he brought off the men and one gun with the utmost skill and coolness ; the ammunition waggon having upset, he deliberately halted his party, righted it, and resumed his march in the face of a numerous army, flushed with the conquest of 40,000 men. This officer again escaped when the war with Mir Cossim commenced, and when Patna was retaken from Mr. Ellis, as suddenly as that gentleman had previously acquired it. He was also not numbered amidst the slain at the total defeat of our army soon after at Manji ; and he, and four serjeants alone, escaped from the inhuman butchery at Patna, when upwards of fifty civil and military officers, then prisoners there, perished.

Major Caillaud, then Commander-in-Chief, speedily advanced to the relief of Patna, and, at the battle of Sîrpore, defeated the Emperor's forces, but was unable to follow up his victory. Mirun, the son of Mir Jaffier, who commanded the Nawab's army, so clogged Major Caillaud's movements, that he was unable to effect any thing of importance ; and had the Emperor, who manœuvred with considerable skill and boldness, only persevered in his original intention of marching on Mûrshedabad, the campaign might have ended differently. After the battle of Sîrpore, the Emperor gave our army the slip, and marched southwards ; but finding the river route to Mûrshedabad likely to be intercepted by the English, he burst his way through the then almost unknown and difficult

passes of the Rajmahal hills, and poured down on the plains of Bengal. At his approach all was confusion and alarm. Major Caillaud pressed anxiously in pursuit, and, but for the indecision of Mirun, might have brought the imperial force to action. Nothing considerable was however effected, and the Emperor, not finding the support that he had expected in Bengal, retreated by the route he came, and hastened to renew his attack on Patna. This time, aided by the skill and ability of Monsieur Law, he pressed the siege with vigour, and was as ably and bravely repulsed by our old friend Dr. Fullerton and Rajah Shitab Roy, with their small but gallant band of sepoy. The place, however, must ultimately have fallen to superior numbers, had not Captain Knox fortunately arrived in time to save it. He had been despatched by Caillaud to aid in defending Patna; and had, in the short space of thirteen days, under a burning April sun, marched from Burdwan, a distance of 300 miles; having also during the march, been obliged to cross the Ganges twice to avoid the Emperor's troops. The very day after his arrival, by a successful sally, he made himself master of the guns and stores of a considerable detachment of the enemy in the trenches, and infused so much fear amongst them, that in three days the Emperor raised the siege. He then followed up the Emperor on his retreat; and, undismayed by the formidable odds, he even crossed his little force over to the other side of the river, to intercept Kuddum Hossein, on his way from Purneah to join the imperial army, and successfully and gallantly encountered his large division near Hazipore, and compelled him to retreat with a loss of 400 killed, and eight guns taken.

Major Caillaud and Mirun, soon after this action, joined in the pursuit, and relieved Captain Knox: but an awful event now occurred, which at once brought our army to a halt. The young Nawab Mirun, as precocious in crime as Suraj-ud-dowlah the victim of his former cruelty, was amidst his guards, courtezans, and slaves, suddenly arrested in the midst of his pursuit, and lay a blackened corpse in his tent, having been struck by a flash of lightning. His death was a cause of general rejoicing to every one, but Major Caillaud, in consequence of it, returned towards Patna.

Affairs in Bengal had now come to a crisis. The cruelties and exactions of Mirun, and the misrule that ensued on the one side, and the demands of the English Government on the other, had completely exhausted the treasury: and to the financial difficulties were added intrigues, cabals, and disputes amongst all parties. It was at this time that Mir Cossim came

prominently forward, and contrived, by the promise of seventeen lakhs and a half of rupees to the Council and their adherents, to get himself appointed Nawab of Bengal ; and the old Nawab, not without some show of violence, was deposed. Mir Cossim was a much more able ruler than Mir Jaffier : but unfortunately he was too able and too haughty to act as a mere tool in the hands of the English, and he saw with bitter disgust that, by the ruinous system of granting free passes to all the English civilians, the country was on the brink of ruin. With all the fierce passions of a cruel and vindictive Moslem, he was yet far in advance of his countrymen in knowledge and ability. He was too discerning and too greedy of wealth to feel friendly towards a nation, whose chiefs and servants were revelling on the riches which they wrung from the impoverished country ; and hence arose the hatred which he cherished against the whole race, and which he subsequently so fearfully indulged.

Major Caillaud was succeeded in the command of the army in 1761 by Major Carnac, who appears to have been a vain foolish man, without much military ability, and fond of show and pomp, and who, though superseded the same year by Colonel Coote of the Royal service, still retained command of the Company's forces. Violent disputes in Council now took place, Mr. Vansittart's party espousing the cause of Mir Cossim, and the opposition, that of his Dewan Ram Narain, whom the Nawab wished to sacrifice in order to obtain his accumulated hordes. To the disgrace of the English, the Nawab was permitted to effect his purpose, and the treasures of this minister, who had so long been our ally, were appropriated to pay part of the long-pending accounts due to our Government or its members. But Ram Narain was not to perish unavenged ; and a vial of wrath was soon to be poured out, which in its sweeping destruction spared neither age nor sex, and caused the horrors of the imprisonment of the Black Hole to be temporarily forgotten.

The opposition in Council obtained the ascendancy by the recall of Messrs. Holwell, Pleydell, Sumner, and McGuire, who had all signed the intemperate letter which Clive addressed to the Court previous to his departure ; and thus Mr. Ellis, the most violent of the opposition, was appointed to Patna. This was in February 1762 ; and within a year, matters had come to such a pass between the English and the Nawab, that both parties prepared for war. Mir Cossim had formed an admirably appointed army, better armed and drilled than any force the English had yet encountered. Monghyr was his principal depôt : but magazines and manufacto-

ries had been formed in various parts of the country, and the guns, carriages, and ordnance stores of powder, shot, and shell, which they turned out, were little inferior to European articles; while the muskets, with which his infantry were armed, were found superior to the Tower-proof arms of the Company's troops. He had 16,000 cavalry, all picked men from the North-West Provinces, and a large force of infantry and artillery under some able leaders. This army had also gained experience by a not unsuccessful campaign in 'Nepál, where the troops defeated the Nepálese in several actions, but, from the unexpected difficulties of the mountain warfare, thought it prudent to retire. The English force did not exceed 1,500 Europeans, including infantry, artillery and cavalry; but their native force had been gradually increasing since the year when Clive first formed them in Bengal, and now amounted to about 10,000 men in twelve battalions. We give the distribution of this force from Captain Broome:—

At Patna four European companies of infantry and one of artillery, with three battalions of sipahis, commanded by Captains Tabby, Turner and Wilson, amounting, after making allowance for desertions, to about 300 Europeans and 2,500 sipahis; at Burdwan, two native battalions, amounting to about 1,500 men; in the Midnapore district, three companies of European infantry, a detail of artillery, a troop of Mogul horse, and two battalions of sipahis, under Captain Stibbert and Lieutenant Swinton, making together about 180 Europeans and 1,800 natives; in the Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckipore districts, two native battalions, and the independent companies at Dacca and Luckipore, amounting to little more than 1,800 sipahis, with a few artillerymen; at the Presidency, H. M.'s 84th regiment, five companies of the European battalion, the company of French rangers, three weak troops of European cavalry (two of dragoons and one of hussars), the Commander-in-Chief's body-guard (a newly raised troop of thirty European cavalry,) one troop of Mogul horse, one company of artillery, a company of European invalids, and three battalions of sipahis, *viz.*, those of Captains Broadbrook, Grant, and Trevannion; making together about 1,000 Europeans, and little more than 2,400 natives;—these were stationed between Calcutta and Ghyrettie. Two or three companies of sipahis, in addition to the local companies, were at Cossimbazar; and a local company was stationed at Malda.—pp. 357-358.

Events now rapidly progressed. Mr. Ellis having rashly seized Patna, and thus commenced hostilities, one of the Nawab's brigades as quickly recovered the place. Our party was driven, but was finally obliged to cross the river—and, after sustaining a total defeat at Manji, where numbers were slain, the rest of the force were made prisoners. During this time Mr. Amyatt and his party, who had been permitted to leave Monghyr, were attacked by the Nawab's order, as soon as he heard of the affair at Patna, and all made prisoners or slain. This was a most inauspicious commencement of the campaign;

our loss amounted to 300 Europeans and 2,500 natives, either killed or prisoners, and, as we have already related, the European prisoners were afterwards all massacred. Mir Cossim, in his letter to the Council in Calcutta, taunted them, that, although they had previously refused him 300 muskets, yet now that Mr. Ellis "*from inward friendship had supplied him with all the muskets and cannon of his army,*" and that he trusted the Council would make good the loss which had been occasioned by this gentleman's attack; his own loss he did not care for, but, says he, 'you must answer for the injury the Company's affairs have suffered.' The Council retorted by proclaiming his old enemy, Mir Jaffier, Nawab, and inviting all officers in Bengal to resist and oppose Mir Cossim.

Notwithstanding this inauspicious commencement, no campaign has ever been more honourable to our troops in India than that which now commenced under Major John Adams; and, although we cannot quite agree with Captain Broome, that his achievements were on a par with the conquests of Alexander in India, yet still they were such as the Bengal army has just cause to be proud of. At the battle of Gherriah, fought on the 2nd August 1763, our troops were hard pressed, and one battalion was cut off and nearly annihilated; extreme gallantry alone retrieved the day, and, as in later and still more hazardous encounters in our own days, all opposition was finally borne down at the point of the bayonet. Well may we ask, with Captain Broome, why no distinction or record has been granted to the troops who were engaged in this field, where we so strongly contested for the supremacy in Bengal? No action had till then been fought in this Presidency of so desperate a nature, or where the result was so important. After the battle of Gherriah, two days were employed on the field in repairing the losses, and the army then advanced to Oodwah nullah, a strong pass well fortified, commanding the only road that existed in those days to the North-west, and extending across the narrow gorge between the Ganges and Rajmahal hills. In front was a morass, and the newly strengthened works were lined with 100 pieces of cannon, while the width of the pass did not exceed 100 yards. This strongly entrenched position was attacked and taken by assault, very early in the morning of the 5th September, when a fearful scene of carnage ensued. Fifteen thousand are said to have been slain, chiefly from the dreadful confusion into which the enemy fell, and partly from their being unable to escape across the Oodwah, where numbers were drowned. Much loss was also occasioned from the orders given to some of Mir Cossim's gunners to fire on their own men. After this, our

army slowly advanced on Monghyr, and took it on the 2nd October. It was, when enraged with the loss occasioned by these victories of the English, that Mir Cossim gave orders to massacre the English prisoners, which was but too faithfully performed by the cold-blooded wretch, Sumroo: but the details are too horrible for us to relate.

On the 15th October, the army left Monghyr, and on the 28th, arrived at Patna. This place was quickly invested; and after some hard fighting, was taken on the 6th November. Mir Cossim now retired across the Soane. He had still 30,000 men with him, including Sumroo's battalions and a powerful body of cavalry, but he had lost all energy, and many of his followers began to desert him. He sent handsome presents to the Nawab of Oude, requesting permission to enter his territories; and, having received a passport from him, written with his own hand on a leaf of the Koran, he advanced in perfect confidence: but he was destined to be betrayed. Major Adams would not violate the territories of the Nawab of Oude without the orders of Council: and, as there was now no longer an enemy in the province, and his health had become much injured, he obtained leave, and returned to Calcutta intending to proceed to England; but died at the Presidency, on the 16th January 1764. We extract Captain Broome's noble tribute to the memory of that able and distinguished officer:—

Had Providence been pleased to extend his life, there can be little doubt that he would have occupied a conspicuous position in Indian history; but, as it is, amongst the numerous able and distinguished men, who have upheld the honor of the English arms in this country, there is not one, whose career of success is more remarkable than that of Major Adams. With a limited force, of the native portion of which the majority were raw recruits, ill-supplied with stores, and with an empty treasure chest, he entered upon, and brought to a conclusion, a campaign against a prince, who possessed the most perfect and regular army hitherto seen in India, consisting of disciplined and well-appointed infantry, an organized body of cavalry, and an excellent park of artillery, manned by Europeans, with the farther advantage of possessing every stronghold in the country, commanding the whole line of communication and supply—and last, though not least, possessing the regard and good will of the people, who, whatever may have been his other crimes, had reason to be grateful for the moderation and justice, with which they had been invariably treated under his rule. In spite of these difficulties, Major Adams, in little more than four months, made himself master of the entire provinces of Bengal and Behar from Calcutta to the Karumnassa—expelled Mir Cossim Khan from the country—dispersed his troops, having defeated them in two well-contested pitched battles in the open plain, against fearful numerical odds—carried our strongly fortified positions by siege or assault—captured together between 4 and 500 pieces of cannon, and supplied and equipped his army from the enemy's stores.

By these brilliant successes, he obtained every object of the campaign, and placed Mir Jaffier Khan in full possession of his Subahdari. An

examination of the details of these important events, as far as the limited information available will admit of it, tends to show how greatly these successes were attributable to the personal exertions, ability, and foresight of the commanding officer, which were nobly seconded by the conduct of his subordinates and soldiers, into whom he had succeeded in instilling his own gallant spirit and—that grand criterion of an able General—a perfect confidence in his plans and operations.

A greater part of a century of continued conquest upon unequal terms has accustomed us to success under the most adverse circumstances ; but, notwithstanding the numerous subsequent instances of a similar nature, it is impossible to look back without admiration and surprise, upon this march of a handful of European and native troops, advancing in one uninterrupted course of triumph and success, through a hostile country, in the face of a numerous, brave, and disciplined army, marching over such an extent of country, in the most trying season of the year, and only ceasing their labours when there was no longer an enemy in the field. What were the boasted Indian triumphs of Darius, of Alexander, or Seleucus Nicanor, with their powerful and disciplined armies opposed to unwarlike barbarians divided amongst themselves, compared to this single campaign ? The conquests of Alexander in India, which are hallowed by our boyish admiration and the applauses of twenty centuries, amounted to this, that with upwards of 100,000 disciplined troops, inured to conquest, he invaded the Punjab and defeated in detail the seven separate nations occupying that territory, not one of which could probably muster so numerous a force as Mir Cossim Khan, and certainly not half so formidable an one, even making every allowance for the difference of times and the changes in the system of warfare. But what is this compared with Major Adams, who with a force less than one twentieth of that amount, traversed as great an extent of country with even more complete success, under much more powerful opposition ? Strip these early records of the classical and romantic prestige that envelopes them, and we shall find that the most wonderful amongst them fall far short of the deeds performed by a handful of Englishmen in modern days, who with the most limited means have conquered and maintained a powerful and wealthy empire, into which the ancients, with their numerous armies and immense resources, were proud to have conducted a few fruitless inroads.

Amongst all these modern acts of moral and physical daring, we find a pre-eminent place occupied by that small but heroic band who fought and conquered under the able and gallant JOHN ADAMS.—pp. 405-406.

During the period of hostilities, which have been recording, recruits, especially European, were enlisted without much discrimination. Thus numbers of Frenchmen and other foreigners were entertained, who subsequently became very troublesome ; and a most serious spirit of mutiny was soon apparent, both amongst the European and native troops, who were even detected corresponding with emissaries from Mir Cossim Khan. The complaint made was, that a donation had been promised to them, which had not been paid. The mutiny in the European battalion, which was very serious, was finally quelled by the exertions of Major Jennings, and a prompt and liberal distribution of donation money ; and this gallant officer was also mainly instrumental in restoring order

amongst the disaffected sepoys. Each European private received forty rupees, but each private sepoy received only six ; and this was the cause of two battalions* breaking out into open mutiny when the proportions were known :—

Clamour and discussion immediately arose in the lines ; and profiting by the example so recently afforded them by the Europeans, they resolved to endeavour to right themselves, and appeal rather to the fears than to the liberality of the Government. Accordingly, on the 13th of February, at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, in imitation of the Europeans, they assembled under arms on their several parades.

Captain Jennings, immediately that he heard of this, ordered the European battalion and the artillery to get under arms also, with a view of protecting the magazine and park, and further of preventing any communication betwixt the Europeans and the sipahis. The last precaution, however, was altogether unnecessary, for the Europeans were most anxious to show their sense of, and to atone for, their past misconduct ; and the only difficulty was to restrain their violence, and prevent their falling upon the sipahis for presuming to follow the example they themselves had afforded. The European battalion was in the centre of the line, with the magazine and park in their rear, and the sipahi battalions were drawn up, two on either flank. Captain Jennings ordered the Europeans to load their arms, and also prepared two field-pieces for action ; but gave positive orders, that no violence should be used, unless an attack was made. In this state, both parties remained for some time, watching each other. When suddenly Captain MacLean's battalion (*the present 2nd Grenadiers*), which was on the extreme left, setting up a shout, rushed down in an irregular body towards the Europeans, who had been drawn up in separate companies across the parade, with the park on their left, and two 6-pounders on their right. Captain Jennings, anticipating an attack, at first gave orders to oppose the advance of the sipahis ; but, observing that they were moving without order and with shouldered arms, having apparently no hostile intention, he directed that they should be permitted to pass through the intervals of the battalion, if they would do so quietly. This was a nervous moment. The noisy and tumultuous advance of the sipahis left it somewhat uncertain whether they intended mischief or not ; and to admit them in the midst of the ranks, was a dangerous experiment ; whilst on the other hand, the discharge of a single musket would have been the signal for a general and fearful struggle, which must have ended either in the extermination of the Europeans, or the total dissolution of the native portion of the army, on which the Government were of necessity so deeply dependent. Several officers urged Captain Jennings to resistance ; but he was firm, and repeated his order to let the sipahis pass unmolested. Still the fact of contrary orders having been issued just before, and the feeling of the European troops at the moment, rendered him apprehensive that some violence or collision might occur. He rode along the ranks exhorting the men to be steady and quiet, pointing out that the sipahis evidently only wished to pass through the intervals to the other flank ; and he arrived at the right of the line just in time to snatch the match out of the hand of a subaltern of artillery, as he was putting it to a 6-pounder loaded with grape. The result justified his decision. The sipahis passed quietly through and proceeded to the other flank, where, on the extreme right, were posted their friends and comrades, the 2nd Burdwan battalion (*now the 8th N. I.*), under Captain Smith, when the two corps went off together to the Karumnassa.—pp. 420-421.

We have given this long extract from Captain Broome's interesting narrative, as it so well describes a most important crisis, which was happily terminated, and the two mutinous battalions restored to a sense of their duty by Captain Jennings's exertions. He also altered the proportions, and granted the not unreasonable demand of the native troops, that their share of the donation should be made equal to half that of the corresponding ranks of the European battalions.

The army now came under the command of Major Carnac. We pass over all the details of his inglorious campaign against the combined forces of Mir Cossim, the Emperor, and the Nawab of Oude—merely observing that his Fabian policy neither suited the temper of the times, nor that of the men, who burned with impatience to signalize themselves, and thus wipe out the record of their late crimes. Had a more noble leader succeeded at once to the command of the troops, the painful scenes which subsequently occurred under the stern, but impartial, Munro, might possibly have been avoided : and thus we cannot but think that Major. Carnac, in addition to the disgrace which he afterwards brought on our army at Worgaum, has also partly to bear the blame of the mutiny which occurred at Manji.

Major Munro, on assuming the command in the middle of August, issued a code of minute and well-digested orders for the use of the army, and called the attention of all officers to the proper observance of their duty : he also saw to the enforcement of his orders, and by a firm, and yet conciliating, course of conduct, gradually brought the army into order. We may judge of the state into which it had been permitted to fall, through the lax discipline of his predecessor, by the serious mutiny which arose amongst the sepoys, showing the urgent want of a strict and firm hand over them. The details of this mutiny at Manji are exceedingly graphic. The spirited manner in which Major Munro quelled it—how he brought the ringleaders to a Drum-head Court Martial,—how, when the orders were given to blow those sentenced to death from the guns, the Grenadiers claimed the privilege of suffering first, *as they had always been the foremost in the post of danger or of honour*—and how those gallant, but misguided men were permitted so to suffer—are all clearly detailed by Captain Broome, to whose work we must refer our readers for a picture of this most touching and harrowing scene, which caused a thrill of horror to run through all ranks, as the fragments of the bodies of their comrades fell scattered beside them on the plain.

This fearful spectacle raised murmurs amongst the troops ;

but Major Munro, as intrepid and determined in action, as he was humane and considerate in feeling, notwithstanding the threatened opposition of the sepoys to the execution of the rest of the sentence, proceeded quietly with his duty. The guns of the European battalion and marines were loaded with grape, and, under penalty of instant destruction, the sepoys were required to ground their arms, until sixteen more of their comrades had in like manner suffered : which they did with firm and unmoved countenances. In a similar manner four men were executed at Moneah, and six at Bankypore ; and we are almost at a loss which to admire most, the unflinching courage of him who executed, or of those who so suffered. That of both was admirable in its way ; but the one was that of misguided and ignorant men, who were but too faithful to their fancied point of honour ; the other that of a humane, but heroic and determined leader, resolute in the path of duty. Such men, under such a leader, might well be led to triumph at Buxar.

Major Munro was the Napier of those times. "Like him he also considered that a light and well equipped force confident in its discipline, and capable of rapid movement was far preferable to a larger numerical army, whose movements were liable to be cramped by the necessity for a large establishment of baggage, stores and cattle, and whose efficiency in all respects could not be relied on." With such a force Major Munro quickly restored the prestige of victory to our army ; took Rhotas ; and, whilst the Nawab Vizir, who had learnt from the conduct of Major Carnac to undervalue the English, was indulging in luxury in his camp at Buxar, he rapidly advanced. By a skilful manoeuvre, he crossed his force over the Soane on the 11th of October, and after a sharp skirmish of cavalry on the 13th, the main body of the enemy were encountered on the 24th, on the plains of Buxar. In this action, we had 857 Europeans, 5,297 sepoys and 918 Mogul horse engaged, making a total force of 7,072 ; of this force only seventy-one were artillerymen, although, the number of guns on the field was twenty-eight. The combined force of the enemy ten times out-numbered that of the English. Amongst them, instead of treacherous allies, were the disciplined battalions of Sumroo and Madoc, with field-pieces worked by Europeans, the powerful batteries of the Nawab Vizir's artillery, and the splendid Dúraní horse. But combined forces invariably act together with difficulty ; and the English, after a hard-fought action, conquered. Our loss in this battle was 101 Europeans and 847 natives, killed

and wounded ; and when we compare this loss with that in the action at Plassey, where we had 1,100 European infantry and artillery in the field, and had only seven killed and thirteen wounded, it will be at once evident which was the more hard-fought and important action of the two. Yet a halo of fame encircles the field of Plassey, to which in no military sense is it entitled ; and its victor has been lauded by numbers, who have scarcely ever heard of the far more desperate and glorious encounter at Buxar.

Previous to this action, Mir Cossim, whose treasures were exhausted, had been dismissed from the camp with ignominy, mounted on a tame elephant, on which he fled to the westward, where, a few years after, he ended his days in extreme poverty and misery.

The battle of Buxar decided the fate of the campaign. A large booty fell into the hands of our troops, and four lakhs were received from the merchants of Benares to save themselves from pillage. Arrangements were also quickly concluded with the Emperor, who was detached from the league : but the Nawab of Oude would not consent to deliver up either Mir Cossim or Sumroo. Whilst these negotiations were pending, Chunar still held out. It had been twice assaulted in vain, as the steepness of the ascent to the fort enabled the defenders, who gallantly resisted, to roll down large stones on the assailants, by which numbers were bruised or slain ; and, as the Nawab's troops were collecting again in force, the siege was temporarily raised. Major Munro went home this year, and resigned the command of the army to General Carnac, who was more successful in negotiating with the directors at home, than skilful in defeating the enemy in the field, and who had managed to get restored to the service, and to be placed in command.

Early in this year, the farce of nominating a Nawab to the Guddi at Mûrshedabad was again enacted, as Mir Jaffier died in January 1765 : and a sum of about ten lakhs of rupees was received in presents on this occasion by the leading members of the Government. But such transactions were no longer to be permitted ; the iniquity of the Company's servants in Bengal had now come to the full ; and the proprietors of India stock, then a more influential body than at present, with an almost unanimous consent, determined to send Clive out again with full powers : —

The glaring and unblushing corruption of the Company's civil servants was to be put down with a strong hand, as also the whole system of the inland trade ; a better administration of justice and revenue was to be

introduced, and a reduction in the expenses of the Government effected especially in the military department.—p. 501.

Lord Clive landed on the 3rd May, and soon commenced his arrangements for reform in both the military and civil branches of the service. In this latter department, four gentlemen rapidly resigned; one was suspended, and one, accused of serious malversation, committed suicide. But as we are not now reviewing the civil, but the military affairs of those days, we pass on to notice the manner in which Lord Clive re-organized the army. This was now ordered to be divided into three brigades, each consisting of a company of artillery, one European regiment, and seven battalions of sepoys. The company of artillery consisted of seven commissioned officers, 102 Europeans, and a body of lascars to assist in working the guns. The strength of each European regiment was as follows:—

1	Colonel, commanding the whole Brigade.	
1	Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding the regiment.	
1	Major.	36 Serjeants.
6	Captains.	36 Corporals.
1	Captain-Lieutenant.	27 Drummers.
9	Lieutenants.	630 Privates.
18	Ensigns.	

In those days all the field officers had companies, as the European force in India was originally raised in independent companies, which were afterwards formed into regiments.

The establishment of a battalion consisted of:—

1	Captain.	30	Jemadars.
2	Lieutenants.	1	Native Adjutant
2	Ensigns.	10	Trumpeters.
3	Serjeants.	30	Tom Toms.
3	Drummers	80	Havildars.
1	Native Commandant.	50	Naiaks.
10	Subadars.	690	Privates.

With each brigade was a rissalah of cavalry; and a fourth company of artillery was permitted for the garrison of Fort William. The ordnance attached to each brigade, consisted of six 6-pounders, two howitzers, and twelve or fourteen 3-pounders. The professional reader will at once observe the great disproportion which existed between the number of guns required for each brigade, and the strength of the company of artillery men to work the guns. The lascars of those days were, as artillery men, totally useless. In Clive's whole system there is nothing so faulty as the endeavour made to combine the duties of the artillery and infantry soldier; and nothing shows so clearly

that he had not that extensive and almost intuitive knowledge of the art of war, which some historians would lead us to suppose. Had Clive apportioned three European companies of artillery to each brigade, instead of one, or raised a distinct body of native artillerymen on superior pay to that of the sepoy, the guns could have been efficiently served, as each man would have been properly instructed in his duties : but when he continued the custom of allotting battalion guns to each native battalion, to be served by the men of the battalion, who had received little or no instruction in the art of "shooting with great guns," he committed, for a man of his supposed military skill, a great and unpardonable error.

The error, which he then committed of neglecting this, the most important branch of all modern armies, has continued to this day, and still goes on increasing : for it is an important fact, that the total number of European artillerymen in the Bengal army is now actually less than it was twenty years ago ! It might have been supposed that the great loss at the action of Chilianwalla, and the protraction of the siege at Múltan, in consequence of the inability of the State to furnish a sufficient force of artillery for the army in the field, when compared with the brilliant results obtained in the subsequent action at Guzerat, where the proportion of artillery was more in accordance with the true theory of the art of war, would have sufficed to have opened the eyes of the Home authorities to the importance of this branch of the profession : yet, strange to say, it has not. The Punjab has been annexed, and various branches of the army have been increased : but that force, which is most required in time of war, and which requires the longest time to raise, drill, and instruct, has not been increased by even one man. Indeed, as we have said before, the number of both European and native gunners is now actually less than it was, ere our banners had been advanced to the station of Ferozepore. Facts and figures are powerful to convince even the most incredulous ; and we therefore give the actual numbers. Five-and-twenty years ago, the permanent establishment of native artillerymen was 1,664 privates : it is now 1,584. At that time, we had also three brigades of horse artillery ; and the complement of European foot artillery was then 1,600 gunners : it is now 1,440. Nor in point of officers, although the number has been slightly increased, is it even yet in any proportion to the actual wants of the service ? The spirit of the corps may have hitherto contended manfully in the hour of danger, to perform the full extent of duty required by the exigency of

the occasion ; but is this just to either men or officers ? Is it prudent ? Or is it even a safe position for the Government to maintain ?

It is possible that Clive was fettered by orders from home in the organization which he made : but such an opinion does not agree with the full powers which, from the records of those days, it is said that he received. He may indeed be partly held excused on other grounds ; for, except at sea, the full importance of artillery was then almost unknown. Few generals, till the time of Napoleon, understood the full value of artillery : and the records of the war and sieges in Spain show that the English Government, even long after, in their continental warfare would scarcely permit their favourite General, the Duke, to show what English artillery could do. The reason is plain. There is no royal road to knowledge, and it takes time to make even an artilleryman ; nor could the officers in that corps be readily recruited from the ranks of the aristocracy. Could the fiat of the horse guards have at once converted the life guardsman, or the Captain of dragoons, into a Captain of horse artillery, the scientific branch would have been popular enough ; but as this could not quite be done with safety to the army, the artillery was comparatively neglected till modern days, when the more numerous armaments of neighbouring powers compelled us to pay more attention to so formidable a weapon. Clive therefore did but follow the usual custom of those days, in proportioning the strength of the different branches in the Bengal army ; but, if he had the power to act otherwise, the organization he made, proves little either for his knowledge of the art of war, or for the merits of the system which he established. With this exception, however, we cordially agree with Captain Broome as to the skill, firmness, and wisdom, displayed by Lord Clive in the re-organization of the army, and the reform of the military services—one great point of which was, in both services, causing all officers to sign a covenant not to receive presents. The following extract shows how beneficial the reforms then introduced into the army were, and also how extensively they were required.

The army, by the new regulations, was thus placed upon a much more efficient footing. Each brigade was in itself a complete force, capable of encountering any native army that was likely to be brought against it. The proportion of officers was considerably increased, especially as regarded the higher grades and the staff ; the division of staff officers was also better arranged ; a more efficient check upon abuses was established ; and the good effects of the change were soon rendered generally apparent. In an extensive reform of this nature, it was to be expected that some errors

and omissions would occur ; but the more important of these were certain to force themselves into notice before long, and were capable of being corrected in detail. In the very first month it became apparent that some separate arrangements were necessary for the payment of the brigades, and Lord Clive, immediately after his return to Calcutta, laid before the Council a minute upon this subject, in consequence of which a pay-master and a commissary of musters were appointed to each brigade. These duties were performed by civil servants, partly from an idea that a greater check would be established, and less inducement to connivance at fraud would result ; but, in all probability, chiefly from the circumstance of the appointments being particularly lucrative, and consequently too valuable prizes to fall to the lot of the army. This system continued in force for many years, although there is little reason to believe that it was found an efficient one—the complaints of fraud and collusion between the pay-master, the commissary of musters, and officers commanding corps, being frequent and loud. The duties of both these departments being declared to be very heavy, deputies were subsequently added to each brigade. A military storekeeper, a commissary of boats, and a storekeeper of building stores, were also appointed in Calcutta, which situations were likewise held by civilians. The deputy Commissaries of the artillery companies had the charge of the brigade magazines. No army commissariat at this time existed, but all supplies of provisions, cattle, &c., were furnished by contractors, who, in their own persons, or those of their agents, were present with the brigades,—pp. 543-544.

The operations of the army in the field, after Sir R. Fletcher succeeded Major Munro in the command of the troops on the frontier, including his pursuit of the enemy, the final dispersion of the army of Sujah-ud-dowlah, and the surrender of Allahabad to the British, are all clearly detailed by our author ; but we must refer our readers to the work itself for details. We give in full the short account of the surrender of Chunar, which, under its brave old Killadar, so long held out after the tide of conquest had swept past its gates :—

Major Stibbert lost no time in investing the place ; and, having more extensive means than were available on the former occasion, the operations were carried on with great energy, and a much better prospect of success. More caution also was exhibited, of which dear bought experience had taught the necessity. Under the able superintendence of Captain Winwood, who commanded the 2nd company of artillery, and conducted the attack, three good practicable breaches were effected before any preparations were made for assault ; and, when all was at length ready, the Killadar offered to surrender. This gallant old soldier, who had so ably resisted the former attack, would not readily have given up now without a struggle, notwithstanding the desperate state of affairs, had he not been compelled to do so by the mutinous conduct of the garrison, who, being greatly in arrears of pay and in extreme distress for provisions, refused to hold out any longer, or to serve a master who had fled, and left them to perish by famine or the sword. On the 8th of February, the Killadar surrendered the keys of the fort to Major Stibbert, at the same time saying, with tears in his eyes, “ I have endeavoured to act like a soldier ; but, deserted by my prince, and with a mutinous garrison, what could I do ? God and you (laying his

hand on the Koran and pointing to his soldiers,) are witnesses, that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune."—p. 506.

Let those who think that native troops have no spirit, or may be insulted with impunity, weigh well the conduct of this brave old man, and reflect also on the following narrative of another officer in command of a small post near the site of the present cantonment of Cawnpore :—

At a little distance from the camp, was a small ghurri, or mud fort, with a ditch and a strong wooden palisade. This was occupied by a small party of the Vizier's troops, amounting altogether to only 14 men, under a native officer. This post was so insignificant as for sometime to escape notice ; but, when its existence was discovered, Capt. Swinton was sent with a detachment to take possession of it. On arrival before the place, he sent for the native officer in command, and insisted upon an immediate surrender ; to which the latter objected, except upon honourable terms. A discussion ensued, in which Captain Swinton appears to have lost his temper, and, in the most culpable manner, to have struck the native commandant, who was thus shamefully driven back to his post. Stung by this insult, the little party determined to sell their lives dearly, and made a desperate defence. The detachment under Captain Swinton was repulsed, and he was obliged to send for a reinforcement, with a couple of 6-pounders. The guns were now brought up to the gateway, which they blew open ; but the entrance was barricaded within. Major Fletcher, hearing the firing, now came up, with Captains Goddard and Duffield's battalions and a party of beldars who forced a passage across the ditch and over the walls ; when, the defenders having nearly all fallen, the place was taken, but with a loss, in killed alone, amounting to more than double the number of the garrison.—p. 514.

Clive landed on the 3rd May, by which time the war was almost over, as on the 16th, Sujah-ud-dowlah sent a letter to Major Carnac tendering his submission. Early in June, the army returned to cantonments ; were Clive soon after proceeded to inspect them, and to have the covenants signed, and where he also arranged the treaty with the Nawab of Oude and the Emperor.

Captain Broome does not generally profess to give more than a passing notice of civil affairs, so as to connect the narrative ; but we fully agree with him in the following remarks which he makes, regarding Clive's treaty with the Emperor, whereby the Company acquired the Dewani of Bengal :—

The receipt of the Dewani, which completely changed the position of the Company in India, has been brought forward as matter of accusation against Lord Clive—more particularly, as he is stated to have determined upon it on his arrival at Madras, during his passage out. That he did so is not only probable, but very natural, and may be considered highly creditable to his judgment. It must not be forgotten, that the offer was by no means unexpected, or unprecedented. It had been formerly tendered by the Emperor as far back as 1761, and again in 1764, on several occasions. It is true that, in the first instance, the Court of Directors had approved of its refusal by the local Government ; but circumstances had greatly changed since that time. The whole actual con-

trol of the provinces had devolved upon the British. It had become evident, that by their large military force, it could alone be maintained. The Nawab Nazim had gradually sunk into a cipher in the great account; and it was only subjecting the inhabitants to a double set of receivers and increased oppression, to leave the revenues to be collected by the durbar, for the use of the Company. On an impartial review of the whole transaction, it may safely be pronounced the most prudent, just, and—as regarded the inhabitants of the country—the most humane measure that could have been adopted. It has also been urged against the illustrious nobleman in whom the measure originated, that having decided upon it, he sent orders to invest the whole of his property in the Company's stock; but this only proves his strong conviction of the wisdom and advantages of the proceeding; and, as the Company's stock was open to all the world, there was no reason that he should debar himself from sharing in the expected benefits to accrue to it.—pp. 531-532.

When Clive compelled the members of the civil service to give up their private trade, he reserved a monopoly in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco—the traffic in which articles was to be carried on under the orders of Government by a committee, for the benefit of the civil and military services. Out of the profits, £120,000 was to go to the Company annually, and the balance was to be divided in certain proportions amongst the senior civil and military officers: but no portion of these allowances found its way into the pockets of the captains or other junior officers. When, therefore, in the following year, the long debated reduction of the double batta was ordered, the senior officers, many of whom were friends of Clive, and had only lately joined the Bengal service on the re-organization of the army on an augmented scale, did not so much feel the loss of the allowances as their juniors in the service. Their situations, in fact, were already sufficiently lucrative, and their shares in the Inland Trade Society tended to remove all causes of discontent. This was, however, not the case with the captains and subalterns, who now suffered severely in their allowances, as compared with those of the former period. These men had been in the receipt of large allowances, and had, many of them, previous to the execution of the covenant, received at times from the native princes valuable presents. They had witnessed the retirement of some of their comrades with fortunes, drawn from those perennial streams of wealth, which were now to cease to flow. Some of them had, perhaps, hoped to retire themselves in a few years. All had in common aided in the conquest of the country, whence all this wealth was derived. All had hoped to partake in turn of the spoil; and, as few of them were personally friends of Clive, they looked upon his orders against the receipt of presents and the reduction of batta, as tyrannical and unjust. Hence arose the mutiny of the officers in the Bengal army, and their determination to combine, and oppose a passive resistance.

Nor can we be surprised, when we consider the state of those times, and the loose system which had so long continued. Nine years had not elapsed since the battle of Plassey; and the remembrance of the presents then received was fresh in the recollection of every one. The accounts of the booty received had been exaggerated rather than diminished, by the few years of plunder and misrule which had intervened; and the dazzling narrative was constantly repeated to fire the imagination of the youthful recruit on his arrival in the land of promise. But now they were "to bid a long farewell to all their former greatness;" the frost—the killing frost—had come to nip their blushing honours: and from a position of comparative affluence and independence, they were to be reduced to what (as they stated) would be one of ruin and misery. The blow was also doubly felt, as coming from Clive, who had himself benefitted so largely when presents were allowed to be taken: and he, who had boasted that he was astonished at his own moderation in accepting only a quarter of a million sterling, now prohibited the receipt of a solitary gold mohur. Nor were the officers without extraneous support and sympathy. The civil service almost openly encouraged them, and subscribed largely to provide commissions for them in the royal service, should the mutiny fail; while the general feeling of the free merchants and other European residents in India was amply testified by the fact, that only two in Calcutta, and one or two in the Upper Provinces, could be found, who were willing to assist the Commander-in-Chief by accepting commissions, which were freely offered to them.

Lord Clive, when at Mûrshedabad, received a memorial signed by forty-one officers of the 3rd brigade, respecting the reduction of their batta, and the miseries that threatened them in consequence; but no suspicion appears to have existed of any combination, until the receipt of a letter from Sir R. Fletcher, announcing that the officers of his brigade seemed determined to combine. This was on the 28th of April. Next day Captain Carnac, then with Lord Clive, received a letter signed "full batta," informing him that 130 officers in the three brigades had already lodged their commissions, and joined in an agreement to resign them, requesting him to do the same. This letter was laid before Clive. Other and more violent letters were subsequently received by other members of the staff from different brigades, all clearly proving, that the combination was general. We shall best convey to our readers Clive's sentiments and conduct on this occasion by the following extract:—

He saw at once that the combination was general: but his knowledge of

human nature convinced him that so considerable a number of men, actuated by so many various motives and principles, were not likely to persevere in a course, criminal in itself, and, in the event of failure, entailing certain ruin. He knew that a few of the senior officers had acquired considerable fortunes during the late campaigns, and to them the loss of their commissions might be a matter of comparative indifference: but he also knew that the majority were, on the contrary, entirely dependent on the service for support; and that, as the excitement wore off, and the crisis approached, they would naturally shrink from throwing aside their hopes of obtaining, not only an independence, but an actual subsistence. It was true that this very circumstance—were the Rubicon once passed—might render them desperate: and, enlisting the troops on their side, a general and fearful mutiny might ensue, which could only be suppressed by a powerful armed force from England, and even then the evils would be of the most serious nature. On the other hand, the slightest concession to a demand made in such a manner was out of the question. It was not only repugnant to the personal character of Clive, but would have been opposed to the practice of his whole career. Such a measure would have evinced the weakness of the Government, and the strength of the army; a lesson which, once learned by the latter, was not likely to be speedily forgotten. Similar opposition might be made to any future measure of Government with equal success; new demands might arise and be thus enforced; discipline and subordination would be at an end; and the civil Government of the country become perfectly subservient to the military.

No time, however, was to be lost. On the 12th of April, Lord Clive formed a special committee, himself as president, and general Carnac and Mr. Sykes as members, in which it was determined that the demands of the officers should not be complied with: and an express was despatched to Calcutta, requesting the Council to write to the Madras Government, informing them of the state of affairs, and urging them to send round as many captains, subalterns, and cadets, as they could possibly spare, holding out every encouragement to the officers of that army, who should prove their zeal for the service, by coming round to Bengal.

A further resolution was passed, that any officer resigning his commission, should be precluded from holding any place or situation whatever in the Company's service.

Copies of these resolutions, as conveyed in the letter to Council, were forwarded to the commanding officers of the three brigades, with authority to make the contents known to their officers, if they considered that this proof of the firm determination of Government was likely to be attended with success.—pp. 572-573.

Clive managed to bring the officers at Mûrshedabad to a sense of their duty, and, with two exceptions, prevented their resigning their commissions. The efforts of the Council at the Presidency were also similarly successful with the officers in the immediate vicinity of Fort William. On the 1st of May, Sir R. Fletcher, at Monghyr, received the commissions of forty-two officers of his brigade. On the same day, the adjutant of the 3rd brigade sent to Sir R. Barker between fifty and sixty commissions from officers in his brigade, which, however, were imme-

diately returned by that officer, with an assurance that, should any of the officers presume to disobey his orders, the full penalties of military law should be put in force against them. He followed up this declaration by placing the adjutant in arrest, and forwarding him with three others to Calcutta by water. This determined conduct had the desired effect; and the rest of the officers continued temporarily to perform their duty without further question, although their resolution to resign remained unaltered.

Fully to understand the difficulties of Clive's position at this time, it must be remembered, that a large Mahratta force had moved down the Jumna to Korah; and Balaji Rao, with a body of 60 000 cavalry, was preparing to cross that river at Kulpi. The death of the Nawab occurred also at the same time, and might have led to disturbances in Bengal. But Clive was fully equal to the emergency. He wrote to General Smith, in the field, giving him full power to act, according as he might see occasion. He wrote to Madras for officers, and proceeded himself with all expedition to Monghyr, which he reached on the 15th. Sir R. Fletcher had by no means given a faithful picture of the circumstances, which had taken place in his brigade at that station, and his officers bitterly complained of his ill conduct and duplicity. "They declared that he himself had originated the combination, and artfully made tools of them in carrying out his private views of opposing Lord Clive's Government." One letter, which that officer wrote to Clive on the thirteenth, contained the following startling paragraph:—

Some have been very troublesome, and particularly those whom I have all along suspected, and whose confidence I used every art to gain in January last, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigade without giving any warning. I even went so far as to approve of some of their schemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge.—p. 589.

Clive took no notice of his conduct at the time. On the 16th he harangued the Europeans; pointed out that the conduct of the officers was mutinous; that the ringleaders should suffer the penalties of martial law, and the rest be sent to England by the first available ship; and exhorted the men to orderly behaviour, until the arrival of other officers at Monghyr. He also distributed honorary rewards amongst the native officers; praised the sepoy for their fidelity, and ordered double pay for the men for two months. These measures were effectual; and the European troops, who had previously exhibited signs of mutiny, now gave three hearty cheers to the Commander-in-Chief, and returned quietly to their quarters. The officers, who had re-

signed, were ordered to proceed forthwith to Calcutta, and Clive started the next day for Bankipore and Patna, where, in Sir R. Barker's brigade, matters were quickly settled, as that officer was so universally beloved and respected.

The officers in the 2nd brigade, both those in garrison at Allahabad, and those in camp at Surajpore, had almost all combined to resign, which they did on the 6th May. Colonel Smith lost no time in communicating with the select committee, and his letter reached Lord Clive on his arrival at Monghyr. The officers in command of this brigade, confident of the fidelity of the sepoys, dismissed all the more turbulent of the European officers, and sent them down to stand their trial. Major Smith even threatened that, if they attempted to break their arrest, he would order the sepoys to put them to death. This spirited conduct broke the combination. Those, who tendered apologies, and whose characters had hitherto been good, were pardoned at once: and, with the exception of the ringleaders of each brigade, most of the subalterns were reinstated before the close of the year. Some were made to feel the consequences of their misconduct by the hesitation which Clive affected to feel in restoring their commissions: and they not only lost their allowances during the interval of suspense, but many were superseded by officers who had in the interim come round from Madras. To prevent any recurrence of such conduct, agreements were required from every officer not to quit the service under three years, or without giving a year's notice. The ringleaders were tried by Court Martial, and, with one exception, were sentenced to be cashiered. Some pleaded that the court had no authority to try them, as they had resigned their commissions, and were not subject to military law; but this plea was not listened to by the court.

After the suppression of the mutiny, the conduct of Sir R. Fletcher came under review. This appears to have been bad throughout: and it was with general satisfaction that he was subsequently arraigned, tried, convicted of exciting sedition, and cashiered; nor did it much redound to the credit of the Court of Proprietors, that he was afterwards restored to their service, which indulgence he abused, by taking a prominent part at Madras in the deposition and confinement of Lord Pigot.

The volume closes with the retirement of Clive in the following January, and a well merited tribute of praise to that great man for his conduct in the Government. Whether some others might not have been found at that particular juncture equal to the performance of the part which Clive so ably executed,

must ever remain undecided ; but we may be very certain that, without some such able hand to stem the torrent of corruption, which then flowed in so broad and rapid a stream, the affairs of the Company would speedily have gone to ruin, and the cause of the English in India might have been lost for ever. Clive's conduct has, in some respects, not been sufficiently appreciated. He has been too much lauded as a soldier, and too little approved of as a statesman : but, the more the circumstances and the events of his Indian career are critically and minutely examined, the more noble will his conduct appear to have been, and his character more free from stain.*

We have now followed to its close the interesting narrative of Captain Broome, and presented our readers with an epitome of his work, which we heartily recommend to their notice. We trust also, that he will speedily fulfil his intention of carrying on the history. It is the only work which contains a connected narrative of the military events of the period of which it treats, and so far, therefore, is complete in itself. As to the composition of the work, we are bound to say, that it might in some places be judiciously condensed, without omitting any necessary details ; and it appears to us that the serial mode of publication, originally adopted, has rather injured than benefitted this volume. Some of the chapters might have been more conveniently divided, and the subjects embraced in each, more skilfully combined into one picture ; but Captain Broome has ably and faithfully performed the task which he appointed for himself ; and the most carping critic must allow, that he has amply fulfilled his endeavour "to collect material with industry, to employ it with discrimination, and to narrate facts plainly and honestly."

We hope soon to meet with Captain Broome again, and we take leave of him now with regret ; for the freshness and charm of the style, the minuteness and accuracy of the details, and the impartial and soldier-like spirit in which it is written, render this portion of his work, in our opinion, the most interesting book that has yet been published on Indian military history.

THE COUNTRY BETWEEN BAMIAN AND KHIVA.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

1. *Some considerations on the Political state of the intermediate countries between Persia and India ; with reference to the project of Russia marching an Army through them.* By E. Sterling, Bengal Civil Service. London. 1850.
2. *The Asiatic Journal : third series :* Vol. III. London. 1844.
3. *Narrative of a Journey from Herat to Khiva, &c.* By Captain James Abbott, Bengal Artillery. London. 1843.
4. *Letters and Journals of Captain Arthur Conolly, Bengal Cavalry, on a Special Mission to Kokund, in 1840-1841.* (M.S.)

IN the month of June 1828, Mr. Edward Sterling, of the Bengal Civil Service, being then at Teheran, and about to return to India by Khorassan and Affghanistan, received a letter from Sir John McDonald, our Envoy at the Persian Court, suggesting to him, that he should lose no opportunity, in the course of his journey, of obtaining information concerning "the condition, capabilities, and military features of those countries, by which an European army from the north or west could penetrate to India." "The only two routes," continued the Envoy, "by which a Russian army could attempt the invasion of India, are—1st, that which lies through the heart of Khorassan by Meshed, Túrbat-i-Hyderí, Herat, Candahar and Cabul to the Attock; 2ndly, that which proceeds from Bokhara by Balkh and the Hindu-Kúsh to Cabul." Mr. Sterling returned to India and collected on the journey what information he could: he saw much, and he heard more; and although in these days it appears to us scanty in the extreme, the sum total, twenty years ago, was by no means meagre or contemptible. Such as it was, on his return to Bengal, he offered it to Government; but Government would have nothing to say either to Mr. Sterling or his information. Lord William Bentinck had no fear of a Russian invasion, and thought that, whilst there was work enough for him to do in Hindustan, he had no need to cut out for himself new troubles and anxieties, by exploring in imagination the snowy summits of the Hindu Kúsh, or tracking the sandy deserts of Merv.

But "the whirligig of time brings in its revenges." Before

the expiration of ten years the retribution was complete. The frigid apathy of 1828 was amply revenged by the feverish excitement of 1838. The successor of Lord William Bentinck was troubled by something more than a dream of invasion by *both* the routes indicated by Sir John McDonald; and every scrap of information relating to the countries of Central Asia, was received with gratitude and hoarded with care. Conolly, Burnes, and others had, by this time, penetrated into Affghanistan from the northern countries, and accumulated piles of information, beside which Mr. Sterling's labours were mere mole-hills; and the tables of the Governor-General and his Secretaries were loaded with printed books, manuscript reports, and elaborate maps of the territories lying between the Caspian and the Indus. During four or five unquiet restless years, but little was thought of in India beyond the great events which were passing in Central Asia; and now in 1850, if we have not relapsed into the old apathy of 1830, the interest with which we at present contemplate these countries, is derived rather from the recollection of the past, than the thought of the present, or the prospect of the future.

Still we do not think it will be altogether unprofitable, even at the present time, to devote a few pages of this journal to some account of a portion of that tract of country over which it was once thought a Russian army might advance, and by which at one time was contemplated the despatch of a British army. We are not about to write of the Herat route, but of the passage along the countries beyond the Hindu-Kûsh watered by the Murghâb and the Oxus. But we are entirely of opinion with Eldred Pottinger and, indeed, with almost all competent authorities, that it is by the Herat route, and by that only that the advance of a formidable European army is ever to be seriously apprehended. "Herat," said Pottinger, in a report drawn up by him for Government, when at Calcutta in the hot weather of 1840, "is situated at the extremity, or rather the passable point "for heavy artillery, of the range of mountains, which bounds "the whole of our northern frontier as far as Assam; and at no "other point could the *materiel* of an European army force its "way across, in the presence of an active enemy. All the "great roads leading on India converge in the Herat territory; "and none of them could be used, unless Herat be previously "reduced. From Cabul to Herat are many points where un- "encumbered troops may pass the range; but the artillery must "be of the lightest description; all the provisions must be car- "ried; and, if successful, they must draw their supplies from "the northern side of the mountains. If Herat were in the

"hands of the opposers of this movement, it would be a most dangerous attempt; as a force from thence could always act against the line of communication to the rear of the invading army;—Balkh, which is the best point as a base, being only the same marching distance from Herat that it is from Cabul." From no part of this do we see any reason to dissent. Alexander climbed the Hindu Kúsh from the northward, and descended into the plains of Affghanistan: but Alexander had no artillery. General Harlan, whom his American friends modestly compare with the "Macedonian madman," scaled the Paropamisian range from the southward, and carried artillery with him; but of the number and weight of his guns we are not clearly informed. We confess that the scantiness of our information upon this head is greatly to be deplored. It matters little what Alexander did, in days when artillery was not. General Harlan, we are told, crossed from Cabul to Balkh in 1838-39, with a train of artillery, and demonstrated the facility of the route. "By my late expedition into Tartary," he says, "from Cabul to Balkh, in 1838-39, an enterprise of great magnitude was accomplished. Commanding a division of the Cabul army, and accompanied by a train of artillery, that stupendous range of mountains, the Indian Caucasus, was crossed through the Paropamisus. The military topography and resources of the country were practically tested. Impediments, which were supposed to present insurmountable obstacles to the passage of an army, proved to be difficulties readily vanquished by labour and perseverance—and the practicability of invading India from the north no longer doubtful."* In another place, the Doctor-General says—"I escorted a caravan into Balkh, or rather a caravan was allowed to accompany my division, when proceeding in the campaign against Kúndúz in 1838-39. It was made up of 1,600 camels and 600 pack-horses. We crossed the Paropamisus, *via* Bamian, Rúf, and Durrah-i-Esuff, debouching upon Muzar." His eulogist, in the *United States Gazette*, says for him—"Among the most extraordinary events of General Harlan's career was his passage of the Indian Caucasus in 1838-39, in command of a division of the Cabul army and accompanied by a train of artillery. We view this expedition as an incident altogether unique since the period of Alexander's conquests. With this prominent exception, no Christian Chief of European descent ever penetrated so far into the interior of Central Asia under

* What has become of General Harlan, and what has become of his promised "Personal Narrative of eighteen years' residence in Asia," which was announced eighteen years ago as "in preparation for the press?"

"circumstances so peculiar as characterize General Harlan's enterprise, and we relinquish the palm of antecedent honour to "the Macedonian hero alone." A curious passage, to say the least of it! The writer would seem to be of opinion that Alexander crossed the Caucasus with a train of artillery, and that he was a Christian Chief: or, why are we told that Harlan's passage with a train of artillery was unique *since* Alexander's time, and that no *Christian* Chief, except Alexander, had ever penetrated so far into Central Asia?

That the Hindu Kúsh is accessible to artillery, we know perfectly well. A troop of Bengal horse artillery (the 4th troop, 3rd brigade) marched from Cabul to Bamian in the autumn of 1839, and remained at the latter place until the autumn of the following year. The road was pronounced by our engineer officers to be impracticable even for light field-pieces; but the troop officers determined to persevere, and their perseverance was crowned with success. They did not, however, accomplish the journey so easily as to encourage them in the belief, that, if their guns had been of larger calibre and heavier metal, they could have overcome the difficulties of the journey. Over some part of the road, the guns were moved onward by the manual labour of the artillery-men and their infantry comrades. It was believed that, being light pieces, they might have been carried on the backs of elephants; but even horses were at some points wholly unserviceable, the ascent being occasionally at an elevation of 45°. It was with difficulty that the men working at the drag-ropes were enabled to keep their footing. An account of this march has been given in an extract from Captain Buckle's *Memoir of the Bengal Artillery*, quoted in the 24th Number of this journal: it is also referred to in Number 28. A more detailed account of all the operations of the Bamian force, and of the countries which it traversed, is to be found in an interesting and valuable series of papers, under the title of "The British on the Hindu Kúsh," originally published in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and re-printed in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1841, and in Stocqueler's *Memorials of Affghanistan*. Another series of papers, under the name of "A visit to the Hindu Kúsh" was published in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1844.

The writer of these papers accompanied Lieutenant Sturt in 1840, when that gallant and intelligent young officer was employed on the survey of the passes of the Hindu Kúsh. Being out on a pleasure-excursion, absent on leave from his regiment, he seems to have thought more of the picturesque and romantic, than of the military, features of the country over which he travelled. The professional part of the work was left

to his companion, and we have no doubt that it was done effectually and well. An elaborate map of the country was prepared by Lieutenant Sturt. They went by Akrabad, Syghan, across the Dundan-i-Shikkun to Badjgah, Ruí, Heibuk and Khúlúm. "The road to the latter place," says the writer of these papers, "bordered the river throughout the whole of the journey, "around the bases of the hills, until we approached Khúlúm, "when the stream rushed with impetuous violence, through a "deep cleft of the last of this glorious range, forming a strong "defile half a mile in length, and its greatest breadth not a "hundred yards. One small bourj, or tower, is stationed mid-way, and slightly elevated from the road. In defending the "pass, a mere handful of the troops on the crags above, by "repeatedly hurling down masses of rocks, would, for a time, "stop the progress of a hostile army from either direction." The Mir Wulli of Khúlúm asked Sturt how long it would take our troops to capture his fortress; and Sturt replied, "*about a quarter of an hour!*" It is remarkable that neither from these travellers nor from the officers of the detachment which spent a year on the Hindu-Kúsh, do we learn anything about General Harlan's expedition, though the General, according to his own account, only a year before, traversed nearly, if not quite, the same country, with a train of artillery.

It was on this road, by Khúlúm to Balkh, that our troops would have proceeded to the latter place, and perhaps to Bokhara, if the views of Sir William Macnaghten, openly expressed in the early part of 1840, had been carried out. Lord Auckland at first expressed his disapprobation of this movement, but subsequently withdrew his dissent. There were three different objects, we believe, contemplated by the Envoy. One was the re-establishment of the authority of Shah Sujah over the petty Usbeg States, between Cabul and Balkh. Another was the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and the chastisement of the Khan of Bokhara. But, over and above these more ostensible designs, it was thought expedient that the demonstration should be made, as a counter-movement to that of the Russians on Khiva. That Sir William Macnaghten thought an advance into Turkistan a less difficult and hazardous movement than the passage of the Khyber, we have shown in an early number of this journal. The design, however, was shortly abandoned, in all probability, owing to the receipt of intelligence of the break-down of the Russian expedition. Whilst Macnaghten and Burnes were labouring under the conviction that General Peroffski had reached Khiva, the Russian leader was retiring homewards with his shattered battalions. The expedition was abandoned at the end of January. On the

13th of March, intelligence of the disastrous position of Peroffski's force was publicly announced in St. Petersburg, and communicated by Lord Clanricarde to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. It does not appear that the tidings of this disaster created much dismay in the Russian Capital. Count Nesselrode said, that it was doubtless unfortunate; for that such a check at that time might have an injurious moral effect in Central Asia; but it was believed by our minister that the Russian nobles and officers of rank, in general, by no means regretted Peroffski's failure, the expedition having been very unpopular among them. It is worth mentioning that Count Nesselrode told Lord Clanricarde, that the Russian Government wished to exert their influence at Bokhara,* to prevent any Turkoman Chiefs from joining Dost Mahomed, in the hope of obviating any occasion for the British troops to pass the Hindu-Kush. It was in the same spirit that Captains Abbott and Shakespear were despatched to Khiva, in order, by the liberation of the Russian slaves at that place, to "obviate any occasion" for the advance of a Russian army into the dominions of the Khan Huzrut.

It is by no means our intention, however, in this place, to enter upon the consideration of the political designs of the Russian Government. Our object in this article is mainly a geographical one; but we purpose, before we bring it to a conclusion, to give some incidental account of the relations existing, during our occupation of Cabul, between the different States of Central Asia, and of the manner in which they were affected by the movements of the English on the one side, and the Russians on the other. Great was the ignorance which long existed throughout all the civilized world, regarding the countries lying between the Hindu-Kush and the Caspian; and it is only since a few energetic officers of the East India Company have traversed those dreary countries, that geographers have been able to lay down the position of the different places between them with any thing like accuracy. Even now, indeed, there are considerable vagueness of delineation and uncertainty of nomenclature in the maps most recently published. It is no uncommon thing to see mountain ranges set down where no mountains are, and rivers flowing in unknown directions. It was, at one time, believed, that the Oxus emptied itself into the Caspian; and even recently, a belief has existed, that the

* But it was acknowledged that at this time Russia had no agent at or near Bokhara; that there were no means of communication with that place through Astrabad; and that the caravan route from Orenburg to Bokhara, which lies to the east of the Aral Lake, would be rendered dangerous for Russian travellers by the failure of Peroffski's expedition.

Tartars changed the natural course of the river, and turned its direction from the Caspian to the Aral lake—the fact being, that the Aral lake was formerly conceived to be a part of the Caspian. Poor Captain Grover complained bitterly, that the Home authorities believed that Bokhara was in Persia; and he was so concerned at the mistake, that “determined,” as he says, “to support the national honour,” he took the trouble to address a letter on the subject to the Secretary-at-War, who was supposed to be responsible for the blunder in the Army List. We hope that the national honour does not depend upon the national knowledge of the geography of Central Asia. If it does, we are afraid that it is in a very bad way.

Had the Russian force, which baffled by cold and want stopped short at Ak-boulak, penetrated as far as Khiva, and, encouraged by success, determined to push on towards India, it is conceived that it would have taken the route by Bokhara and Balkh. We do not believe that one serious thought of any such advance ever entered the mind of the Czar, or Nesselrode, or of Peroffski. The movement was merely a demonstration called forth by our advance into Affghanistan. Still it elicited much speculation and conjecture regarding the possibility of the march from Khiva to Cabul, and the various routes accessible to an invading force. There were three routes into Affghanistan from the northward which Peroffski might have taken. He might, as we have said, have proceeded by Bokhara and Balkh, across the Hindu Kúsh. He might have taken the western route across the desert of Merv (or Kharasm), and thence crossing the Murgháb, have marched upon Herat: or he might have taken a middle course, crossing the Merv desert, and proceeding by Maimunah to the Hindu Kúsh. The first of these is comparatively well known. The second is the route taken by Captain Abbott, and subsequently by Lieutenant Shakespear. The third was taken by Arthur Conolly in the autumn of 1840, when he commenced that perilous journey to Khiva, Kokand and Bokhara, from which he was doomed never to return.

The records of this journey are of no common interest. Whether they exist any where in a perfect state—in an unbroken series—we do not pretend to know. We think it is extremely doubtful. Arthur Conolly was a profuse and rapid writer. When he was not in the saddle, the pen was almost always in his hand. He suffered nothing to escape him, and when on his travels, in new countries, kept an elaborate journal, in which he noted down everything he did and everything he said. Even in his dungeon at Bokhara, he noted down

everything that occurred to vary the monotonous wretchedness of his prison life. But the disastrous events, which for a time, interrupted all communication, and caused the destruction of many interesting and important records, not improbably consigned to perdition some uncopied portions of Arthur Conolly's correspondence. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, that a narrative of his journey from Cabul to Khiva, by the Merv desert, is in existence. It is of this tract of country that we desire to furnish some illustrations from the manuscript materials in our possession. At Khiva our enquiries for the present must end.

It had been in contemplation to despatch Major Rawlinson and Captain Conolly to the Russian camp, when the approach of Peroffski's force was agitating the councils of our Affghan diplomatists. There was something in such a mission peculiarly grateful to the ardent romantic temperament of Arthur Conolly. Disappointed upon this occasion, he never ceased to long for another opportunity of penetrating into Central Asia, and facing the difficulties and dangers of a journey among a barbarous people and in an almost unexplored land. Nor was it the mere excitement of adventure that he coveted. He had great ideas in his mind about the consolidation of the Durani empire; and he thought it not improbable that, if by any means we could reclaim those unsettled border-chiefs, who were eternally transferring their allegiance from one monarch to another keeping themselves and their neighbours in a state of perpetual (unrest), and so permanently fix the boundaries of the kingdom of Cabul, we might in time work out a great moral revolution, ending perhaps in the conversion of the Affghans to the pure faith of Jesus Christ. It is not improbable that we may, on some future occasion, discourse more at length on the character and career of Arthur Conolly. At present, it is enough to say, that he obtained, in prosecution of his long-cherished schemes, permission from his friend and relative, Sir William Macnaghten, to proceed to Khiva and Kokand. When we say that he obtained permission to proceed to these places, we do not mean that he proceeded as an amateur; that he was merely—what Lord Ellenborough in a letter to the Khan of Bokhara described him as being—"an innocent traveller." He was delegated by the Envoy and Minister to carry out certain objects in Turkistan, involving a journey to Khiva and Kokand, and, conditionally, to Bokhara; but it is doubtful, whether either Sir William Macnaghten or Lord Auckland really approved of the mission. The former, in all probability, succumbed to the wishes of Arthur Conolly; and the latter, somewhat reluctantly, yielded

his assent, on the representation of the Envoy and Minister. The Governor-General disapproved of Abbott's mission to Khiva, and thought little better of Conolly's ; but the latter was sanctioned in "a private letter from authority," and cannot justly be regarded as an amateur expedition. Lord Ellenborough, however, always insisted on regarding it in this light ; and, when General Pollock made an application to Government on behalf of the servants attached to Conolly's mission, Lord Ellenborough replied, that he had no knowledge of that officer's mission to Kokand having been authorized ; "on the contrary, His Lordship was informed by the late President of the Board of Control, that Lieut. A. Conolly was expressly instructed by him not to go to Kokand." Be this as it may, in September 1840, Arthur Conolly started for Khiva and Kokand, carrying credentials to both places. The countries of the Hindu-Kúsh were then in so unsettled a state (for Dost Mahomed had escaped from Bokhara and was raising the Usbeks), that the Envoy believed that he would be obliged to proceed by the Herat route. However, he joined the 35th N. I., which was then proceeding to reinforce the Bamian detachment ; and was present at Brigadier Dennie's brilliant action with the ex-Amir and the Wulli of Khúlúm on the 18th of September. He started, full of "heart and hope"—full, too, of the noblest and purest feelings of humanity, earnestly hoping that the British Government would be induced to play what he called the "grand game," and embrace in one great net-work of benevolent diplomacy all the countries of Central Asia, meting out the amplest justice to all, protecting the weak, coercing the tyrannous, and restoring peace and prosperity to countries long harassed and desolated by strife.

We purpose to follow the "innocent traveller" from Bamian to Khiva. It should be noted here, that he was accompanied by an Afghan Elchi, bearing letters from Shah Sujah to the different Chiefs upon the road. This man's name was Allah-dad Khan. He belonged to the Upulzye tribe, and was held in some repute at the Cabul court, especially as a skilful intriguant. It was long before the Shah could make up his mind whom to dispatch upon this mission ; and the difficulty of selection delayed Conolly's departure longer than was pleasing to his enthusiastic temperament. The choice that was at last made seemed satisfactory to all parties ; and the Mussulman and the Christian travellers set out on their journey. Allah-dad Khan was a little scrubby-looking, sallow-faced man, with a busy look and a restless eye ; but it was believed that he would be true to the interests of his master, especially (as the Shah himself suggested)

as he left behind him his family and much valuable property at Cabul, which would prove the best guarantees for his good conduct in Turkistan.

We shall now let Captain Conolly speak for himself. "The Hazareh and Eimák countries, which we traversed," he says, "between Bamian and Maimuna, consist of high unwooded mountains, covered with grass and various shrubs and herbs, which serve for spring and summer pasture and winter fodder, and vallies at different elevations, in the highest of which is sown only the naked Thibetian barley, and in the lowest, barley, wheat and millet. The Hazareh portion is the coldest and the poorest; and the natives with difficulty eke out a living in small villages of low huts, where they herd during the long winter season under one roof with the cows and sheep, using as fuel small dry shrubs, and the dung of their cattle. An idea of their privations may be formed from the fact that the mass of the people do not use *salt*. There is none in their own country; and, as they cannot afford the price, which would remunerate importers of this heavy article from Tartary and Affghanistan, they have learned to do without it. Their best bread is consequently very tasteless to a stranger.

Captain Conolly's party found the Hazarehs "unblushing beggars and thieves," but mild in their manners and industrious in their habits. The Chiefs he felt inclined to describe somewhat in the same terms which Elphinstone applied to the Amirs of Scinde—"Barbarians of the rudest stamp, without any of the barbarian's virtues." Of the military tribes he says:—

The soldiers of both tribes are cavalry, mounted chiefly on small active horses of native breed, though some ride horses imported from Turkistan. Their arms are swords and matchlocks,—the last weapons furnished with a prong for a rest. There are clans of military repute among both people; but the best of them would not stand in open field against Affghans. Their strength lies in the poorness and natural difficulty of their country; but this last defence is, I imagine, greatly over-rated. Parts of the interior are described as much more steep than that which we traversed; but this portion, which is the most important, as being on the high road to Herat, is by no means so inaccessible as it has been reported; and, were the Governments of Herat and of Cabul settled, and of one mind, this route might soon be safely re-opened.

Neither among the Hazarehs nor the Eimáks is money commonly in circulation. The ordinary currency is *sheep*; and business is conducted in a very primitive manner. Traders from Herat, Candahar, and Cabul repair to the residence of the

* In a letter (dated Merv, November 16th 1840) containing a running abstract of his private journal. The journal itself, full of geographical memoranda, was to have been fair-copied at Khiva, and sent to Lieut. Broadfoot of the Engineers, with a request that he would shape the rough surveys into a presentable map.

Chiefs, and barter their cotton cloths and chintzes for sheep. The Turkish merchants take, in exchange for their articles, *human* currency. "The articles," writes Captain Conolly, "which the Hazarehs and Eimiáks take to market are *men and women*, small black oxen, cows and sheep, clarified butter, some woven woollens for clothing, grain sacks and carpet bags, felts for horse clothing, and patterned carpets, all made from the produce of their flocks; for they export no raw wool." When further advanced on his journey, in the neighbourhood of Maimuna, Captain Conolly found that slaves were the representatives of value in those parts, a man having offered him a horse for a young male slave and a pony. When the English officer asked him, if he was not ashamed of dealing in God's creatures, he said that he could only do as others did, but that he did not mean in this case to imply that he required an actual slave, but the value of one—"showing," adds Captain Conolly, "that men are here a standard of barter, as sheep are among the Hazarehs."

Having contracted with a native of Herat, who had resided long among the Hazarch and Eimiák tribes, for safe conduct from Bamian to Maimuna, Captain Conolly proceeded to Yaikobung, the valley of which is watered by a clear trout-stream running from the far-famed "Bendimir," of which the poet of *Lalla Rookh* has given us so romantic and refreshing an account. There was very little of romance, except of the brigand kind; in the character of the Chief of this place. "The present Chief of Yaikobung," writes Captain Conolly, "is Mir Mohib, a vulgarian of the coarsest order. He put Shah Sujah's letter to his head with a fair show of respect, and came to pay his respects to us as the bearers of it, when we gave him a suitable present. Having taken leave, he sent to beg for my furred cloak; and on my giving his messenger a note, which would procure him one from Bamian, he sent to say that he must have my girdle, shawl, and a thousand rupees, and he would permit us to depart. We were too many to be thus bullied; therefore, replying that the Mir seemed to misunderstand our condition, we marched away at once, without his daring to interrupt us."—*MS. Records.*

Following "the course of the Herat river in its clear quick wanderings through different breaks of the limestone valley which forms its bed," Captain Conolly's party made their way to Deh-Zungi, where they were hospitably received by Sadok Beg, with whom the English officer discoursed freely on the disadvantage resulting from the constant internal feuds which were distracting the country. The Chief said that he was

deeply impressed with a conviction of the truth of Captain Conolly's assertion; and that, if Shah Sujah would only send him a regiment and a couple of cannon, and make him chief Governor of the Hazarehs, he would undertake to keep the road between Herat and Cabul more open than it had been since the days of Mahmoud of Ghuzni.

There was a war then raging between certain Eimiák and Hazareh tribes, and Captain Conolly's party were in considerable danger from the predatory bands which were loose about the country. We have an account in the journal of the origin and progress of this little war; but we pass it over to give an extract relating to the personal adventures which befell the travellers on coming across the skirt of the storm:—

"When we had got two miles down the valley," writes Mr. Conolly, "we were met by sixty horsemen, who called out to us to stop any pay *zucat*. The Atalik's brother riding ahead, and explaining that we were Envoys on the King's affairs, and not traders, our way-layer replied, that we had paid our way to others, and why not to him. 'They are guests of the Atalik,' replied his brother; 'and by God and the Prophet they shall not give a needle, or a chillum of tobacco.' 'Then, by God and the Prophet, we will take it!' rejoined the robber. Whereupon he ranged some of his men in line to face us, and caused others to dismount upon a rock behind, and to set their guns in rest. We lost no time in getting ready for defence; but the Atalik's brother, riding out between our fronts, called a parley, and drew a line, which neither party were to pass till a war had been decided on. Three quarters of an hour were consumed in debates, which were thrice broken by demonstrations of attack; and by the end of this time thirty or forty men of the same tribe had collected on foot from a near encampment with the evident intention of making a rush at our baggage in the event of our becoming engaged in front. We had dispatched several messengers to bring up our host; and, just as the affair had assumed its worst look, a cry was raised that he was coming. Looking back, we could see horsemen pouring out like bees from the tents surrounding Dowlutyar, and also hastening in our direction; but, whilst our Eimiák escort exclaimed that the Atalik was coming in force to the rescue, our opponents cried out in scorn that Hussan Khan was coming to help them to plunder us; and each party raised a shout for the supposed reinforcements. After about ten minutes of the most intense anxiety, during which we and our opponents, as if by mutual agreement, waited to see whose conjecture was right, we were relieved by the arrival of the Atalik, who, galloping up ahead to us at the utmost speed, exclaimed, that he had brought Hussan Khan to our defence. The announced ally was not long in following with three hundred men, and our enemies were made to understand that they must abandon all idea of attacking us—Hussan Khan declaring that we were Envoys recommended to him by the Shah, whose slave he was, and that he would allow no one to molest us."—*MS. Records.*

Such are the rude chivalry of the Hazareh and Eimiák countries! Captain Conolly and his party were conducted safely along their road out of the reach of danger; but Hussan Khay had evidently some misgivings as to the part he was acting, for when he took his leave, he limited his benedictions to those who were true followers of the Prophet, and afterwards expressed his belief, that the English designed to subvert all Muhammadan powers; "a notion," adds Captain Conolly, "which seems to

"have been industriously propagated among all the tribes, which dwell between the Indus and the Oxus."

The party spent four days at Bajgah,* where they were hospitably entertained by the Atalik. Here our travellers were in some danger from the attacks of Kuvar Beg, a neighbouring Chief, who would have spoiled Conolly and his friends with little compunction, but for the good offices of their host, whose alliance this man found necessary to his existence. Kuvar Beg was at war with another and more powerful Chief, whose son he had murdered in his own house. The character of this man is well described in Conolly's journal :—

Wednesday, October 7.—Kuvar Beg came to visit us in Allah-dad Khan's tent, which we had pitched, as the largest, a little outside our camp, that our guests might not have opportunities of stealing, or of too closely observing our property. He was a worn, hard-looking, sarcastic old man; and his evident object throughout the interview was to bully us out of our confidence, and to lower us in the opinion of our host and his relatives, so as to lessen their scruples about treacherously spoiling us. He, first, after a few cold compliments, attacked the Urghenj wakil, by asking why he had not sent assistance to Herat when it was besieged by the infidel Persians. Yakub Bhai promptly said that, but for the food supplied from Merv, Yar Mahomed Khan could not have held out. "A shop-keeper might call that aid," was the rejoinder. "The aid I alluded to, was of men, swords, guns, &c." "After, all" he continued, "though the people speak ill of the Wuzir, to my mind he is one of the few *men*, who remain in these countries. He holds his own, and turns his neighbours to account. They say, God knows with what truth, that he keeps a Feringhi at Herat, from where he draws a lakh of rupees every month." I briefly explained why a British agent was resident at Herat; and that the money, from time to time disbursed through him, was given for the defence and restoration of a place, which we had encouraged him to hold out at every sacrifice, being interested in preserving it to the Affghans, with whom we had renewed the alliance made thirty years before, for the purpose of mutual defence against foreign encroachments. "Aye; the Affghans!" remarked our visitors, "they cannot do without help now; they have ceased to be soldiers." Allah-dad Khan here replied, with gentleman-like firmness, that if, which God forbid, the Beg should ever find himself opposed to Affghans, he would see that they could still use their arms manfully; and, after a lame attempt to turn Dost Mahomed's defeat into a victory, in order to make light of Shah Sujah's power, Kuvar Beg retired, foiled in both his endeavours, exclaiming, in the hearing of some of our people, as he mounted to return home, "Alas! alas! I have no relations. It has been shown to me in a book that the plunder of such is lawful; and there is enough for all." We thought it prudent, as well as politic towards the Atalik, to send this ruffian a present of moderate value, as he had made himself our guest—admitting our host's apology for his insolence in the common excuse that he was half mad.—*MS. Records.*

Emerging from the Heirrud valley, the party now proceeded northward up the Hindu-Kush, and passing over an undulating plain, crossed the summit of the main ridge of mountains. Descending, they came upon a deep and rapid brook, called the Tungun, which led them four miles down the cultivated valley

* This place must not be confounded with the fort of Bajgah, north of Bamian where Captain Hay's detachment was stationed in 1840.—ED.

of Ghilmí, to the mouth of a deep and close pass, called the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*, or the "hare's defile," which proved to be at an elevation of 5,700 feet. Proceeding through this defile, on the following day they journeyed some thirteen miles between "perpendicular mountains of limestone, the defile "running in acute zig-zags, which, for the most part, were not "more than fifty or sixty yards long," and having only breadth enough for a path and for the brook, which they were continually obliged to cross. "Burnes, I see," writes Arthur Conolly, "states that after crossing the Dundan-i-Shikkun, he travelled "on the northward to Khúlúm, between frequently precipitous rocks, which rose on either side to the height of three "hundred feet, and obscured all stars at night, except at the "zenith. I am afraid of exaggerating the height of the cliffs, between which our road here lay, by guessing at their height in "feet ; so I will not say that their precipitous elevation made our "horsemen look like pigmies, as they filed along their bases in the "bed." After expanding to a width of about fifty yards, the defile again contracted to that of thirty ; through which Conolly and his associates wound for about five miles, when the Tungun discharged itself into the River Murgháb, which came from the east, in a bed of good width through a similar deep pass. The passage through the defile is described as winding to such an extent, that it occupied the baggage ponies four hours to accomplish a distance, which, in a straight line, would have been little more than six miles ; and that the portion of the road, which lay in the bed of the stream, crossed the water thirty-four times. The journal-writer thus describes the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh* :—

What is called the *Deriah-i-Khurgosh* ends at the junction of the Tungun with the Murgháb ; but the narrowness and difficulty of the Pass continues for a mile further down the left bank of the latter stream, which we forded when the water was up to our ponies' shoulders, running at the rate of, I should imagine, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. A steep road, which laden ponies take, ascends a little above the entrance of *Deriah-i-Khurgosh*, which runs down again just below the junction of the two streams ; therefore it may be crowned without much labour thus far on the left side ; but, take it all in all, it is, I suppose for its length, as difficult a Pass as exists. I have seen nothing like it except some upper portions of the valley of the Ganges in the Himalaya mountains, and its impregnability, according to Asiatic notions of warfare, fully warrants the saying with which Eimáks are said to have answered the threats of kings,—“Oppress us, and we'll flee to the Hare's defile.”—*MS. Records.*

Continuing northwards along country still precipitous, the party, on the 11th of October, was attacked by a band of horsemen :—

Our foremost riders had nearly reached this point, when a number of armed men, rising with shouts from their ambuscade above and on either side of us, began with one accord to pelt stones at us, and to fire their guns ; those who were on our flanks also loosening pieces of rock, which came bounding down

the shingle bank, with force enough to bear away any thing occupying the path. Fortunately, the Kafila was far enough behind to avoid the first of the attack; and we retreated to an open part of the Pass, when, making ourselves masters of the shelving flank on each side, we entered into negotiation with our assailants ahead. After much time had been lost in parley, our aggressors agreed to take a few pieces of chintzes and forty rupees (as we had no more goods), and invited us to advance: but we had scarcely reached the old points when our Envoy, sent with the cloths and cash agreed to, came running down to us, stripped and beaten, and the attack upon us was renewed. Our skirmishers having kept the shelving flanks, we had not to retreat far, and, having briefly consulted in turning again, we decided that there was nothing for it but to force our way. So, advancing with our best musket-men on foot, while those left with the Kafila, followed in close order, firing over our heads at the cliffs above us, in less than ten minutes we made ourselves masters of the narrow passage from which our enemies retreated over the hills. Some of our men and horses were severely bruised by the stones, which were rained upon as during this push, but no bones were broken, and the only gun-shot wound that could be found, was in the cloak of one of my Hindustani servants. I am happy to believe that none of our cowardly enemies were killed, or seriously wounded, for we found no dead men on the rocks taken, and they retreated too fast to carry off any, who were much disabled.—*MS. Records.*

After this adventure, the party proceeded on quietly to Maimuna. Mehrab Khan, a keen sportsman, was then out "on his annual *batta*," but his brother received and entertained Conolly with all possible hospitality. After a delay of four days, the Wulli returned, and next morning called upon the British officer, when, after presenting to him Shah Sujah's letter and dress of honour, Conolly "quite won his heart," by giving him, in the name of the Envoy and Minister at Cabul, a double-barrelled gun. Next day the Embassy went to return his visit:—

Mehrab Khan bade us frankly welcome, and ordered in breakfast of bread, fruit and cream tea, of which we partook together, our servants carrying off parcels of fine green tea, imported from Yarkhund, and large loaves of Russian refined sugar, which were set before us upon long platters of dried fruits, as the host's offering. After breakfast, the Wulli, without thinking it necessary to dismiss any of the mixed servants who stood in the room, began to talk about his political situation, which he described with some humour, begging to know if we could give him hope of any arrangement that would enable him to rest under one master. "No doubt," he observed, "you know the saying, that it is difficult for a man to sail with his legs in two boats; but how can any man hope to escape drowning, who is obliged to shift them among five, according as the wind changes? My ancestors were content to serve the king of Cabul; and, when members of that house fell into misfortune, they found hospitality here. Shah Sujah is again upon his throne at Cabul; but now another Suddooye king calls upon me to submit only to Herat, and your English Agent advises me to send my son there. On the other hand, the Commander of the Faithful claims allegiance for Bokhara: the Khan Huzrut desires me to put myself under him; and you know how I was forced to act, when the Persian Asoph-ud-dowlah crossed the Murghab.—*MS. Records.*

Upon this, Conolly, congratulating him on the skill which he has shown in keeping so well in his own boat, said that Shah Sujah by no means meant that he was to put himself in immediate subjection to the throne of Cabul, rather than to that of Herat; but that he hoped he would give no support to Dost

Mahomed, or any of his Turkish allies. "I gave a plain answer," replied Mehrab Khan, "both to the Dost and his supporters; I told him I had seen enough of petty leagues against the armies of kings, and would not compromise myself for any one. I had nothing to say to Dost Mahomed Khan when he was in power. Why should I take up his cause against one, whom God has restored to his former throne?"

We must pass over the long and not uninteresting account of the history of Mehrab Khan and the internal state of his dominions given in Arthur Conolly's journal, and accompany the travellers on their journey to Merv:—

"We made five marches," writes Mr. Conolly, "to the southward of west, *vid* Alma Kusu and Charshumbel, from Maimuna to the River Murgháb, encamping on its bank at the fort of Kaisul Khauck, a few miles below the fort of Bala Murgháb, which we did not see. In view, upon our left, during these five marches, was the south-west ridge of the Hindu-Kúsh mountains, from which we descended behind Maimuna. Our road lay upon easy rises and falls through hills of a light clayey soil, enclosing many well-watered valleys and glens, in which is cultivated wheat, barley, millet, sesame, flax and cotton; vineyards and gardens flourish about the villages, at the chief of which, brisk little fairs are held twice a week for the convenience of the country round. It is a fruitful country, which only requires more inhabitants to be very valuable: and I learn that the districts on towards Herat, as well as those under the mountains eastward of Maimuna, are of similar character."—*MS. Records.*

As they proceeded onwards, several Kafilas passed them on their way to Bokhara, or met them on their way to Maimuna for grain; and they encountered several single Turkomans on their way to the latter place, riding horses, which they were about to exchange for slaves. A melancholy account is given of the traffic in human flesh, which disgraces these parts of the country. "Every defenceless person," it is said, "who can be used for labour, is carried off to the insatiable markets of Tartary. We were followed by a small Kafilá of slaves from Maimuna, consisting of Sheahs, Hazarehs and Suni Eimáks of all ages, from five to thirty: and we actually discovered that four children of the lot had been purchased on a speculation by our colleague, the Khivan Envoy, whilst towards us he was reprobating the practice as irreligious and impolitic, and expressing hypocritical hopes that it would soon cease in all these countries."

Fording the Murgháb at Karnaoul Kazeh, their march then lay along its left bank, for eight marches to Merv. The waters of the Murgháb are described as muddy, flowing with frequent eddies, at a rate of about a mile and a quarter in an hour, and having many dangerous quicksands. The banks are thickly fringed with tamarisk bushes.

Captain Abbott, who crossed the Murgháb at another spot, and in a different season of the year, describes the river as "a deep stream of *very pure* water, about sixty feet in breadth

"and flowing in a channel mined to the depth of thirty feet in the clay soil of the valley." "The banks," he adds, "are very precipitous and fringed with tamarisks and a few reeds. The valley itself is, at Punj-deh, about nine miles in breadth but narrows as we advance. Here it is about three-fourths of a mile in breadth. On the east bank are sloping sandy hills, about 600 feet higher than the valley. On the west is the desert—a high sandy plain over-run with low bushes and camel-thorn, and extending to the mountain barrier of Persia. The valley of the Murgháb has once been well cultivated, but is now from Punj-deh to Yullatun utterly deserted, owing to the late distractions of the country. Sir Richmond Shakespear says—"This river, when I saw it (in March) was muddy, deep and rapid, and full of quicksands. The only boats on it, I believe, are the ferry-boats. I was told that, even near Punj-deh, the river is at times fordable." Much cultivation is irrigated from the Murgháb at Yullatun, and the greater portion of its water is wasted on the desert." The distance from Yullatun to Merv is 22 miles. Shakespear says it is an "excellent road over a hard, flat plain—water to be found occasionally—grass and wood both scarce."

Merv is the head-quarters of the slave-trade of Turkistan. Arthur Conolly sighed over it; but felt himself powerless:—

"I have found it necessary," he writes, "even to repress the expression of our sympathies for the strangers, who are so unhappily enslaved in this country; for the necessary interference of Abbott and Shakespear for the release of the Russian captives has given rise to an idea, which has spread like wild fire through Turkistan, that the English have come forward as deliverers of all who are in bondage there—a notion, which, grateful as it may be to our national reputation, requires to be corrected by all who come to Usbeg Tartary in any political character, lest it should excite the enmity of slave-owners against all our efforts for good among them, as well as increase the unhappiness of the enslaved. To you, however, I may mention that the state of affairs here is pitiable in the extreme, and such as to make every Englishman, who witnesses it, most earnestly reprobate the idea of our consenting to its continuance for the sake of any political contingency whatever. Judge only from the following note:—

As we came out from visiting the Bhai (Governor), a party of Zekkat Turkomans entered, bearing three blackened human skulls upon the point of lances, and thirty bound persons from Khelat-i-Kadur, who, with thirty-six horses, had been recently captured in a *chabao*. When they had reported the success of their expedition, these bandits gave the Governor two men and two horses for his share, excusing themselves from paying the full proportion of one in ten, on the plea that they had lost or injured some of their own horses. They then presented the heads of their victims, and, having received five tillahs for each, received orders to parade them through the bazar (it being market-day), where I, an hour afterwards, saw them again hung by the beard to a pole. Determined to examine into all the sins of this place, which had been reported by my servants, I ordered my horse, when the market was warm, and riding through every corner of it, saw enough to sicken and shame the coarsest heart. The camel and horse fair was conducted on level spots outside the skirts of standing shops, in which the necessities of life were displayed among

a few luxuries by the resident traders. At the doors of many of these shops, females of different ages, under that at which they could no longer be recommended for their personal attractions, were placed for show, tucked in good clothes put on them for the occasion, and having their eyes streaked with antimony to set off their countenances. Others past their prime, with children of poor appearance, were grouped, males and females together, in the corners of the streets, and handled like cattle; and I was shown small mud pews, a little above the height of a man, enclosed on all sides, into which intending purchasers take either male or female captives that they fancy, for the purpose of stripping them naked to see that they have no bodily defects."—*MS. Records.*

Merv * was once a place of considerable importance; "a second "Palmyra," says Mr. Sterling, "standing an oasis in the midst "of the Turkoman desert, lying between the Oxus and the cultivated parts of Khorassan." Abbott says of it, that it was one of the most ancient cities of Asia.

It was situated in the plain, about twelve miles east of the little bazar, which at present bears its name. It was founded by fire-worshippers, of whose fort, called Killah-Ghubbah, there are yet remains; and it long formed a portion of the Persian empire, whose boundary on the east was the river Oxus. Its vicinity to this boundary, and its disjunction from the inhabited parts of Persia by wide deserts, must have early rendered it obnoxious to molestation from the Turkish and other tribes; and Merv has probably changed masters as often as any city in the world. Latterly, as the Persian dominions have shrunk upon their heart, Merv has always belonged either to the Turks, or to some of the petty principalities of the neighbouring mountains. It has, within a few years, been wrested from Bokhara by the Khan of Khiva, and forms one of the most important districts of Khârisim. During the misrule and anarchy of the last sixty years, the ancient dam of the Murghâb was neglected and carried away. The city in consequence became uninhabitable, and was utterly abandoned. The dam is again set up and the lands are brought under culture; but the ancient site continues a deserted ruin. The present Merv is an assemblage upon the Murghâb of about one hundred mud huts, where a considerable bazar is held. The entire waters of the Murghâb are dispersed over the sandy plain for the purpose of irrigation. This profusion of waters renders the soil productive; but it has not strength to bear any but the poor kinds of grain. The plain is perhaps an area of sixty miles by forty, or 2,400 square miles, running on every side into the desert. About 60,000 Turkomans are said to live upon this plain, chiefly as cultivators. The trade passing through Merv is very considerable—Merv connecting Bokhara and Persia, Khiva and Afghanistan. Indeed, the position of Merv is so important, that it will never be long abandoned and might with judicious care rapidly rise from its dust into wealth and importance.—*MS. Records.*

So, too, thought Arthur Conolly. Looking out upon the traces of desolation which every where surrounded him, and mourning over the ruins of past prosperity and magnificence, his benevolent and earnest mind grasped the idea of the restoration, through British agency—himself perhaps the chief agent—of the pristine glories of this once celebrated place. Of all the benevolent single-minded men, who took an active part in the memorable events of the great Central-Asian drama (and whatever we may think of the policy out of which those events arose, there were many humane and honest men concerned in its

* It is supposed to occupy the site of Antiochia Margiana.

execution), there was not one more benevolent or more single-minded than Arthur Conolly. That he was very speculative, we know. Indeed, it is not to be denied that he was something of a visionary; but his visions were of the purest, the most benevolent kind, and we could better have spared a more practical man. What can be more characteristic than his speculations among the ruins of Merv? He had no misgivings about "our grand move across the Indus." He was always earnest, sanguine, speculative—always full of grand schemes for the regeneration of Central Asia; and now the sight of the departed glories of Merv stirs up all his benevolent desires. Leaving the modern city—if so it can be called—he visits the ruins of the ancient habitations, many of which he describes as still in a state of tolerable preservation.* This is a double city; and, at the distance of about a mile and a quarter, he alights upon a third. "There remained in this citadel," he says, "the mounds of two immense sloping bastions. We were able to ride up to the top of the highest; and from it looked down upon the desolation of four fortified cities, standing in the midst of devastated fields, gardens, valleys and castles of various times, the ruins of which extended to the horizon discernible from this eminence. It was a melancholy view; but the regret, which it excited, was lightened by a gratifying conviction, that there existed no physical obstacle to the speedy restoration of every thing that had been destroyed within this wide extent of once flourishing country. *Notwithstanding the years that the plain of Merv has been deserted by the multitudes who used to till it, and the destruction of every tree that helped to give it shelter and moisture, the proverbially fertile soil has not been invaded by more drifts from the desert, than would disappear under two years' ploughing.*† And there are thousands, who would willingly make this land their settled home, if they could be protected upon it—to say nothing of a yet entire colony of industrious people, who sigh for it at Bokhara. Shall we not, some of these days, exert the influence that our grand move across the Indus has gained for us, to make Merv once more "a king of the earth," by fixing its borders in peace between the distinctively hostile parties, who now keep up useless

* "An arched gate of burnt brick," he writes, "placed in the western centre of a bastion wall, 700 yards wide, which was faced by a ditch, admitted us into a street of shops running through the middle of a deserted town; the red brick walls of which on either side, and of a dense mass of houses behind them to the foot of the ramparted wall, were still in a great measure standing. One fine double-domed public bath was in such a good state of preservation, that very little repairing would have fitted it for use."—*MS. Journal.*

† The italics are the writer's.

"claims to it, and causing the desolate city to rise again, in the
"centre of its natural fruits, as an emporium for commerce,
"and a link in the chain of civilizing intercourse between Eu-
"rope and Central Asia?"

The route from Merv to Khiva followed by Arthur Conolly was the same as that taken by Sir Richmond Shakespear. It is known as the Rah-i-Tukht. Captain Abbott had taken another route to the westward of this, known as the Rah-i-Chusmah. For about twenty-eight miles, along the banks of the Murgháb, the country is cultivated and fertile. Wood, water and grass are abundant. But here the cultivation ceases, and for some fifteen miles the road lies over a hard level plain; "no water—little grass—wood scarce." Wood and water then become again more plentiful, but grass continues very scarce, and (what little there is) of a very indifferent kind. The next fifteen miles of the road are along the river, over a sandy soil; wood abundant, grass scarce. Here the traveller, crossing the Murgháb, strikes into the desert, that lies between that river and the Oxus. As this is an important tract of country, in relation to the great question of the passage of an army from the Caspian to the Hindu-Kúsh, we shall do some service, perhaps, by recording the descriptions given of it by Shakespear and Conolly. The former writes—"Across the desert
"the soil is sandy and the surface very uneven, generally
"covered with stunted bushes of tamarisk; but occasionally
"large sand-hills are crossed, composed of the loosest sand.
In the spring, the Turkomans feed large flocks of sheep on
"the grass of the desert. I was fortunate in having a guide,
who brought me in a very surprising manner across the
"monotonous sand-hills to two pools of water, 20½ miles from
the river; and on the borders of these pools a little coarse
"green grass was found for the cattle. From these two reser-
"voirs, we marched over the same uneven sandy ground, covered
with the same ugly bushes, twenty-eight miles; when in the
"middle of the night and without a moon, the Turkomans of
the party asserted that we were on the direct road from
Meshed to Bokhara. I tried hard to discover some traces
"of the road but failed; and, even by daylight, it is hardly
"possible to discern the track. The bones of dead camels
"are the only sure marks. These are occasionally fixed in
"conspicuous places. One or two piles of wood are also
"placed as marks; but for these there is no definite road, as the
"loose sand drifts with every breeze, and obliterates the marks
"of the cattle in a short time. We moved twenty-seven miles
"along the road from Meshed, and then hit upon the Rah-i-

"Tukht, at a well of bad water. I am ashamed to say that I cannot decide whether this water was impregnated with soda or saltpetre; but it was of a most offensive smell and taste.* The Affghans drank it in large quantities, as did the Turkomans—the latter affirming that they preferred it to river water, and asserting that it quenched the thirst and cooled the blood. The horses and cattle drank of it very greedily, and neither man nor beast suffered from it. At thirty-six miles from this well, we came to another of excellent water. A large flock of sheep and a khail was found here. The place is called Bi-khuppa, and is off the direct road, which we left at twenty-one miles from the well of bad water, and joined again at twelve miles from Bi-khuppa. At the Tukht we found another flock of sheep. The servants said that there was but a very scanty supply of water here; but circumstances prevented my visiting the spring. The sand is very loose and deep for many miles before and after reaching the Tukht. At 18½ miles, the soil becomes harder, and the sandy hills take a more regular form; and at twelve miles from the Oxus, there is an old well of great size built of *pucka* brick. This well is nearly filled by the drifting of the sand. Khuppa-killah must have been a fort of considerable size; but at present it is hardly possible to trace the plan of it. Some of the ruins of the bastions are still eighty or a hundred feet high."—*MS. Memorandum.*

We shall return presently to the general remarks of this able and enterprising officer, upon the practicability of the road—remarks which derive an additional value from the fact of their being written by an artillery officer—and, in the meanwhile, transcribe Arthur Conolly's account of this formidable desert. "Our route from Merv to Khiva," he writes, "struck into that taken before us by Shakespear. From the canal beyond the Murgháb, at which we halted to lay in water, we marched seventeen miles north to camp in the desert. In the first ten

* This is, in all probability, the same well as is thus described in Conolly's journal:—The well was but three feet in diameter, and seventy-seven feet deep: the water was blackish, bitter and stinking, and there was so little of it, that we were obliged to send a man down to the bottom to fill the small buckets that were lowered to him. It being evident that we formed too large a party to arrive together at any such watering place, Allah-dad Khan and the Khiva Envoy went ahead, while I halted a day, to put a march between our two divisions. We made our third march of twenty-one miles into the desert, with skins filled with this water. The first third of this stage was over finer soil, the next one over moderately deep loose sand, and the last through fatiguing sand-beds. The fourth march took us twenty-two miles over hills of heavy sand to the well of Sirt Sali, which contained abundance of water at a depth of twenty-one feet. This water was brackish, but had no bad smell. It served us for the fifth march of twenty-one miles, which was all over undulations of sand that lay fetlock deep.

“ miles were visible in all directions, the ruins of former little
 “ castles, about which lay broken bricks and pottery. After
 “ the first two miles; we found thin drift-sand lying here and
 “ there upon the hard clay plain; but there was none to signify,
 “ even to the end of the stage; and it may be inferred that
 “ if, after so many years of abandonment, so little sand has been
 “ collected here, the annual drift in time of full habitation and
 “ tillage would not be felt. Next day we marched eighteen miles
 “ north to the single well of Tereh, the road generally over
 “ sand, which lay half hoof deep upon the hard plain, though
 “ occasionally we had to pass deeper beds, gathered loosely upon
 “ this foundation. Every now and then a patch of the hard
 “ soil appeared quite bare; and we could observe here, and
 “ onwards to the Oxus, that in soil of this description are set
 “ the roots of nearly all the bushes and shrubs, which cover
 “ the surface of the wilderness. * * * * The sixth march of
 “ twenty miles over similar sandy and undulating plain took
 “ us to Tukht—a spot from which this road is named—marked
 “ by a broad belt of bare loose sand-hills, which rise over each
 “ other towards the centre, from the length of twenty to eighty
 “ feet, and serve as reservoirs for the snow and rain-water that
 “ fall upon them. We found holes about three feet deep, dug
 “ at the bases of the most sheltered sand-hills, containing a foot
 “ or more of filtered and deliciously sweet water: and it was only
 “ necessary on draining a hole to scoop a little more sand from
 “ its bottom, and to wait a while for a fresh supply to rise into
 “ it.” The seventh march carried him on fifteen miles with the
 same excellent supply of water. The eighth took him the same
 distance to the “broad dry bed of the Oxus,” in which he
 encamped “amongst reeds and jungle-wood, near the left bank
 “ of the actual river, where the stream was 650 yards broad,
 “ flowing in eddies, with the dirty colour of the Ganges, at the rate
 “ of $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour.” “Noble stream,” adds Captain Conolly;
 “but, alas! without anything in the shape of a boat upon it.”

The entire distance between the canal of the Murgháb and
 the river Oxus is, according to Conolly, 130 miles. “This
 is not,” he says, “the difficult journey, that the Turkomans love
 “to represent it. Small parties of travellers, carrying their
 “baggage on ponies, can easily accomplish it in *five* days—with
 “exertion in *four*; and it might be made both easier and
 “shorter for caravans, for it winds considerably. Small detach-
 “ments of light troops, well supplied with camels, might, on
 “emergency, be pushed across; and I conceive that 12-pounders
 “might be drawn over the sand by camels on sledges, if not
 “upon wheels; but it is not a road, which a regular force

"of any size or description would take in ordinary circumstances."

Shakespear seems to have entertained a still stronger opinion of the difficulties of the passage. Looking at the Merv desert with a soldierly eye, he summed up his opinions, of the impracticability of the route for a large army with guns, in a few pregnant sentences, rather regarding, it would seem, the question of an advance from our side than towards it. "At Merv," he says, "very large quantities of grain might be procured, and, "as in the early spring, grass would be very abundant, it "appears possible that cavalry could move across this desert "without any very serious difficulty, if sent in small detachments. Infantry, in the same manner, might cross; but "to bring artillery would be very difficult indeed. I do not "like to say it would be impossible, as with a considerable outlay of money in purchasing animals to convey water, and "with proper arrangements, this desert *might* be crossed by artillery: but the wells are generally thirty-six miles apart, and "the sand is so heavy, that this distance could not be done "in less than *four* days; and, even then, the cattle would "suffer much, so that between the wells water must be carried "for men and cattle for two days. I would, in case of such a "thing ever being necessary, propose that but a few rounds of "ammunition be carried in the limbers, and none on the wagons; "that both gun and wagon be lightened in every possible "manner; and that the native mode of marching be adopted— *viz.*, if the distance to be crossed is twelve miles, that six "miles should be marched in the early morning and six in the "evening. It is the last part of a march through sand that "kills the cattle. The difficulties may be said to be conquered "when the Oxus is once reached; as from that time, wood, water, "and grass are all to be found, and there is a cart road the "whole distance."

Conolly was of this opinion too; and he points out, moreover, that along the line of the Oxus, there is a large available supply of rude native carriage, well suited to the country, which would be of immense service to an invading force. The passage is worth quoting:—

We made six easy camel marches down the left side of the Oxus. Our road, sometimes lay in its bed, and sometimes on the bank above it, but we always halted, except on the last march but one, so as to get water from the river. * observed its breadth to vary from 650 to 300 yards,—the stream being frequently divided by sand-banks. Many portions of the bed retained traces of former river beds; and the banks were here and there dotted with the ruins of forts. On the fourth march, we found the remains of burnt brick caravanserais, indicating that these buildings were situated on a line of trade. All this road along the

Oxus can be travelled by the carts of the country, rude vehicles put together without iron nails, but which run smoothly on very high wheels, in which are set well greased axle-rings, the best of cast iron *imported from Russia*. The body is of plank, generally about three feet square, set in the circumference of the wheels, and two feet more of length, by running out boards to notches on the shafts. The wheels have as much as $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches breadth of run, which is not tyred. There are eighteen or nineteen spokes in each set, six inches a part, and tapering from a breadth of three to two inches, from under the nine inches deep run to the heavy nave, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference in which they are set. The axle bar itself is not shod, but turns without creaking in the well-greased iron ring mentioned. Add a chimney pair of shafts $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and fourteen inches in circumference, of which half a foot sticks out behind—and you have the *Khiva Araba* which, notwithstanding the smallness of its body, is made to convey two camel loads, or even more at a pinch. The height of the wheels makes it difficult to overturn this narrow vehicle, and a pony generally manages to pull it along at a good pace, harnessed by a collar and a small wooden saddle; if the load is unusually heavy, or the road bad, a second pony is put on Tandem fashion, and a man or boy rides the leader. When we had entered the Oxus, we passed endless files of these carts. There must be an immense number of them altogether in this country. Even in their present state, they would be of immense service to an invading force in want of transport, and their seasoned material would come into much use for carriages of other build.—*MS. Records.*

Shakespear describes these carts as of very clumsy construction, drawn by a single yabu; but Conolly thought, that clumsy as they were, they would be a great improvement upon the common native hackery. "At least," he adds, "the iron axle-ring might be introduced." Both writers state that wood and grass are plentiful. "Shakespear," writes Arthur Conolly, "in one of his letters to Todd, remarked, that if the Russians came here to invade India, they would find plenty of timber, either for land or water-carriage." And then he characteristically adds—"I have only to confirm this statement; but I will add a hope that, ere many years, both we and the Russians shall see the resources of Khârisim called forth for a very different purpose." The road is for the most part good but sandy. Two or three marches from Khiva the most luxurious vegetation commences, and "extends in one unbroken sheet to that city." "According to the best information," adds Shakespear, "this cultivation extends for three hundred miles with an average breadth of twenty-five. I have seldom passed a portion of ground more highly tilled or better wooded. The farm-houses are very numerous, the gardens are extensive and well kept, and the people are evidently wealthy. This ground is densely populated, and the carts of the country meet you at every turn. The climate is delightful."

Conolly gives a very similar account. "One easy stage," he says, "took us hence (from Phitunk) to Heizarash,* an open

* Khizarist, or Hazarasp?

"town surrounded by very industriously cultivated fields, the proprietors of which scatter their houses among them like tents, rather than reside in close villages. Such is the nature of the country all the way on to Khiva, and beyond to the end of the oasis, north and west, chequered by occasional tracts of marshy or sandy grounds.—"Water, in all tracts of the oasis that we have seen up to Khiva, lies only 4 feet below the surface, and the wells are mostly completed by setting up hollow trunks of trees, a foot or two above the earth, through which water is drawn by the hands, by means of a small leather bucket attached to a straight pole."

Conolly found the petty Chiefs in the dominions of the Khan Huzrut of Khiva somewhat grudging of their courtesies and hospitalities. At Merv, the Governor excused himself for his misbehaviour, by alleging that it was not the custom of the country to behave better; and the English officer found, as he advanced, that the man had spoken the truth. As he approached Khiva, matters appeared somewhat to mend, as it became known that the Khan, who was then out on a hunting excursion, was disposed to receive him hospitably. Messengers had been sent forward from the royal camp to invite the ambassadors to the presence, and, under their guidance, Conolly advanced. As he neared the temporary residence of the Khan Huzrut, a new and unforeseen difficulty presented itself. He found that he had little reason to confide in the good faith of his colleagues:—

Our colleague, Yakub Bhai, turned out a mean creature, seeking to conceal the benefits which he had received from the British Government, and speaking slightly of our Affghan policy, after all his fine words at Cabul. We discovered him latterly, telling his acquaintances that Shah Sujah's Government was all a farce, his country rebellious from one end to the other, and the English only just able to hold their ground against Dost Mahomed, who would infallibly have conquered us at Bamian, had he not committed the error of sending his son ahead. This, I presume, was to soften the defeat of so many Usbeks by a handful of disciplined troops, as the notion is not a pleasing one here just now. I lectured our friend, who protested that he had been misconstrued, and promised to be more careful, taking the opportunity to beg that I would reimburse him for a horse lost in the Furrah road, when he was travelling to pay his respects to you (Sir W. Macnaghten), and for sundry articles stolen from him one night on our march through the Maimunah district. I replied, that I must make a reference to Todd about the first item, and that, for the second, we would see about it on my return from Kokand. From the little attention paid to Allah-dad Khan in the royal camp, I was more than once disposed to conclude that Yakub Bhai has repeated at court the exaggerations for which I took him to task upon the road. But I am, on the whole, now inclined to think, that the Khan Huzrut never had a clear idea of, or much respect for, the situation of Shah Sujah. Herat is in his eyes the most important Affghan sovereignty, and will remain so, unless the king of Cabul takes up such a position north of the Hindu Kush, so as to make it easy for him to reach Khiva by the line of the Oxus. *This is a desideratum for us and for our Chief*

Dûrani Ally, both on political and commercial grounds, which acquires greater claims on our attention, the more we look into the state of Turkistan at large.—M.S. Record.

The embassy was graciously received in the king's "comfortable stick and felt tent." The Mehtur Agha was present; and a Mirza, who acted as Persian and Turkish interpreter, was in attendance. The Khan Huzrut is described as "a dignified and gentleman-like person, about fifty years old,"* of gentle manners and affable address. He conveyed his meaning to his interpreter in a soft low voice, and then looked up to the person addressed with a smile, which was said to be "habitual to his countenance." Sometimes he condescended to be jocose; and, in spite of the inquisitorial character of the Khan's language, the English officer soon felt himself at ease in his presence. The conversation which took place on this and other occasions is minutely recorded in the journals, from which we have largely quoted, and is, at the same time, to our thinking, so interesting and so important, as an exposition of our policy towards Khiva and the neighbouring states, of their relations towards each other, and their position in respect to the probabilities of a Russian invasion, that we need make no apology for indenting largely upon the manuscript before us. After the first courtesies had been interchanged, the Khan inquired, what were the latest accounts from Abbott and Shakespear; and then, somewhat abruptly, told the interpreter to ask which was the greater nation, the English or the Russian; and to explain that it was the intention of the Khan to compare his answer with those given by Abbott and Shakespear. Conolly answered that both nations were of the highest class: that the English was the older and the richer; but that Russia was very great, and every day becoming greater. The Khan Huzrut then asked, what was the nature of the relation existing between England and Russia: to which Conolly replied, that they were quite amicable, as they had long been—it being obviously the interest of both states, if only on commercial considerations, to live in friendship towards each other. The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—What is your latest intelligence of the Russians, with respect to this quarter?

Conolly.—My last was, before they had heard of the restitution of the captives. They were not then minded to renew their attack this year; probably, because of the difficulty in procuring enough of camels: but it was understood, they had not abandoned their expedition, and that they were making every preparation to ensure success.

Khan.—What are the last accounts from Persia?

Conolly.—We have not now an ambassador at the Persian court. I only

* This was written just ten years ago.

know, that the Persians hold Ghorian, and that they have not yet satisfied my Government on the points at issue between the two states.

Khan.—Will your ambassador return to Teheran?

Conolly.—We hope that matters will ere long be adjusted, so as to allow of his return; for we have no ill will against the Persians, and the present state of things is prejudicial to them, as well as to us.

Khan.—Shakespear engaged to be back from Petersburg in forty days, unless detained till spring—when do you think he will come?

Conolly.—He will act as near to his word as possible; but perhaps he will not be able to return at all by that way. The Russian Emperor may decline to receive him as an ambassador from your Majesty: and it may be judged best for him to follow Mr. Abbott to London. I mention those, as possible events, that Mr. Shakespear may not, under any circumstances, seem to come short of his promise.

Khan. The Russians received Shakespear at Dansh Kullah and Orenburgh, and gave back my merchants: why should they refuse to accept him at St. Petersburg?

Conolly.—It is not certain that they recognized him in a political character at Orenburgh. Your Majesty's ambassador was present. His interference took them by surprise. They could not reject the captives that he brought them, and they felt bound in accepting the prisoners to restore your Majesty's detained subjects. But now they may stand upon their dignity; and, although we may offer our mediation in a friendly way, for the sake of our own interests, which are involved in your quarrel, we cannot force it upon the Russians, if their cause is just: and now, especially, that they have failed in their attempt to reach Khiva, they may think that they owe it to themselves, to shew the world, they are sufficient for the redress of their own wrongs. Our interference may thus be frustrated, or delayed, or thrown into another channel. However, now that the way of parley has been opened by the re-titulation of the captives, whom Mr. Shakespear conducted to Orenburgh, it will shortly be seen what tone the Russians will take.

Khan.—With what justice (attending to my expression) can the Russians pursue the quarrel, now that their people have been restored?

Conolly.—The detention of those captives was only one of several charges made by the Russian Emperor against the state of Khiva, in the proclamation which he published in Europe. May I be permitted to ask what are the last distinct demands that have been made upon your Majesty by the Russians?

Khan.—God knows what they want!

The Khan Huzrut said this rather pettishly, and the Mehtur Agha sneered obsequiously, while the interpreter was repeating it.

Conolly.—Mr. Shakespear forwarded a copy of the letter from General Perofsky to Orenburgh, alluding both to the Russian captives in your Majesty's dominions, and to certain forts, which the Russian Government required your Majesty to destroy. Is that the last communication received?

Khan.—The last.

Conolly.—I take the liberty of putting these questions, because the Governor-General of India wishes to know the exact particulars of the case between Kharasm and Russia, that he may be prepared to advise your Majesty in every contingency, and know what to say to the Russian Government concerning this matter, if opportunity should present itself for further English mediation. His Lordship was very glad to find by your Majesty's mission to Cabul, that the policy of the British Government was appreciated; and he hopes now that the affairs of Afghanistan give promise of order, to establish a permanently friendly intercourse between the three countries. The letters which I have the honour to bear, will completely explain the Governor General's sentiments with regard to Kharasm: and my colleague, who brings a friendly epistle from his Majesty, Shah Sujah, will be able to satisfy your Majesty upon every point which concerns the relations of England with his own country, as well as regarding those which the king of Cabul desires to maintain with the states of Turkistan.

Conolly then presented his despatches and withdrew from the royal presence. In the evening, he forwarded his presents to the King. The next day was devoted to hunting and hawking; but, on the following, the British officer was summoned to a private interview with the Khan Huzrut. The Khan desired him to be seated; but Conolly excused himself, on the plea that he had stood before Shah Sujah; and the answer seemed rather to please the despotic Chief. The business of the interview then commenced. Conolly asked the Khan what he intended to do regarding the demands of the Russian Government upon him. The Khan asked what those demands were, and called for an intelligible explanation. Conolly met this question with another, asking the Khan what he expected would be the next demand of Russia, now that the prisoners had been released. "How can I tell," exclaimed the Khan, "what demand they will put forward? God knows! They may ask a hundred things; but they have no cause of complaint now, as I have told them." The dialogue then continued—

Conolly.—Concerning the settlement of your frontiers, and security to Russia against future inroads.

Khan.—Shakespear will see my border; and I told him to say that, if any of my tribes committed *chapaos*, they should be given up to the Russians, on condition that the Russians would agree to give up to me any of their tribes who might foray mine.

Conolly.—General Peroffsky in his last letter refuses your Majesty's demands that he should destroy Dansh Kullah; but insists on the destruction of certain forts, maintained by your Majesty's subjects, which are the resorts of robbers. From Yakub Bhai I learnt that this probably refers to a place called Ak Machich.

Khan.—Ak Musjid (white mosque) is within the Kokand border. Our fort in that direction is Jynkund; but that is a place inhabited by peaceable peasants—not a robber-post, as represented.

Conolly.—The Russians, however—pardon the observation—supposing that to be the quarter referred to, are not likely to withdraw an assertion deliberately made to the world, because your Majesty's servants deny its correctness. This is a matter in which you may need the testimony, perhaps, the guarantee of a third party. Could not the state of Kokand assist your Majesty here? It is, equally with Khiva, interested in preserving the present Usbeg borders to the northward.

Khan.—We are not now on the good terms we used to be with Kokand. Only within the last year, they have themselves invaded my territory, built a fort in it, and aggressed my subjects; and I contemplate sending 15,000 or 20,000 Allamans to *chapao* their country, in return. What do you say to this?

Conolly.—Since your Majesty permits me to offer my opinion, I must say that such a course appears to me the very reverse of wise; and I regret exceedingly the information now given to me, as it throws back my hope of seeing the independence of Turkistan established by the concert of its different rulers. Syud Muhammad Zahid, the Kokand Envoy, whom I met at Constantinople, assured me, that Kokand and Kharasm were one, and that their united influence could oblige the Amir of Bokhara to come into any arrangement that was essential to the safety of all. Therefore, I considered my hope two-thirds accomplished. Now I find your Majesty on indifferent terms with Kokand, as well as Bokhara and know not what end to expect—war within, and enemies without!

Khan.—But would you have me sit quiet under an injury of that sort? The Kokandis would suppose that I was afraid of them; and this is the time of year for an attack. Though I sent an Envoy to Kokand, in company with the Kuzzak Khanjeh, when he passed through this, to remonstrate, and see about an agreement—only within the last month they have made an incursion upon my grounds. How can I bear this? Have you not yourselves sent to *chapao* China, because that people injured some of yours. Shakespear mentioned this. Why should you advise me contrary to what you do yourselves?

Conolly.—I would have your Majesty compare the urgencies of the dangers which exist, and at any rate make provision against the greatest. The Russians, who declare that nothing but an extraordinarily cold winter prevented their taking Khiva last year, and who will certainly exert all their great strength to effect this object in a second attempt, unless you satisfy all the demands, that they show to be warranted by the laws of nations, have given your Majesty a brief interval of leisure, in which to make complete agreements with them, for the conservation of your dignity; and you propose to consume this time in a border war with a state of your own race, which you ought to conciliate, as the one that can best help you out of your most pressing difficulties. Your Majesty thinks that your honour now calls upon you to attack the Kokandis. They will think their honour demands reprisals: and so you will go on weakening each other and widening the breach, till, the time for accommodation having passed out of hand, your foreign enemy will find it easy to do what will lastingly injure you both.

Khan.—Please God, if the enemy advances again, we will all unite to oppose him.

Conolly.—Permit me to represent that no one will then unite with your Majesty. The nearer the appearance of the danger, the more will each other state, seek to make its own escape from it. How many sent help to Herat, when the Persians invaded it, though their success there would have shackled all Turkistan? Bokhara gave you none, though entreated, when the Persians were at your doors; and Kokand chooses the very time of your distress to enlarge her border at your expense. There is only one other hope of the Usbeg States holding together and remaining free from foreign control—which lies in their coming to a timely understanding about their individual rights and common interests, and making amicable and complete engagements with each other to secure them. Other parties may second such a measure: but the Usbegs themselves must originate it—and that soon.

The Mehtur here broke in, very sagely observing, that what God had decreed, would assuredly come to pass: and that if Kokand should assume a hostile attitude towards Khiva, the Khan Huzrut would put his trust in the Almighty, and make a stand for his own defence. To this Conolly replied, that faith in God was assuredly a great thing, nothing greater; but that human caution was something too in an emergency; else the Khan Huzrut would not have restored the Russian captives. The Khan, laughing at this retort, exclaimed, “We must have one good blow at the Kokandis, to shew that we are not afraid, and then we will make it up with them. I shall write to say that Mr. Conolly advises this, and send the ‘Allamans’ about the time that you proceed. What say you? Or shall I defer the expedition till you are across the border?”—After some further conversation, the Khan asked bluntly, what Conolly was going to Kokand for?—Probably many others, before and after, have asked themselves and others, a similar question—what was the

object of Conolly's journey to Kokand ? Conolly told the Khan Huzrut that his mission to Kokand had several objects ; firstly, to reply to a friendly overture, made a year and a half before on the part of the Kokand State, to the Governor-General of India ; and to establish by his own explanations, and those of his Affghan associates, as complete an understanding as possible regarding British proceedings and designs in Affghanistan, which had been much misrepresented, with reference both to that country and the countries beyond, so as to obtain for his own Government, and for that of Shah Sujah, the esteem and friendship which are their due ; then to ascertain how the commerce of England and Hindustan, about which we were very solicitous, could best be extended, through the country of our Affghan allies, to the remotest parts of Turkistan ; —further to gain a clearer insight into the political state and disposition of Kokand, as either was likely to affect British interests in the event of endeavours being made by foreign parties to subvert the independence of Turkistan, as was to be apprehended from more than one quarter ; and to urge upon that court the expediency of its helping to prevent such an occurrence, by concurring with its neighbours in measures of general justice and peace. In conclusion, Conolly, whilst admitting, that the British Government had immense interests at stake, and that the disorder and weakness of the Usbeg States were prejudicial to our position in Central Asia, declared that all our objects were honest and friendly, and that it was his desire to counsel nothing that would not be advantageous to others, as well as to ourselves.

The Khan Huzrut listened attentively to these explanations, and then asked Conolly, when he intended to proceed to Kokand. The British officer replied, that, perhaps, the sooner he went the better, as he was anxious to avoid the extreme severity of the weather, and was moreover desirous of a speedy return, as he might be able to advance the interests of His Majesty in another direction. "In what direction?" asked the Khan. "In that of Persia," was the answer. "Persia," exclaimed the Khan Huzrut with much energy, "please God, we are ready for them—ready at all times." Upon this Conolly urged that Persia was no such contemptible enemy ; that European skill had organised her armies ; and that in all probability her movements would not be in her own name. It was only the other day, he said, that Muhammad Shah received a very large supply of arms and a body of European officers to re-organize his troops, from the French Government, which desired to re-establish its influence with the Shah's court by doing him service. "If the Russians," he added, "remain at

"war with your Majesty, they will probably endeavour also to set the Persians upon you. It would be politic in them to do so, because the Persians, now, must be more or less subservient to them; and if the Persians are, by any European assistance of money or military means, enabled to make a good entry into Kharasm, it will be very difficult to get them out again." The dialogue then continued:—

Khan.—If the Persians obtain European aid to invade me, I will employ your aid to repel them.

Conolly.—The British Government will, doubtless, do its utmost in every case to prevent the borders of Kharasm from being broken up; but it cannot take part against any of your Majesty's enemies, who may come with a just ground for invasion.

Khan.—What just ground can the Persians assert?

Conolly.—One, which no third nation can disallow;—that your Majesty's subjects carry off their men, women and children, and sell them, like four-footed beasts.

Khan.—These *chapaos* are carried on by themselves; and probably, for one Persian that we take, they capture and sell five Sunnis.

Conolly.—I, till now, understood that the captures were almost entirely on the side of your Majesty's subjects. One thing is certain; that there are countless numbers of Persian slaves in Kharasm; and if their countrymen come as invaders, they, and probably every other slave in your Majesty's dominions, would rise and form a second army against you—a force acquainted with every resource and weakness of the country, who would help invaders to keep whatever they might conquer. But this not being the most immediate danger, the discussion may lie over a while; though your Majesty's servants will do well to consider it attentively.

Khan.—(After a pause)—Had you not better defer your journey to Kokand, till matters are more settled between me and that State?

Conolly.—Time is now of great value.

He then went on to say, that he apprehended no danger in any part of Kharasm; and that, as according to the Khan Huzrut, Kokand was bent on disturbing the peace of the Khivan territory, it would be well to proceed to the former place without delay, to ascertain the cause of this hostility. "It is not impossible," he suggested, "that Russia, on going to war with your Majesty, may have incited the Chief of Kokand to take advantage of your situation, just as I supposed it possible that she might set Persia upon you. This is the way of all nations when they go to war, and therefore not to be wondered at." "But it would be miserable policy," he urged, "either on the part of Kokand, or the part of Khiva, to pave the way, by their misunderstandings, for the advance of a foreign power." Illustrating his arguments, by pointing out on a map, the position of England, Russia and Hindustan, and the Central Asian countries intermediately situated, he insisted upon the expediency of preserving general peace in Turkistan, and explained, at the same time, how important it was for Great Britain to keep down the ascendancy of Russia in Central Asia. The Khan

Huzrut examined the map, and, putting it aside, turned to the Mehtur to consult with him about the selection of a proper person to accompany Conolly to Kokand; and soon afterwards the meeting terminated. The Khan spent the day in hunting, and Conolly in meditation.

Thinking over what had passed, at the morning's interview, it occurred to the latter, that he might not have been sufficiently explicit, and that there were other points on which he might have touched with advantage; and he, therefore, requested another interview. It was promptly accorded to him. When the Khan Huzrut had despatched his dinner, the British officer was again summoned to the royal presence.

After some conversation relative to the arrangements for Conolly's journey to Kokand, they reverted to what had passed at the morning's conference. Conolly then said, that he had been re-perusing the written instructions he had received from his Government; and that there were some points regarding which he was directed to obtain explicit information. In the first place, he would ask, whether all the Russian captives had been restored. The Russian proclamation, he said, mentioned several thousands of prisoners, especially instancing a party of two hundred, who had been carried off from the banks of the Caspian in the course of the preceding spring, whereas Shakespear had not collected more than 316.* Upon this, the Khan Huzrut blurted out, that the proclamation lied; and the Mehtur added, that at Dansh Kulla, the Russian officers had examined the captives brought thither by Shakespear, and had ascertained, to their entire satisfaction, that only four persons were overlooked; and these were despatched afterwards—a statement which the Khan Huzrut confirmed, declaring, that every Russian, who *chose* to go had been sent back to his own country.†

Conolly next asked the Khan Huzrut whether, in the event of a demand being made by Russia for compensation for the expenses of the late expedition to Khiva, His Majesty was prepared to meet it. The Khan replied, with uncommon emphasis,

* The number is here under-estimated. We believe it was 420.

† And there was, probably, little untruth in this. Captain Conolly says:—"I find this to be the general impression here; as, also, that the settled Russians, who preferred to remain in the country, were very few. The panic was great, and the Khan has long been despotic. Shakespear, seeing his opportunity, was so uncompromising, that he insisted on having a Russian man and woman out of the Khan Huzrut's own household. From every slave he obtained, he made diligent enquiries about the residence of those, who were kept back, and indefatigably exerted himself, till he got possession of every individual who could be pointed out. There may be some Russians remaining against their will in the distant parts of the country, which Shakespear could not beat up; but the Khan Huzrut would seem to have sincerely done his best in the matter, and, therefore, to deserve all forbearance at His Imperial Majesty's hands,"—*MS. Journal*.

that nothing would induce him to pay a farthing. "Did I desire them," he naively asked, "to go to the expense of invading me, that they should call upon me to pay it?" The simple logic of this would seem to be irresistible; but in practice it goes for naught. We are afraid that there have been cases in which such a question might have been put to us.

It was urged, however, by Conolly, that the Russians would find a pretext for the demand in the acts of violence alleged to have been committed by Khiva on Russian subjects, in spite of repeated remonstrances,—acts, which had compelled the Russians to take up arms in self-defence. "But, what makes you put the question?" asked the Khan Huzrut; "have the Russians said anything to your Government on this point?" "Nothing that I am aware of," replied Conolly; "but, knowing that they made both Persia and Turkey pay on this score, I deem it not impossible that they may make the demand on Kharasm also; and I would have your Majesty anticipate every contingency." But the Khan Huzrut was firm upon this point. "I will not pay one black coin," he said, "but rather call Allah to my defence, and resist them to the utmost." In vain Conolly went over the old ground, repeating what he had before said about the expediency of fortifying himself against distant enemies by cementing an alliance with his near neighbours, and the necessity of making ample compensation for injuries inflicted upon the people of other States. In vain he read aloud the Russian proclamation, translating it into Persian as he proceeded—the interpreter turning it, sentence by sentence, into the Turkish, for the edification of the Khan Huzrut, who sometimes interrupted the translator, by declaring, that the proclamation contained a parcel of lies. The Khan either would not, or could not, understand the real dangers which beset him, or the advantages to be derived from the course which Conolly recommended him to pursue. It appeared to the British officer, that he was only sensible to danger immediately at his doors; and that, the crisis passed, he always relapsed again into his old state of careless confidence and apathy, pursuing any petty object of the moment, and closing his eyes against important political contingencies, that loomed large before him in the distance.

Failing to arouse the Khan to a true sense of his position, Conolly took his leave of the Khan Huzrut, and shortly after, leaving his camp, repaired to Khiva. Before leaving that place, he recorded his opinions of the probable effects of the Khan's obduracy upon the character of Russian policy.

"Whichever way," he said, "the Russians treat a disposition of this sort, they are likely to obtain their ends. If they judge it expedient to retrieve the

military reputation which they lost last year, by insisting again upon the rest of their legitimate demands at the cannon's mouth, the Khan Huzrut will fall at their feet; and they may make all the conditions to which we do not object. If, on the contrary, the Russians, through our remonstrances, or their own weakness, refrain from open attack upon the northern borders of this country for a few years, and use the interval in marking their game among those intermediate tribes, whose political superiority they have been gradually assuming, the Khivans, returning to their robberies and commercial vexations, will be sure to give the Emperor ample excuse for depriving them of the ability to continue their outrages—which, I presume, will be done by pushing on the Russian "lines" among the tribes as yet in advance of the same, but which have admitted the sovereignty of the Czar, so as to assume a military front, which will establish his Imperial Majesty's control over the best part of Turkistan." This was Russia's proper direct game, from which she was hurried by our unexpected move across the Indus, thinking it necessary to keep pace with us by striking a blow of corresponding moral influence upon the mind of Central Asia. But she did not lose sight of the tribes, which she had been quietly driving. She mentioned them in her proclamation, that we might not dispute her right to build upon them, when her opportunity should arrive: and, methinks, that her Britannic Majesty's ministers, taking a hint from the Khan Huzrut, should plainly ask Count Nesselrode, what we are to understand by the "Frontiers of the Empire," to which it is promised that the invading force shall return, after establishing an order of things, conformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic States?

We have every reason to expect that Russia will push Persia into Kharasm as soon as possible; and Muhammad Shah has all the disposition to come, with an undoubted right. Persians here, who have been for some time in the country, assert most confidently, that if their king were to advance to Merv, with anything like the military means he brought against Herat, he might dictate his own terms to Turkistan. They mention Turkoman clans that would join him, including 2,000 Gokluir families, who were forcibly brought away from their favourite pastures near Astrabad, five years ago; and twice as many Zimüt families, who, though taken from the Persian frontier twenty years ago, remain discontented. * * * * * The many slaves, possessed by these Tikhat tribes, would be ready to show him all the supplies of their part of the country, as well as the way on; and by taking Merv, he would break up the nest and refuge of the "Allamans," who now are best able to harass them.

This view is, doubtless, coloured by the inclination of those who give it; but it contains much truth. I would say, from what I have seen, that if Muhammad Shah could be furnished with *money* enough to support a small, well-disciplined army, having a select equipment of light artillery (I write from recollection of what I saw in Abbas Mirza's time), he might calculate upon great military success in Turkistan. As an enemy for a pitched battle, the Usbegs are quite despicable. A proportion of them are well mounted; but they are all wretchedly armed; and not even their Ghazis would stand for a second round of grape. Every step that Muhammad Shah could make in Turkistan, beyond Merv, would raise him hundreds of slaves, longing for deliverance from very harsh bondage (it is really severe): and their services would probably bear out my suggestion to the Khan Huzrut on this subject. Finally, let me observe, that the Persians would have a right to push any successes that they might obtain up to the Jaxartes, in order to exact redress for the most cruel injuries that one people can inflict upon another.

We need, then, to make Kokand, and, if possible, Bokhara, alive to the danger, which Khiva is likely to bring upon all Usbeg Tartary, and to urge them, not only to use their combined influence against the Khan Huzrut, so as to make him enter into just engagements with his neighbours, but to cleanse themselves also from their participation in the wrongs which are committed, in the first instance, by the marauding subjects of Kharasm. Our language, throughout these Usbeg States, must, I am only the more convinced, be as high

and unchanging as our conduct. If by our straightforward representation we can bring about the independent peace of Turkistan—best of all; and, if not, we must just draw off—and watch the Russians and Persians redressing themselves. We shall, at least, have gained more accurate knowledge of the Usbeg States, and have put before their Governments the plain way of justice, by which they may save themselves, even after the gauntlet has been thrown down against them. Having seen such a good instance of our mediation, they will cry lustily enough for it, when they feel themselves getting worsted: and, in anticipation of this early day, we should come to the most friendly and complete understanding possible, both with Russia and Persia; if practicable, by any fair means, make Afghanistan one kingdom, and establish its northern border to the front of the military and commercial road running through the fertile hill country which lies beyond the Hindu-Kush mountains, from Herat to some point which will give the Durani monarch easy access to the river Oxus.

Such were the views—as he often said jestingly himself the “enlarged views”—of Arthur Conolly. Men of a colder and more sober temperament called them visionary; and perhaps they were. We believe that the proceedings in the Khan Huzrut’s camp, which we have described above, did not meet with full approbation at Calcutta. It was alleged against them, that Conolly was too eager to take the initiative. He complained, as we have seen, that the Khan Huzrut closed his eyes against the dangers and difficulties before him—dangers and difficulties, which Conolly took great pains to map out before him. It was urged that this was a mistake; and that it would have been better policy for the representative of the British Government to appear at the Khan Huzrut’s court, rather as the disentangler of old, than the suggester of new, difficulties. And, inasmuch as much of our influence at the Khivan court was derived from the Khan Huzrut’s confidence in our ability to extricate him from the difficulties that surrounded him, the objection appears to be sound. But it would be difficult to think otherwise, than that the objects and general conduct of the Mission were highly creditable to the British character; and that, if there were any want of diplomatic craft to be alleged against it, there was assuredly nothing to be objected on the score of benevolence of design, or honesty of execution. The missions to Khiva of Abbott, Shakespear and Conolly, are episodes in the great epic of our Central Asian policy, which, if it were not for the sad sequel of the adventures of the last, we should contemplate with unmixed satisfaction. Our readers, we are confident, will agree with us in opinion, that while the publication of the extracts from Arthur Conolly’s journals, which form the bulk of this article, has interested and informed them, it reflects nothing but honour upon the name of the writer, and the country to which he belonged.

CHAITANYA AND THE VAISHNAVAS OF BENGAL.

BY REV. LAL BEHARI DEY.

1. *Chaitanya-Charitámrita*. By Krishna Dás. Calcutta. B.E. 1251.
2. *Chaitanya-Mangal*. By Lochan Dás. Calcutta. B.E. 1250.
3. *Sketch of the religious Sects of the Hindus*. By H. H. Wilson, LL.D., F.R.S. From the "Asiatic Researches," Vols. XVI., XVII. Calcutta. 1846.

THE disclosures of Revelation apart, there is no country in the East—no country in the world, more interesting in a religious point of view than India. A consistent Hindu is the most religious being in existence. He gets up from his bed religiously, anoints his body religiously, washes religiously, dresses religiously, sits religiously, stands religiously, drinks religiously, eats religiously, sleeps religiously, learns religiously, remains ignorant religiously, and becomes irreligious religiously. Not an action he performs, not a step he takes, not a word he utters, not a breath he draws, but he does all agreeably to the institutes of his religion. In no other country has there been an exhibition of so many modifications of the religious feeling. Transcendental Theism in all its loftiness, absolute Pantheism with all its horrors, murky mysticism with its multitudinous brood of morbid feelings, and idolatry of the most grovelling species, have all had their high and palmy days in India. Amid the manifold modes of religious feeling which obtain in the world, it would be difficult to point to one that has not had its counterpart in this country.

It is not our object in this article (neither is it possible) to trace all the phases of religious ideas amongst the Hindus from the remotest antiquity to the present day. But, notwithstanding the infinitely diversified modifications of the Hindu faith, the religious history of India may be resolved into three great eras. These are the era of Buddhism ; the era of Vaidic Pantheism ; and the era of Puránic Polytheism. The researches of the French *savans*, of Wilson and Colonel Sykes tend, perhaps, to establish the prevalence of Buddhism, anterior to the universal sway of Brahmánism. And the idealistic Monotheism and absolute Pantheism of the Vedanta gave way in their turn to the idolatry and polytheism of the Puránas.

The Hindus, as they exist in our days, have been divided, in a religious point of view, into three great sects, the *Saktas* the *Sáivas*, and the *Vaishnavas*. Whether this classification is sufficiently comprehensive, we shall not stop here to inquire ;

suffice it to say, that it comprehends, if not the whole, at least the great majority, of the Hindus. Of the first two classes, we shall not make any further remark at present, than that they profess themselves to be the worshippers of *Sakti*—the *εὐεργετία*, so to speak, of the Hindu Tritwa, and of Siva, the third person of the Hindu Triad.

A Vaishnava may be defined as a worshipper of Vishnu. This divinity, as the preserver and upholder of the three worlds, the patron of the heavenly powers, and the saviour of men, is the object of the Vaishnava's devout contemplations. The celebration of his mighty exploits constitutes by far the greater portion of the later theology of the Hindus. Though no hater of the rest of the gods, the devout Vaishnava believes that his *Ishta-Debtā*—his guardian divinity, the deity of his choice—is the supreme god, the fount of existence, and the abode of all excellencies. It was by his energy and at his bidding that Brahma created the universe. All things live, move, and have their being in him ; and into the unfathomable abyss of his personality shall they eventually flow, as the final cause of all creation. It was he, who in olden times assumed the forms of the wondrous fish, the divine boar, the terrible man-lion, and the immoveable tortoise. It was he, who, taking the form of the heroic Rámá, crossed the ocean, and hurled destruction on the ten-headed king of the golden Lanka. It was he, who, assuming the shape of the wanton and merry-hearted Krishna, gambolled in the groves of Brindában, and won the hearts of the simple milk-maids. And, at the consummation of the present Kalpa, he is destined to come once more in the shape of the formidable Kálki. His club and *chakra*—the dreaded Sudarsan—are the terror of the gods. But, on the other hand, the bright-haired and lotus-eyed Vaikantha is the destroyer of sorrow, the husband of prosperity, and the patron of the muses. Such is the *Ishta-Debtā* of the Vaishnavas in general.

All Vaishnavas, however, do not hold the same doctrines, or observe the same customs. They may be divided into four principal *Sampradáyis* or communities—the Sri Sampradáyí, the Madhwá Sampradáyí, the Rudra Sampradáyí, and the Sanaka Sampradáyí. These have been sub-divided into several sections. Wilson mentions the names of twenty, and we could enumerate more. Most of these sectaries are not found in Lower Bengal. We shall not, however, attempt to indicate the peculiar shades of difference that distinguish these sects from one another. We shall confine our attention in this article to only one section of

the Vaishnavas, namely, the followers of Chaitanya, or the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

The founder of the modern Vaishnavas of Bengal is *Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. There have been fanatics in all ages of the world. Ecclesiastical history furnishes many examples of enthusiasts, who gave themselves out to be the lights of the world, and the guides of men's consciences. Men have been found in the middle of the nineteenth century, who proclaimed themselves to be the saviour of the world, and who, in confirmation of their impious ravings, showed to the gaping and credulous multitude the stigmata, the crucifixion marks of the dying Redeemer in their own persons. After this we need not point to the enthusiasts and fanatics of heathenism. But though the palming of an imposition on the world be not a rare phenomenon, yet it is difficult to maintain it for a long time. To form a new community, to give it laws, and to exert a mighty influence on millions, are not events of every-day occurrence. Whatever may be the estimate we form of the moral character and honesty of the false prophet of Mecca, there can be but one opinion of his talents. To have prevailed upon the idolatrous Arabs to discard their *Kaaba*, to have published a system of religion different from all existing systems, to have converted to his opinions, by whatever means, a whole people, and to have become the founder of a sect, which now comprehends a third of the world's population—all this was the creation of no ordinary intellect. Though we hate his imposition, yet we cannot help admiring the intrepidity of his genius and the energy of his character. The founder of the Jesuits was also no ordinary man. To have trained up the hardy militia of the Apocalyptic Babylon, and to have given them an organization durable as brass, were not the achievements of ordinary abilities.

Chaitanya is the founder of a religious sect, which is said to be eight millions strong. There is scarcely a village in Bengal, in which is not to be found a follower of the Nadiyá mendicant. Of all the Hindu sects, it is at present the most energetic. It has its apostles, its evangelists, its teachers. It sends forth its preachers to win proselytes from the other Hindu sectaries. It seems to be increasing in wealth and influence. Various circumstances may be mentioned, which have contributed to the wide diffusion of the religious dogmas of Chaitanya ;—their simplicity, their virtual agreement with existing religious ideas, the boundless credulity of the people, and the zeal of the first Vaishnavas. But, notwithstanding all these concurring circumstances, it must be confessed that Chaitanya had no small

degree of mental intrepidity. It would be preposterous to place him in the same rank with Muhammad or Loyola ; but he may be advantageously compared to Apollonius of Tyana or Alexander of Abonoteichos.

We purpose to give a short account of the life of Chaitanya, as recorded in the two Bengali treatises, the names of which we have placed at the head of this article. But before we begin the narrative, we may say a word or two on the treatises themselves. The *Chaitanya-Mangal* of Lochan Dás, though a respectable authority among the Vaishnavas, is a mere compilation from works of larger size. It does not profess to be a regular biography of Chaitanya ; it is but a compend of the leading incidents of his life. The *Chaitanya-Charitámrita*, composed by Krishna Dás, is "the book" of the Bengal Vaishnavas. It is the Vaishnava's gospel. He bows down to it with the greatest reverence, and values it as the most precious treasure. Every intelligent follower of Chaitanya has got a copy of it. He reads it by day and by night, and frequently bedews it with the streams of tenderness that gush from his pious eyes. It professes to be an abridgment of a larger work in Sanskrita by Brindaban Dás ; it contains, notwithstanding, upwards of seven hundred octavo pages of close type. It is divided into three sections—the *Adi Lílá*, the *Madhya Lílá*, and the *Anta Lílá*. The first section gives an account of the infancy and youth of the incarnate god ; the second, of his assuming the monastic life and his various peregrinations ; and the third, of the discourses he uttered, of the doings of some of his principal followers, of his intense meditations, and his ecstatic visions. It is written in Bengali, but profusely interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, chiefly from the *Sri Bhágavat* and the *Bhágavat Gita*. The style is quite *unique*. Difficult Sanskrit stanzas alternate with the most vulgar gibberish spoken by fisherwomen. There is also a good sprinkling of the Hindustani and the Uriya. Its literary qualities are certainly not of the highest order. It is written in wretched taste. Tedious descriptions of the most trifling things fill whole pages. The recital of the various dishes in feasts, in honour of Chaitanya, sometimes takes up two mortal pages. It is written in poetry, that is, in jingling rhyme ; for there is no real poetry—not a spark of it—from beginning to end.

In the town of *Srihatta* (Sylhet) in Bengal, there lived a Brahman of the name of *Upendra Misra*. He had seven sons, of whom *Jagannáth* was the eldest. Learned as *Jagannáth* was in the wisdom of the Brahmans, and impressed with a high idea of the merit consequent on daily ablutions in the sacred Ganga, he removed from *Srihatta*, and took up his abode

in the village of Naba-Dwipa (Nadiyá). This small village lies on the banks of the Bhágirathi, seventy miles distant from the metropolis of British India. Owing to the assiduity with which Sanskrit literature is cultivated in this place it may not improperly be termed the Athens of Lower Bengal. Its school of logic is well known. Some time ago it was graced with many *tals* or colleges, whither the ingenuous youth, of the Bengali Brahmans resorted for instruction. In this village Jagannáth was happy in the company of his wife, *Sachi*, who had given birth to a son named *Viswarupa*. The prospect of another child gladdened the hearts of the happy pair; but the cup of human felicity is seldom without an infusion of bitterness. Distressing anxieties filled the mind of Jagannáth. Ten tedious months had rolled away, and Sachi was still expectant. Various circumstances had occurred to convince the parents that the child, whose birth was delayed, was to be no ordinary being. Adwaitánanda—a reputed sage of a neighbouring village—had paid divine homage to the unborn deity. An astrologer, skilled in the occult profundities of his science, had predicted that the child in the womb of Sachi was none other than the creator of the universe. Sachi herself had seen unspeakable sights in the heavens; while Jagannáth had dreamt that his house was encompassed with a surpassing halo. The people of Nadiyá, who had heard these marvellous reports, waited with anxiety for the birth of the wondrous child. At last the happy and long-wished-for day arrived. Chaitanya, who was full thirteen months in the womb, was ushered into the world in the month of Phalgun, in the year 1485 of the Christian era.* The advent of such an illustrious personage could not take place without the accompaniment of a marvellous occurrence. The moon suffered an eclipse. “The spotless moon of truth, which was to illumine the three worlds, having arisen in Nadiyá, the spotted moon of the heavens was devoured by Rahu.” Such is the reflection of the devout Krishna Dás—the author of the *Charitámrita*. The joy of the people was great. They flocked to have a sight of the infant divinity. There was one, especially, whose joy knew no bounds; it was Adwaitánanda. He danced, wept, and laughed round the village to the infinite amusement of the spectators. But Nadiyá was not the only scene of festivity; the heavens were filled

* It is worth noting that the founder of the Bengal Vaishnavas was born two years after the birth of Luther—the great reformer of Christendom. It is interesting to observe, in different parts of the world, the contemporaneous march of truth and falsehood. To us, who are believers in the agency of invisible spirits, the coincidence seems far from accidental.

with gladness, and the Debtás shouted for joy. The countless deities of Vaikantha, and all the bright-robed dwellers of that happy paradise, the biographer gravely tells us, assuming the forms of men visited the new-born babe and gave gifts to him. The first thing that attracted the attention of the joyous parents, was the impression on the child of the thirty-two marks of the person of Náráyan. They believed with joy that their child was the second person of the Hindu Triad—the deliverer and preserver of gods and men.

Chaitanya, in his childhood, was by no means a model of gentleness and modesty. The wild and boisterous pranks of his early days stand in ill keeping with the quiet and contemplative character of his after-life. His childhood has been fully described by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal*. We cannot persuade ourselves, however, to transcribe a tenth of what the admiring disciple has recorded. We shall pass over the miracles ascribed to him in this early stage of his life—the translation of a dog, initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Námá*, into heaven—the prophecies he is said to have uttered—the petty acts of larceny he committed—and the *naïveté*, with which he asked his mother to give him the moon, that he might play with it. The precocity of his talents may be illustrated by the following anecdotes:—One day, his mother having given him to eat fried paddy and sweetmeats, he deliberately began to eat clay in preference to them. On being questioned as to the reason of this strange conduct, the infant philosopher replied, that there was no difference between clay and the food given him, and that the latter was only a modification of the former! On another occasion, he was observed to stand on an unclean place. His mother ordered him to wipe off the pollution he had contracted by bathing in the Bhágirathi, which he refused to do, adding as his reason, that all places were alike, and that purity or impurity could only be predicated of the soul. The wildness of his disposition may be illustrated by the following stories:—Being endowed with a robust constitution, he was in the habit of beating all the boys of his age that came in his way. When the girls of the village went into the river to wash, he took away their dry clothes, which they had left on the bank, and did not restore them without getting presents from them. On one occasion he struck his mother so severely, that she fainted away, and was on the point of death, when he himself restored her by working a miracle. He habitually stole away from temples the offerings of the gods. The little rascal also had the impudence to make water on the rice-dish of an esteemed Pandit of Nadiyá.

Jagannáth Misra did not neglect to procure for his beloved *Nimái* (so was his child named) a learned teacher. He went through the usual course of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He was early remarked for the retentiveness of his memory. While *Nimái* was displaying the brilliancy of his talents in the colleges of his native village, his elder brother, to the great grief of the parents, assumed the life of an ascetic. Soon after *Nimái* was married to *Lakshmi*. About this time, old Jagannáth died, whose funeral obsequies his dutiful son celebrated with becoming solemnity. On the decease of his father, *Nimái* commenced life as a school-master. The fame of his learning attracted many pupils.

While carrying on the peaceful labours of a professor, he made a trip into the eastern parts of Bengal, and surprised the people by the variety and depth of his learning. A Brahman, who had waded through the whole of the Hindu Shastras without discovering the gem of true happiness, was, in a dream, recommended to the divine teaching of the Nadiyá Pandit. On his return home, he found that his beloved partner, the fair Lakshmi, had departed this life. By the solicitations of his mother, he married a second time, and his nuptials with the daughter of Sanátan were celebrated with great pomp. As *Nimái* was diligent in the observance of the Hindu ritual, he took a journey to Gaya, and offered cakes to the manes of his ancestors. From Gaya he was proceeding towards Mathurá, but was hindered by a voice from heaven.

Books exert vast influence on nations, peoples and tongues. Who can estimate the amount of influence the Korán has exerted in forming the habits, the dispositions, and the minds of those millions, who are under the strong delusion of the false prophet? Who can calculate the infinity of good produced by that book of books—the Bible? In India, after the expulsion of Buddhism, when the star of Brahmanical authority was in the ascendant, the Vedas were the book of the age. To the Vedas succeeded the Puránas, which exert their baneful influence to this day. The Purána, which seems to have been “the book” by way of eminence in the days of Chaitanya, was the *Sri Bhágavat*. *Nimái* had read this book with deep attention. He became familiar with the striking incidents that fill its thrilling pages. It filled his mind, moulded his soul, and tintured his fancy. By incessant meditation on Krishna, he entertained unbounded affection for that divinity. He repeated, by day and by night, the name of his guardian deity, and, with high-wrought enthusiasm, celebrated his praises. It was after returning from Gaya that *Nimái*

commenced the reformer. During his travels he had found the "riches of Krishna's love," which he was resolved on publishing to the world. All great reformers are men of *one idea*. The human mind, owing to the limited range of its capacities, and of that passion or enthusiasm, which is necessary to the completion of any undertaking, seems to be utterly unfitted for carrying on at the same time a variety of projects. The reformer of Nadiyā was pre-eminently a man of *one idea*. But this unity of idea may be carried to a morbid excess. When the whole mind, with all its powers and energies, is intensely devoted to the contemplation of an object which fills it, it is necessarily abstracted from all other objects. When this absence, or rather intense presence, of mind is carried to a faulty excess, the mind verges towards insanity. Hence the truth of the common saying, that "Genius is allied to madness." The difference between a maniac and a genius, psychologically considered, is that the former can control the mind and direct it at pleasure to other objects, while the latter has lost all power over the succession of his thoughts. That the Nadiyā saint, by incessant contemplation, rendered himself imbecile, will appear in the sequel. In the meantime we may remark, that this sort of morbid meditation on Krishna appears to have produced in him that state of the mind, which is aptly designated by the term enthusiasm. Immediately before commencing the great work of preaching the "love of Krishna," as he termed it, he fell into an enthusiastic fit of devotion. The intensity of his feelings sought expression in the movements of his body. He fell on the ground, rolled in the dust, wept, laughed, and danced. During this *Prem Prālāp*, or "fit of love," which lasted for hours, he neither ate nor drank. When it was day, he would ask what part of the night it was, and when it was night, he would ask what part of the day it was, while ever and anon he uttered the words—"Krishna! Krishna! Hari bal! Hari bal!"

His native village was the first scene of his labours. On his recovery from the *Prem Prālāp*, he boldly proclaimed the name of Hari, or Krishna, as the only deliverer of mankind. Some of the respectable Brahmans of Nadiyā he easily gained over. The village of Nadiyā resounded with the *Hari Nāma*. Gourhari (another name of Chaitanya) with his disciples, spent whole nights in singing the praises of Radha and Krishna; in discoursing on the amours of the milk-maids of Mathurā; in weeping, laughing, and dancing. In these nocturnal meetings, which often were dissolved at day-break, Gourhari, it is gravely stated, constantly transformed himself into the six-handed Vishnu. Other miracles were not wanting. We shall

mention only one. When encompassed by his admiring and adoring disciples, *Gorá Chánd* takes the stone of a mango and buries it in the earth. In a moment the seed germinates, becomes a large tree, bears ripe fruits, which "hang amiable" on the bended branches. To the infinite delight of the hungry Vaishnavas, they are ordered to pluck and eat. The nature of these nocturnal devotions may be judged from the following specimen: When assembled in a room, Gourhari, by miraculous agency, stripped all his disciples of their clothes, which so delighted the Bhaktas, that through excess of joy they danced in the room to the unspeakable delight of their gay lord. This devotional dance of naked Vaishnavas is related by Lochan Dás in the *Chaitanya-Mangal*.

Hitherto, the doctrines of Gourhari had been confined to his chosen disciples. The time of his public ministry was now come. "Go," said he to his disciples, in one of the nocturnal meetings described above; "go and proclaim in every house in Nadiyá the name of Hari. Teach it to the old and young, the sinful Chandála as well as the righteous Brahmin; then will they "with ease go across the river of death." For executing the commission of their master, the timid disciples were not yet prepared. They recounted the many dangers that awaited this bold step, the vehement opposition they would likely meet with, and in particular the virulent enmity, which two Brahmins, *Jagái* and *Mádhái*, had conceived against *Hari Námá*. Gourhari, nothing daunted by the representation of these difficulties, determined to go himself, accompanied with all his Bhaktas, into the streets, and fearlessly proclaim the name of Hari. Accordingly, on the following morning, he collected all his disciples, and at their head marched through the streets. Entranced by the music of the *Mridanga* and the *Karatál*, the Vaishnavas with uplifted hands sung the praises of Krishna. Says Lochan Dás—"Nadiyá became an ocean of gladness; the sound of *Hari Námá* reached the skies." The novelty of the spectacle attracted the notice of the whole village. Great was the sensation, tremendous the tumult. Regardless of the remarks of innumerable spectators, and in the teeth of all opposition, the Vaishnavas prosecuted their devotional music, vociferations, and dances. But *Jagái Mádhái*, the mortal foes of *Hari Námá*, had not yet appeared in the field. Roused by the harsh dissonance of the *Karatál*, and the pious yells of the frantic *Gorás*, scarcely had the infidel brothers come out into the street, when they saw before them the Vaishnava procession. Their rage knew no bounds. Unfurnished with any offensive weapons, one of them took up a broken pitcher from an adjoining dung-hill, and flung it right

amongst the dancing religionists. Poor Nityánanda, whom Chaitanya loved as a brother, was severely wounded on the head. Fierce flashed the rolling eyes of the Arch-Vaishnava. In the fierceness of his anger, he commanded one of the heavenly powers to destroy the impious striker. While Sudársan was proceeding to effect this bloody commission, the gentle Nityánanda persuaded his enraged master to give place to wrath, and, instead of hurling destruction on the heads of the guilty wretches, to impart to them the riches of Hari Námá. Chaitanya complied with the request of the amiable sufferer. The furious order was revoked. The spirit of contrition was imparted to the infidel brothers. With bended knees and joined hands, they implored and obtained mercy of the incarnate deity, and thenceforward became his zealous followers. The fame of this miraculous conversion calmed all opposition, and spread a wholesome terror through the villages. From this time Nadiyá rang with the praises of Krishna. "The waters of faith," the pious biographer modestly remarks, "inundated the sacred city of Naba-Dwipá." By the untiring exertions of Chaitanya's disciples, all the inhabitants were initiated into the mysteries of *Hari Námá*. The village resounded day and night with the Mridanga and Karatal—to the Vaishnavas more charming than an angel's song.

But the festivity of the joyous town was soon converted into mourning and lamentation. Regardless of the expostulations of his mother and wife, Chaitanya, now twenty-four years old, resolved on becoming an ascetic, set out early one morning for a neighbouring village, where resided a holy sage. There he was solemnly renounced the *Grihashta* life, was taught the formulæ of *Vairágism*, and, in addition to his former names of Nimai and Gourhari, received the new appellation—*Sri Krishna Chaitanya*. The news of Gourhari's *Sanyás* filled Nadiyá with overwhelming grief. The devoted Bhaktas wept rivers of tears. Sachi was inconsolable. Vishnu-Priá, the consort of the ascetic, swooned away at the melancholy news. Unable to suppress their intense feelings, the Vaishnavas ran from one part of the village to another. It seemed as if the demon of distraction had seized the residents of Nadiyá. But the deed had been done. The fine locks of hair, that once adorned the head of Gourhari, and which were the envy of the female sex, had been cut; the *Mantra* had been whispered into his ear; his name had been changed, and the pilgrim staff borne. The drooping spirits of the sorrow-stricken disciples, however, were cheered by the appearance of Chaitanya in the place of his nativity. Intimation of his intended

visit had been previously given. From an early hour of a certain day, the house of Adwaitānanda had been crowded to excess. They waited with breathless expectation. To their unspeakable delight, Chaitanya suddenly appeared. They received him with shouts of joy. Various were the methods, to which he resorted to animate the spirits of his followers and dissipate the intolerable grief of his fond mother. In the height of their joy in the possession of a present deity, the Vaishnavas sung, laughed, wept, and danced. But Chaitanya must part from them. The holy duties of a renouncer of the world and all its pleasures must be practised. Pilgrimages had to be performed; spots, redolent of the religious recollections of olden times, had to be visited. The still, small, but steady voice of duty made him deaf to the entreaties of his sorrowing disciples. The idea of deluging the arid wastes of India with the floods of Krishna's love took possession of his ardent mind.

After performing a variety of miracles, and assuring the agonizing Bhaktas of his continual presence with them, Chaitanya, accompanied by his attached friend, Nityānanda, departed towards Orissa. In his way, so deeply affected was he with the impiety of the people and their ignorance of Krishna, that he was almost inclined to drown himself for very grief. But the delightful sounds " Krishna! Krishna!" elicited from the mouth of a little boy, altered his resolution, and somewhat relieved his sorrowful heart. He reached *Nilāchal* (Cuttack) and took up his residence in the house of a learned Brahman. The chief object of his visit to Orissa was to see the far-famed Jagannāth, "the lord of the world." The sight of the armless divinity filled him with ineffable delight. So overpowering were his spiritual sensations, that he fell down insensible on the ground. Every fresh visit similarly affected the Nadiyā-fanatic. The people wondered at the fervency of his religious impressions and the ardency of his emotions. For hours together he sat before the *Nim*-built Jagannāth, and, through the eye of lively faith and intense devotion, discerned, in that ugly idol, rays of heavenly beauty and divine effulgence. It would be tedious to recite the conferences he held, the prodigies he performed, and the enthusiastic fits into which he fell, during his residence in the precincts of the temple of the "Moloch of the East." Suffice it to say, that he made many proselytes, that the streets of Nilāchal resounded with *Hari Bal*, that divine honours were ascribed to him, and that the people hung on his lips with mute attention and intense admiration.

Bent on the accomplishment of the high object of his divine mission Chaitanya determined to proceed southward as far as

Rámisseram—the spot where Rámá, having thrown a causeway across the straits, had passed over with his troops to the golden capital of the ten-headed Rávana. The Vaishnavas of Niláchal could scarcely reconcile themselves to the idea of losing, even for a time, the presence of the incarnate divinity ! and it was with great difficulty that he was allowed to depart from amongst them. The words which he pronounced, when setting out on his evangelistic expedition, are too characteristic to be omitted ; “ Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! “ O Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! “ Krishna ! O Krishna ; Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! “ Krishna ! Krishna ! O save me ; Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! “ Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! O deliver me ; Rámá Rághav ! “ Rámá Rághava ! Rámá Rághava ! O save me ; Krishna “ Kesava ! Krishna Kesava ! Krishna Kesava ! O deliver me ! ” Along the whole of his journey, Chaitanya incessantly repeated these words. The people of the countries, through which he passed, thronged round him. Chaitanya said “ Hari Bal ; ” the people, that heard him, said “ Hari Bal ; ” and others, that heard them, said also “ Hari Bal. ” “ In this manner,” says Krishna Dás, “ did the people of the south country (Deccan) become Vaishnavas. ” And no wonder. No instructions had to be given, no doctrines taught, no ceremonies practised, no duties enjoined. Proselytism under these circumstances was the simplest thing under the sun. The man, that repeated the words “ Hari Bal,” was reckoned a convert.

It is not our design, in this running sketch of Chaitanya's life, fully to describe the various incidents that occurred in his pilgrimage to the south. The leading stages of his journey can only be glanced at. On the banks of the Godavery he met with the king of the adjacent country, to whom he showed his divine form, and discoursed on the mystic love of Krishna and the Gopís. On the banks of the Cavery he spent four months with a Brahman, who became his convert. As he proceeded southward, he visited all those places, which are celebrated in the Rámáyana. On the plains of Panchavati the recollections of olden times, embalmed in the immortal song of Válmiki, rushed into his mind—the disfiguration of Surpanakhá, the murder of Marichi, the rape of Sita, and the inconsolable grief of the heroic Raghava. On reaching his journey's end he recited the poem of Válmiki. From Ramisseram he returned by the same route, confirming the Bhaktas. Thus, after accumulating in his person the sanctities of all the holy places in the south, and proclaiming to thousands the marvellous efficacy of Hari Náma, Chaitanya returned to Niláchal.

The return of Chaitanya was celebrated with public rejoicings. The Vaishnavas of Bengal, to whom notice of his arrival had been sent, flocked to see the incarnate lord of the universe. The sacred city put on the appearance of festivity. Its walls echoed with the praises of Chaitanya and the music of the Mridanga. But the day of the grand Vaishnava demonstration was approaching. The festival of the Rath Jātrā drew near. Crowds of people poured in from all parts of India to witness the pompous celebration. The idol Jagannāth, riding on his proud car, was to make a procession through the sacred city. Vast was the concourse of men, women and children. Chaitanya with his followers, Bengalis and Uriyas, joined the crowd. At the sight of the idol he was convulsed with joy. With the view of taking a conspicuous part in the proceedings of the day, he divided his disciples into four large Sampradyāis, or bands, who were to celebrate the *Sankirt'tan* on four sides of the magnificent car. To each band were attached two players on the Mridanga, a principal singer, and a chief dancer, besides a number of ordinary disciples. The sound of "Hari Bal" on all sides of the car attracted the curiosity of the vast multitude. The sound of the musical instruments, the violent dancing of the Vaishnavas, and their devotional screamings produced a great sensation.

But we have kept out of sight the hero of the day. Chaitanya had not joined any of the bands, yet was he present in them all. He was seen every where. He was observed singing and dancing with all the bands at the same time. But this was not all. The author of the *Charitāmrita* tells us, that he constantly transformed himself during these dancings. He was in a tremendous dancing-fit. He perspired so profusely, that those who stood near were moistened. This was a high day of the Vaishnavas. Says Krishna Dās—"The sound of the Kirttan filled the three worlds." So captivating was the sound of the Vaishnava-maddening Mridanga, so graceful the evolutions of Chaitanya's body, and so mellifluous the song of the Bhaktas, that the car stopped in the middle of the road, and the lordly deity, with steady eyes, gazed at the pious show. The marvellous feats of the day were concluded by a miracle. The car of Jagannāth stood motionless. The innumerable multitudes had tried their united strength. The gigantic elephants of the Raja of Púri had failed. The grief of the pilgrims at this catastrophe knew no bounds. Chaitanya came to their rescue. He pushed it by his head, and the car moved along. Soon as the wheels of the unwieldy chariot clattered along the ground, the multitudinous host shouted "Hari Bal." These

scenes were annually renewed when the Vaishnavas of Bengal came to Púrí at the Rath Játrá. The rest of the year was spent by Chaitanya in propagating his doctrines, in proselytising, in confirming the faith of his followers, and the celebration of the Kirttan. His residence in Niláchal contributed not a little to infuse life into the worship of Jagannáth. The number of pilgrims increased every year, who returned to their houses laden with the treasures of Bhakti.

After spending four years in this manner, Chaitanya made a short tour to Bengal, visited his mother, and confirmed the faith of his drooping disciples. After returning to the sacred city, he set out on a pilgrimage to Brindában. Leaving the main road, and entering into the jungles on the left of Cuttack, accompanied by his devoted disciple Bala-Bhadra, he proceeded towards Mathurá. The marvels which attended his journey merit a somewhat more than cursory notice on account of their characteristic richness. The jungles, through which he passed, were full of savage men and doleful creatures. They were the haunts of tigers, leopards, wild elephants, and all sorts of ravenous beasts of prey. The habitations of human beings were few and far between. But these inconveniences and dangers did not damp the ardent zeal of the Vaishnava preacher. The name of Hari, which he ever and anon repeated, operated as a charm against the attacks of rapacious beasts. We must allow Krishna Dás to speak for himself. "Mahaprabhu," says he, "leaving the common route, entered into the dense jungles on the left of Cuttack, with the name of Krishna in his mouth, at the sound of which tigers and elephants made way for him. The lord passed through herds of tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses, and wild boars. The simple Bala-Bhadra was astonished to see those furious beasts keep a respectful distance from the Mahá-prabhu. One day, as the lord was passing on, his foot chanced to strike a tiger sleeping on the road. The lord said, 'Krishna ! Krishna !' at the sound of which the tiger, rising up, danced for joy. On another occasion, as the lord was bathing in the river, a flock of intoxicated elephants came thither to drink water. The lord, throwing water at them, said, 'Repeat the name of Krishna' ; on which all the elephants shouted ' Krishna ! Krishna ! ' and, moved by faith and love, danced and sung ; some of them fell to the ground, and others made a loud noise, to the great wonderment of the simple Bala-Bhadra. When the lord celebrated the praises of Krishna, flocks of deer attended him on both sides of the way to hear the delightful sound. The listening deer were joined by five or seven tigers, who all went

"along with the lord. The lord said to them, ' Say Krishna !
" Krishna !' : and the deer and tigers, with the name Krishna
" on their lips, danced with joy. To the surprise of Bala-Bhadra,
" and the amusement of the lord, the tigers and the deer em-
" braced and kissed each other. Peacocks and other birds hung
" on the lips of the lord, and, repeating the name of Krishna,
" danced with joy. The lord said ' Hari Bal' ; and plants and
" trees swelled at the joyful sound. The vegetables and miner-
" als of the country of Rashi-khanda, hearing the name of Krish-
" na, became mad with love. "

When he went to the abodes of human beings, he was suppli-
ed with all manner of provisions : milk, sugar, curd, and ghí—
that nectar of the Hindus—they gave him in abundance. The
people gladly received the Hari Námá, and became his converts.
In this manner, preaching through the wilderness, he came to
Benares. In Benares—the most sacred city in the world—the
residence of Siva, a city isolated from the universe, shining like
the setting sun, and taking away the sins of men, Chaitanya
made many converts. Passing through Prayág (Allahabad), and,
bathing in the Jumna, he came to the city of Mathurá. The
sight of the birth-place of Krishna affected him in the highest
degree. Overwhelmed with deep feeling, he fell to the ground
and became insensible. On his recovery from this love-fit, with
indescribable enthusiasm he sauntered about those places, where
occurred the marvellous incidents recorded in the *Sri Bhāgavat*.
There was not one sacred spot in the circle of Mathurá, as it is
called, which he left unvisited. The twelve groves, which still
breathe of the amours of the Mathurá lover and his mistress
Rádhá, he took especial delight in minutely inspecting. The
inhabitants of Golok-Dhár found in him all the characteristics
of their favourite deity. The cows of Mathurá recognized in
him that wanton god that was born there ; the birds of the
twelve groves sat on his hands as he passed, and cheered him
by their sweet melody ; the peacocks vied with one another in
displaying to their lord the splendour of their plumage ; and
the flowers fell off their stalks at his feet, and worshipped him.
All nature became vocal with the praises of Chaitanya. But
it is needless to say more ; for, as writes Krishna Dás, " ten
" millions of volumes will not suffice to describe only the trans-
" formations of Mahā-prabhu in the sacred city of Brindában. "

While returning to Orissa, he held conferences with his
celebrated disciples, *Swarupa* and *Sandātān* at Allahabad and
Benares. It was at this time that he displayed his skill
in the Sanskrita by affixing no less than sixty-one meanings
to a single stanza of the *Sri Bhāgavat*. After passing through

Bengal, where he comforted his sorrowing Bhaktas, he returned to Niláchal, from whence he was destined never to depart. The twelve years that he spent at Niláchal, are void of incidents. His time was devoted to the instruction of his followers, the explication of the doctrines of the *Sri Bhágavat*, the receiving of visits and adorations from the Vaishnavas of Bengal, and the several exercises of Vaishnava devotion — laughing, weeping, singing and dancing.

He now frequently fell into fits of insanity, miscalled devotion. His mind, which was early tinctured with no small degree of fanaticism, now displayed unmistakeable signs of imbecility, however they may be explained away by his admiring biographer. We have already seen that the *Sri Bhágavat* gave a colour and complexion to his mind. During his last residence at Niláchal, he gave himself up to intense meditation on the incidents recorded in the above-mentioned Purána. The adventures of Krishna were the objects of his day-dreams and night visions. He saw Krishna every where. Every reservoir of water was to him the veritable Jumna, on whose mimic streams his guardian deity made merry excursions. He confounded the subjective feelings of his mind with the objective realities of the external world. In the company of his followers he often fancied that he was walking among the groves of Brindában, or bathing in the Jumna, or dancing with the shepherdesses and milk-maids of the Indian Arcadia. These fits of down-right insanity are represented by Krishna Dás as holy raptures and extatic visions. Under the influence of these fits, he drowned himself in the sea. This last incident of his life is recorded in the 18th section of the 3rd book of the *Charitá-mritá*. It is too long to be transcribed here ; we shall therefore give a short abstract of it.

With a mind absorbed in meditation on the Lilás of the shepherd-god of Mathurá, he drew near the sea-shore with a view to sequestrate himself for a few hours from the bustle of the world. Looking intently on the hoarse-resounding main, he fancied it to be the Jumna, on whose crystal waters the Gopis of Brindában were swimming. Eager to join in the frolics of the highly-favoured maids, he jumped into the sea. Emaciated as his body was by constant vigils and fastings, it floated on the water, and fell into a fisherman's net hard by the shore. It was night. The fisherman, perfectly unaware of the circumstance, congratulated himself on the success of the day, as he felt the heaviness of the net. With all the strength he could command, he dragged the net to the shore ; when, lo ! instead of a large fish, a human corpse made

its appearance! With all possible haste he drew it ashore, when the apparently lifeless corpse made a faint sound, which curdled the blood of the fear-stricken fisherman. He concluded it to be a Bhút. Distracted with fear, with trembling feet and an agitated frame, the fisherman was pacing along the sea-shore, when he was met by Swarupa and Rámánanda, who had been seeking from sunset their divine master. The fisherman told his tale. On reaching the spot, they recognized in the fisherman's Bhút, the saviour of the universe. They laid the remains of their submerged lord on the sandy beach, and rent the air with the sounds of "Hari Bal." The music of Krishna's name, it is said, restored life to the dead. As the Vaishnavas pretend that soon after this Chaitanya made his disappearance from the stage of the world, and as Krishna Dás closes his biography with this incident, without telling us what became of him afterwards, there can be no doubt that Chaitanya did not survive his marine excursion. He was then about 43.

We have given a pretty full account of the Mahá-prahbu of the Vaishnavas; of his eminent disciples we cannot afford room for saying much. Of these the two most celebrated were Nityananda and Adwaitánanda. Nityánanda, who is represented to have possessed a portion of the divine nature, was born in a village near Nadiyá. He was one of Chaitanya's earliest followers, and bore to him the tenderest attachment. He accompanied him into Orissa, immediately after Chaitanya had assumed the life of an ascetic. He was subsequently installed primate of all Bengal, in the discharge of which office, he had Adwaitánanda for his assistant. Faithful to the instruction of his master, he annually led the Vaishnavas of Bengal to witness his marvellous feats at Niláchal. Unlike his lord he did not become an ascetic, but retained his secularity all his life. In the list of the disciples he holds the foremost place, and is, indeed, honoured with divine worship in company with his master. At Ambiká, fifty miles north of Calcutta, on the bank of the Bhágirathi, stands a temple dedicated to him and Chaitanya. It is graced with their images of the size of life, which are the objects of the adorations of the Vaishnavas. The descendants of Nityánanda, together with those of Adwaitánanda, are the acknowledged heads of the Vaishnavas. Of Adwaitánanda little is known. He was an inhabitant of *Sántipur*, where he was teaching with distinguished success, when Chaitanya was born. We have already mentioned his prediction regarding the son of Sachi, and the homage he paid to the embryo-divinity. He became one of his ardent Bhaktas, and with Nityánanda ruled the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

Of the six leading Goshwamis, the eight Kavi-Rajas (noble bards), and the sixty-four Mahantas, who form the hierarchy of the Vaishnavas, it is needless to say much. Suffice it to say that they are represented as men whose equals the world never produced—men remarkable for the depth of their wisdom, the comprehensiveness of their learning, the simplicity of their faith, the austerity of their devotions, and the endless multitude of their good works. The names of the most famous were Rûpa, Sanâtan, Sri Nibâs, Hari Dâs, Ramananda and Raghu Nath Das. Rûpa and Sanâtan—two brothers in the service of the Mussulman ruler of Bengal—attracted the notice of Chaitanya in the vantage of Râmkali. Charmed by the unusual glory of his person, the holiness of his life, the fervour of his faith, and the purity of his doctrines, they became his main disciples. By their solid learning, extensive influence, and vast wealth, they contributed not a little to adorn Vaishnavism in Upper Hindustan.

We have already spoken of Râmânanda, the king of Bidyânagar, on the banks of the Cavery. He resigned his numerous possessions, and removed to Nilâchal, where he enjoyed the company of the Nadiyâ mendicant. And what shall we say of Hari Dâs whose marvellous feats and austere devotions are described in the *Cakrîtmrîta* in the highest strains of eulogy? Retiring from the haunts of man, he repaired to a thicket, where he carried on his devotions, which consisted in repeating the name of Hari three hundred thousand times a day. The austerity of his devotions attracted the curiosity of the people, who ran in crowds and rendered him divine homage. But the Muhammadan Governor of the district could not endure the sight of a mortal honoured with divine worship. Baffled in all his expedients to divert the mind of the enthusiast from the Hari Nâmâ, the infidel functionary hoped to entrap him by the blandishments of women. Accordingly, a harlot decked with all possible charms took her seat at the door of the humble cell of the devotee. Addressing Hari Dâs she said, that she had a petition to present. The all but omniscient Vaishnava, aware, by the energy of his far-seeing faith, of the wicked device of the infidel ruler, requested her to wait till the end of his devotions. She waited, but to no good effect, for the devotions continued all night. The following night she again repaired to the hermitage, received the same answer, and was similarly disappointed. Night after night she visited Hari Dâs, and night after night returned disappointed. The simple and austere disciple, blind to all female charms, pursued his avocation without any distraction of mind. But the harlot, enamoured of

the beauty of holiness, forsook her sinful courses, and betook herself to the Hari Námá. "Behold here," says the author of the *Charitámrita* "the efficacy of the blessed Hari Námá."

The theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal will not detain us long. The supreme object of adoration is Krishna. He is the fount of the divine essence. He is the *Param-átmá*—"the soul" by way of eminence, having no equal in the universe. With Spinoza, whose theological ravings were only modifications of Oriental pantheism, the Vaishnava maintains the existence of but one substance : that substance is Krishna. The earth, with all that inhabits it, is a modification of the Vaishnava's divinity. It has been justly affirmed that Hinduism in all its shapes is pantheistic. The Saktas, the Saivas, and the Vaishnavas are all pantheists. The universal diffusion of pantheism in India is, we think, a clear proof of the high mental capabilities of its vast and diversified population. That, which was the fashionable creed of philosophers only in the high and palmy states of Athens and Rome, is the creed of the million in India. Ask the dullest husbandman that ever handled the plough, who it is that speaks and acts, when *he* speaks and acts, and he will unhesitatingly answer, "God." By the way we may remark how futile are the pretensions of the Neo-Vedantists of the city of palaces, who profess to derive a pure and simple theism from the Vedant. Like the Deists of Europe, who, deriving their notions of God, creation, Providence, and futurity from the Christian Scriptures, ascribed these discoveries to their lame natural theology, the members of the Calcutta Brahmá Sabhá, gathering their imperfect theology and mutilated morality from European sources, pretend to draw them from the dry wells of the Vedanta and the Upanisháds. But that their pretended demonstrations are "baseless as the fabric of a vision" could be abundantly shown were this the place to do so.

In common, therefore, with all Hindu sectaries, the Vaishnavas are essentially pantheistic. But the great peculiarity, in the theology of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, is the identification of Krishna with the mendicant of Nadiyá. When the Vaishnavas dwell on the divine attributes of the warrior-god of Mathurá, and invest him with all perfections, the other sectaries have not much to object, for agreeably to the accommodating, compromising spirit of all false religions, all gods are viewed in the same light. But when they attempt to identify the divine lover of Rádhá with the fanatic of Nadiyá, they are reckoned heretics. The Vaishnavas, accordingly, in all their

religious books, lay great stress upon this point. They fill the pages of their sacred books with cart-loads of quotations from the *Sri Bhágavat* and the *Bhágavat Gítá*. But they have signally failed. They have not been able to find one pretended prophecy within the entire range of Hindu sacred literature, one line prophesying the incarnation of Chaitanya. They endeavour to make out that Chaitanya is the *Purna Brahm* of the Hindu Shástras ; that he is the source of all the incarnations ; and that all the multitudinous gods of the Hindu Pantheon have derived their being from him. They believe that the brightest display of the divine nature has been made only twice, since the commencement of the present Kalpa, *viz.*, in the Dwápara Yuga in the person of Krishna, and in the Kali Yuga, about three hundred years ago, in the person of Chaitanya. Divine essence, they say, is susceptible of division. Krishna and Chaitanya possessed the full quantity of the essence, the other gods possessed only a part. Brahmá, Sivá, and the rest of the gods were only *Ansás*, or parts of the Param-átmá. The *Ansás* again were divided into *Annansás*, or part of parts ; and these latter into still more minute subdivisions. Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda, though inferior to Krishna or Chaitanya, held the same rank in the heraldry of the gods, as Brahmá and Sivá ; for they, too, were *Ansás* of the ocean of divine essence.

But the greatest peculiarity in the theology of the Gauriya Vaishnavas is the doctrine of *Bhakti*, or faith. This is a new element in Hinduism : it is wanting in the Vedanta and all ancient Hindu scriptures. The method of deliverance which the Vedant points out, consists in the *knowledge* of God. The knowledge of God is the great purifier of the human mind. It frees man from all carnal impurities, delivers him from every taint of sin, annihilates the passions, and fits him for absorption into the unfathomable abyss of Brahm's essence. It only has the efficacy of emancipating the spirit of man from the gross impediments of material pollutions. The ritual of a later date introduced endless and unmeaning ceremonies and rites, ablutions and fastings, all which are said to have the efficacy of procuring endless felicity. The Vaishnava does not deny that these were heaven-ordained methods of attaining supreme happiness. Knowledge, incessant meditation, austerities, good works, are no doubt recommended in the Shástras. But in this age of rampant vice, rife carnality, and wide-spread ignorance, they are difficult of attainment. In ages of purity and innocence and primitive simplicity, they unquestionably were the only means whereby to attain to Mukti. But the dispensation,

of knowledge and of works has ceased; and the new dispensation of Bhakti or faith is begun. Sinners have now only to believe in Krishna, to repose all confidence in Chaitanya. Great virtues are ascribed to the principle of Bhakti. "The efficacy of good works, austerities and knowledge, is nothing compared with that of Bhakti." "Without Bhakti there can be no deliverance, (Mukti.)" "Bhakti is more efficacious than all the works, meditation and knowledge recommended in the old Shāstras." Vaishnavism, like every other species of fanaticism, discards *knowledge*. Blind Bhakti, or faith without the basis of knowledge, is of itself sufficient to procure endless felicity. Krishna Dās, on the alleged authority of the *Gītā*, puts it down as an infallible doctrine, that Bhakti without knowledge procures final liberation. Faith is the root of all practical religion; where this is wanting, religion is wanting. The bare existence of Bhakti, whatever be the object of this blind and implicit faith, is alone essential to salvation. In perfect consistency with their atheistic notions, the Vaishnavas maintain that any thing whatever, a water-pot, a plant, a log of wood, beloved by the devotee to be Krishna or Chaitanya, becomes to him such, and ensures to him happiness in the realms of Vaikantha. This simple tenet of the religion of Chaitanya is eminently calculated to make it popular. While Vedantism requires in its followers a degree of knowledge and abstraction, to which the generality of the people are incapable of attaining; and while popular Hinduism prescribes a round of rites and ceremonies which cannot be performed without trouble and expense, the system of Chaitanya lays stress only upon a mental affection, to which knowledge is by no means essential.

The analysis of Bhakti is given at large in the *Charitāmṛta*. There are five stages of it, the *Sānta*, the *Dāsya*, the *Sākhyā*, the *Bātsalya*, and the *Mādhurīa*. *Sāntā*, or quietism, is the lowest state of Bhakti. It indicates no warmth, no fervour of heart; it is a sort of cold intellectual faith, at the greatest remove from enthusiasm. Though inferior in merit to the rest, it is nevertheless efficacious in procuring future happiness; it consists in a calm, collected and unimpassioned contemplation of the supreme deity. Bhakti in this simple state was practised by many of the holy sages of antiquity.

Dāsya, or servitude, is a higher stage, and implies greater devotion. The heart is more animated, the mind more active, and the affections warmer. Actuated by this faith, the devout Vaishnava swears eternal servitude to his god, dedicates to his service all his powers and energies, and acknowledges him to

be his only lord and master. The relation which obtains between Krishna and his votary, when under the influence of this faith, is not so much the relation of a master to a servant, as that of a lord to his purchased slave.

Sákhyā, or friendship, is the third degree of Bhakti. Influenced by this faith, the votary no longer regards Chaitanya as his lord and master, for the promotion of whose glory he was created, but as his personal acquaintance, his companion and friend. Believing his own soul to be a part of the Param-átmá, he throws aside the badges of servitude, and recognizes in the divinity his friend and associate. The phraseology of reverential fear is laid aside, and the language, applicable only to human friends, takes its place in the breathings of devotion.

Bátsalya, or filial affection, is a still higher degree of faith. It implies such an affection in the votary for Krishna, as obtains between parents and children. It is something different from that devotional frame of mind, which recognizes in God the father of the human race. It is a sort of appropriating faith, under the influence of which a believer is entitled to say to his maker, "Thou art *my* father."

It were well if this last were the highest species of Bhakti. But where reason ends, fanaticism begins. A still higher degree of faith is *Mádhurya*, or sweetness, which is the efflorescence of Bhakti. It implies an enthusiastic fondness for, and passionate attachment to, Krishna—an unusually tender affection for the supreme deity. As described in the *Charitámrita*, and expounded by learned Vaishnavas, it seems to be little different from that violent and passionate love, which attaches a lover towards his mistress. Indeed the archetype of this high and mystical faith is plainly set forth to be the wild and delirious passion, which the milk-maids of Brindában entertained for their divine paramour. It is represented to be highly mystical and allegorical. But however mystical it is to the devout Vaishnava, we confess we perceive here the clearest indications of licentiousness. We are well aware of the nature of the connection that united the Gopis of Brindában to their lord, and when this connection is made the type of the highest sort of faith, its meaning cannot any longer be hidden from us. The quintessence of *Mádhurya* faith was enjoyed by Rádhá, the fairest and best beloved of the milk-maids. It is impossible, indeed, to read without feelings of horror, the disgusting and licentious manner, in which the union of Rádhá and Krishna is detailed in the sacred books of the Vaishnavas.

It is certainly curious to trace the apparent similarity that exists between the Bhakti, as described above, and the nature of Christian faith, as set forth in the only true revelation. We may recognize the *Sánta* in that gentle opening of the heart, which is unaccompanied with strong convictions of sin, manifested to the outward senses ; the *Dásya* in the language of the humbled disciple, "Lord what wilt thou have me to do ?" the *Sákhya* in that spirit of humble boldness, in which a Christian feels that his lord is his greatest friend and brother born for adversity ; the *Bátsalya* in that spirit of adoption which cries "Abba, father ;" and the *Mádhuria* in the mystical union of Christ with the Church. It is interesting and curious also to mark that while Luther on the European continent was reviving the old, but then forgotten, doctrine of justification by faith alone, the founder of the Vaishnavas in Bengal was expounding its false show in the doctrine of the Bhakti.

The heaven of the Vaishnavas is *Vaikantha*. Here, freed from the illusory influences of *Abidya*, and exalted above the region of the *Avatárs*, the Vaishnavas expect a sea of felicity. The identification of the divinity and his votary is a dogma of the followers of Chaitanya. Agreeably to this tenet, they represent that their highest felicity is their deification in Paradise. Possessed of the attributes of divinity, omnipotence, omniscience, and immutability, they will be transformed into gods, and reign for ever in the realms of *Swarga*.

The Vaishnavas are idolators. In common with other Hindu sects, they maintain that it is impossible for spirit, as such, to become the object of our contemplation. In order to worship it, we must at least in our minds make an image of it. Agreeably to this principle, they make images of Krishna and Chaitanya. The images of Krishna are more numerous than those of Chaitanya. The former is worshipped in the various forms of Gopal, Gopinath, Madan Mohan, &c. The Madan Mohan, originally of Vishnupur, in the zillah of Bankura, but now of Calcutta, and the Gopinath of Agradwipá, in the zillah of Krisnaghur, are the most celebrated in all Bengal. But public temples are not the only residences of the idols. Every Vaishnava family is provided with some one or other of these idols. In general they are worshipped twice every day ; once in the forenoon, and again immediately after sun set.

The religious duties, or *Sádhana*s, of Vaishnavas are sixty-four in number. It would be useless and uninteresting even to name these duties : we shall advert to some of the leading ones. That which is reckoned to be of the greatest importance, and

occupies the foremost place in the list of the Sádhanas, is the *Guru Pádasraya*. In common with all Hindu sects, it is the invariable custom of the Vaishnavas to receive from some accredited spiritual teacher certain religious formulæ, embodying, in a few words, generally one or two of their leading sectarial notions. These sectarial formulæ are called *Mantras* ; on the due repetition of which the future felicity of the devotee in the world of the immortals is made to hang. The teachers, that perform this important initiatory rite, are called *Gúrus*. The Gúrus of the Vaishnavas are the *Gosains*, the descendants of Nityánanda and Adwaitánanda. They give no instructions to their disciples. They whisper only two or three words at the most into the ear of the *Sishya*. "*Kling Krishna*," "*Kling Rádhá*," "*Ring Dlung*," are specimens of Vaishnava Mantras.

The meaning of these words is not expounded ; no exhortations to moral purity are given ; no instructions of any kind imparted. In a solitary room, with closed doors and in a low voice, the Mantra is poured by the Gúru into the ear of the Sishya, and the strictest silence is enjoined. It must not be revealed to any other mortal on pain of the loss of everlasting happiness. He is forbidden to drink water or taste food, without repeating the Mantra mentally at least one hundred and eight times. After the initiation, the Gúru is presented with money, clothes, and other valuables according to the Sishya's ability. This is all that a Gúru ever does. But what is the nature of the obligation on the part of the initiated disciple ? The following texts are taken from standard authorities : "The Mantra is "manifest in the Gúru, and the Gúru is Hari himself." "First, "the Gúru is to be worshipped, and then I am to be worshipped," says Krishna. "The Gúru is always to be worshipped : "he is most excellent from being one with the Mantra. Hari "is pleased, when the Gúru is pleased ; millions of acts of "homage else will fail of being accepted." "When Hari is in "anger, the Gúru is our protector ; when the Gúru is in "anger, we have none." By such audacious and impudent falsehoods have the Gosains arrogated to themselves a power, if possible, more than omnipotent, and an authority more than divine. Awful is the reverence paid by the disciple to his Gúru. He is looked upon as a god in human shape.

The visits of the Gúru to his disciple are by no means "few and far between : " he favours him with a visit whenever he is in want of money. Unlike ordinary visitors, he comes with great *eclát*. A herald with the *Trisula* in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, on entering the outskirts of a village,

breathes into the "sounding alchemy," and, by its well-known voice, gives notice to the inhabitants of an approaching Gosain. The Vaishnavas rush out of their houses to welcome him, whose wrath is as dreadful as the flaming fire. A short and fat squab of a Gosain, riding on a white palfrey, attended by a band of musicians and a motley group of *Nerás* and *Neris*, makes his appearance. The disciple, whose Gúrú the fat gentleman happens to be, accosting his lordship with becoming reverence, prostrates himself on the ground. His Gúrúship, dismounting from his horse, pronounces a benediction over the prostrate Sishya, by the appropriate act of touching his head with his foot. When the procession reaches the threshold of the house, the wife or mother of the Sishya, as the case may be, after proper salutations, takes hold of his lordship's legs, washes them in a vessel of water, and wipes them with her hair. The water containing the washings of his feet, dignified by the name of the *holy nectar*, is devoutly drunk by the whole family. Men, women, and children diligently employ themselves in serving the well-favoured preceptor. His body is anointed with the best oil the family can procure, and bathed in the best water the tanks of the village afford. Ablutions and morning worship over, his lordship sits to his dinner, composed of all the delicacies, such as they are, which the family can command. A quantity, more than he can consume, is set before him, that the Bhaktas may have the privilege of eating the leavings of his plate. He fares in this lordly manner two or three days ; on the expiration of which, after fleecing the Bhaktas of as much as he can, he joyfully returns home, chuckling, no doubt, over the gullibility of the simpletons he has been visiting.

This is no Utopian picture ; it may be witnessed any day in all the considerable villages of Lower Bengal. This servile adoration of the Gúrú is the most degrading element in the faith of the Vaishnavas. To such reverence, all but divine, the Gúrú has a perpetual and inalienable right : no moral turpitude, of how deep a dye so ever, can deprive him of it. Worst of all, this veneration is hereditary. To the successor of a deceased Goshwami, the same reverence is paid. The *Gúrú Padúsra* is a melancholy proof of the utter prostration of humanity under the despotic sway of a most galling superstition, and of the audacious height to which imposture has reached. Degrading as were the superstitions of ancient Greece and Rome there was nothing in them at all equal to it. Intolerable and overbearing as was the priest-craft of the church of Rome, during the dark ages, it devised nothing so base and disgusting

as the Gúru Pádásraya of the Gosains. It has been said, that the original founders of Vaishnavism ought to be absolved from the guilt of devising this vile rite. Profound as was the reverence which they enjoined upon every Bhakta to pay to his Gúru, it fell far short of the all but divine adoration rendered to him in our days. We are glad to perceive, however, that with the introduction of knowledge, liberal sentiments, and Christian truth into the community, the authority of the Gúru has been considerably shaken. An important schism has already taken place amongst the Vaishnavas. The *Spashita Dásyahs*, maintaining all the tenets and doctrines of Chaitanya, have openly repudiated the Gosains. A few years more, and Gúru-craft will be numbered with the things that were. The two castes amongst the Hindus, who are most servilely attached to their Gúrus, are the bankers and the weavers. But even amongst them we perceive the infusion of liberal sentiments. Many of them have begun to treat their Gúrus coldly ; and we know of cases in which they were without ceremony driven from the house, on the discovery of gross immorality practised under the veil of religion.

The second, *Sádhana*, we shall mention, is what is called the *Námá Kirt'tan*. This is a very simple matter. It consists in the mere repetition of some of the names of Krishna. The formula of the *Námá Kirt'tan*, prevalent in this part of Bengal, is as follows : "*Hari Krishna, Hari Krishna, Krishna, Krishna ! Hari, Hari, Hari Rám ! Hari Rám, Rám, Rám ! Hari, Hari !*" The *Hari Námás* are counted by beads of the sacred *Tulasi* plant. The rosaries are of different lengths. We have seen a rosary consisting of one hundred thousand beads. But the common rosary consists of one hundred and eight beads. The piety of a Vaishnava is generally estimated by the number of times the rosary is gone round. No real Vaishnava, under whatever circumstances, drinks water, or tastes food, without making at least one revolution of the sacred *Málá*, the name by which the rosary is designated. It is an object of adoration, and is generally enclosed in an envelope of silk, neatly and tastefully made. In every village of Bengal, the Grihastha Vaishnavas are seen, after the morning ablutions, and at nights, duly counting their rosaries. While walking in the streets, their fingers are observed rolling over the *Tulasi* beads, and their lips in motion. The *Námá Kirt'tan*, however, is performed in silence. No audible voice is heard : the fingers and the lips are only observed to be in the utmost activity. Experienced Vaishnavas—veterans in the service of the *Námá Kirt'tan*—can manage

very often to serve God and Mammon at the same time. They may be seen listening to a conversation and taking their part in it, and at the same time engaged in counting their beads.

Marvellous efficacy is ascribed to this Sādhana. It is the only thing *necessary* in this age of sin and vice for the attainment of future felicity. The neglect of the rest of the Sādhana's can amply be atoned for by a diligent performance of *Hari Nāmā*. This is pre-eminently the duty of the Kāliyuga.

The Sādhana of *San-kirt'tan* is different from the *Nāmā Kirt'tan*. The latter is performed by an individual Vaishnava by himself; the former in the company of other Vaishnavas. The Nāmā Kirt'tan is celebrated inaudibly for the most part, without the accompaniment of music. The Sankirt'tan, on the other hand, is celebrated vociferously, accompanied with musical concerts, such as they are. The one may be regarded as personal and private devotion; the other social and public. Specimens of the Sankirt'tan have already been offered to the reader. The enthusiastic dancing and singing, and devotional vociferations of the Nadiyā saint and his fanatical followers round the car of the great Jagannāth of Nilāchal, are examples of what is meant by the San-kirt'tan. It is by no means unusual amongst the Vaishnavas. On occasions of the great Vaishnava festivals, such as the Rādhā Ashtāmi, or the Nandatsab, the Rath, or the Rās Jatra, processions of the followers of Chaitanya are to be met with in innumerable villages in Bengal, who by their pious shrieks rend the skies. The enthusiasm they manifest is worthy of a better cause. The flow of religious sensibilities and the play of the feelings are worthy of note; while the streams of tenderness rushing from their eyes bespeak the warmth of their passions and the sincerity of their professions. We have often accompanied these devotional bands, and witnessed evidences of the fanaticism of the devotees. Their minds intently fixed on the sole object of worship, with up-lifted hands and brazen throats, they celebrate the praises of Hari. They sing, they weep, they laugh, they dance. Much, if not the whole, however, is mere animal excitement. And here let us remark, once for all, that the devotion of the Vaishnava consists greatly in frames of the body, and sensations of the nervous system. A Bhakta of an emaciated frame of body and a weak voice, has very slender chance of attaining to religious notoriety. A Herculean frame of body and a Stentorian voice generally gain the day. We cannot help contrasting the deep solemnity, the peaceful tranquillity, the calm repose, that pervade a place of Christian worship, with the

noisy uproar, the discordant music, and the incessant screams that attend the public celebration of the Sankirt'tan.

The next Sádhana, that merits attention, is the *Mahatsab*, literally, *great joy*. On the death of a Gosain, or a notorious Mahanta, or Vaishnava of celebrity, the Bhaktas meet together, perform the Sankirt'tan, and crown the celebrations by a grand religious feast. This feast is called the *Mahatsab*. In a properly conducted Mahatsab, eight *Málsás*, or plates, are offered to the gods and sages of the Vaishnavas; three *Málsás* to the three *Prabhuís*, Chaitanya, Nityánanda, and Adwaitánanda; eight *Málsás* to the eight *Kavi Rájás*; six *Málsás* to the six Gosains, and sixty-four *Málsás* to the sixty-four Mahants. One great peculiarity of these feasts is that no distinctions of castes are observed: indeed, the principles of caste, as such, are repudiated by the system of Vaishnavism, as we shall see in the sequel. Another peculiarity is the eating of the *Prasád*. After the rice and the several dishes are cooked, they are heaped up together in a corner of the kitchen. The head Gosain, or Mahanta, as the case may be, takes a small quantity from this heap, eats it, and mixes it with the rest. The whole then becomes *Prasád* which is greedily devoured by the hungry Vaishnavas, with great Bhakti. The eating of the *Prasád* is said to be accompanied with great merit. But this is not all. The eating of the *Adhramrita* is accompanied with the largest quantum of merit, or *phal*. Now what may our readers suppose this mysterious Adhramrita to be? It is nothing else than the leavings in the plate of the Gosain, or Mahanta, after he has satisfied his hunger. This food, highly delicious to the sanctified palate of the humble Bhakta, and dignified with the names of the Maha-Prasád and Adhramrita, falls not to the share of the vulgar herd of common Vaishnavas. It is partaken of only by those who stand high in the favour of the Gosain, or the Mahanta, and who have made considerable attainments in devotion. This certainly, like the servile veneration of the Gúrá, is a disgusting feature of the religion of Chaitanya. We may remark that these feasts are sometimes celebrated on other occasions than those of the decease of any remarkable Vaishnava. An annual Mahatsab is celebrated in the grandest style at *Agardwipá*, a noted sanctuary of the Vaishnavas in Bengal.

It is unnecessary to pursue any further the religious duties of the Vaishnavas. We shall barely mention a few more of the sixty-four Sádhanas.

Some of them are mere moral duties, such as avoiding detraction and calumny; subjugation of the passions of anger, lust,

fear, and grief, &c. Others are ludicrous, such as the adoration of the cow, Tulasi plant, and banian tree ; non-indulgence in reading many books ; dancing, singing, and prostration.

To one in particular, called *Bhāgavata-Srabana*, or the hearing of the Sri Bhāgavata repeated, a great deal of religious merit is attached. Not unlike the wandering minstrels of by-gone ages, the troubadours of Provence, the Minne-singers of Germany, and the Improvisatori of Italy, there are reciters in India, dignified with the appellation of *Kathaks*, who make it their business to recite large portions of the Sri Bhāgavat, or any other religious poem. Seated on an elevated platform, with the sacred volume before him, his person adorned with a garland of flowers, with a clear voice and melodious tone, the orator recites and expounds to the enraptured multitude, that hang on his lips, some episode from the Sri Bhāgavat. This periodical recitation of the principal religious books is a strong incidental cause of the perpetuation of Hinduism.

Another is *Mathura-bās*, or a residence in the city of Mathurā. To a Vaishnava no other city in the world has greater attractions than that in which his lord and master was born. He therefore regards residence in it as a sojourning in the blissful realms of Vaikantha itself. To this Sādhana the highest merit is attached. "Of all the Sādhanas," says the author of the *Charitāmrita*, "the most efficacious are the following: the company of pious Vaishnavas ; Nāmā Kirt'tan ; the hearing of " Bhāgavat ; residence in Mathurā, and the adoration of the "*Sir Murth*."

After dwelling at some length on the "credenda et agenda" of the theology of the Vaishnavas, we shall conclude this article with a few remarks on their social characteristics, and general habits and manner.

A Vaishnava is known by his peculiar *Tiloka*, which consists of two perpendicular lines of white ochre, that, descending from the forehead, meet in a point near the root of the nose, and are continued in one line to its extremity ; by his *necklace*, consisting of Tulasi beads ; and by his *Japa-mālā*, or rosary, commonly of one hundred and eight beads. Not unlike the Pharisees of old, his breast, temples and arms are stamped with the names of Rādhā and Krishna. But the modern Vaishnava has beaten the old Pharisee hollow. The latter used only phylacteries, on which some memorable sentences of the law were inscribed, but the former often uses a piece of cloth, every inch of which is stamped with the names of his favourite deity. The Vaishnava also has his peculiar way of cropping the

hair. When he cuts his hair short, he leaves a slender lock in the crown, which hangs dangling towards the back, and which he sanctifies by the name of *Chaitnya-sikha*. Thus accoutred, he is an object of universal gaze. He is, indeed, a city set on a hill. Wherever he goes, he is known by his unique dress, while the words, which incessantly escape his lips, *Gour-bala, Râdhâ, Krishna, &c.*, mark at once his faith and his creed. The Vairâgi, or the ascetic Vaishnava, has in addition, a basket, or pot, or a dried pumpkin shell, in which to collect alms. He never condescends to ask alms, but, standing at the doors of private houses, he repeats "*Glory to Râdhâ Krishnâ*"—the usual formula of mendicity. The regular Vaishnavas, as contra-distinguished from the *secular* Vaishnavas, take the vow of poverty. They profess to acquire no property, but live upon alms. Some of them live congregated together in something like monastic establishments, called *Akrâs*, or *Maths*. A *Math* consists of a temple, a residence for the *Mahanta*, or abbot of the establishment, and huts for the accommodation of the resident and travelling Vaishnavas. The gleanings of daily mendicity are the means of their support. They have, of course, a sort of community of goods. But regular and well-conducted *Akrâs* are not found in Lower Bengal. We have seen several *Akrâs* of the Bengal Vaishnavas: but they are miserable and wretched establishments, compared with those of Upper India.

The laws of the Vaishnavas (we mean the Vairâgi Vaishnavas), regarding marriage are very loose. The institution of regular and legalized marriage does not exist among them; they live in a sort of promiscuous concubinage. Though dignified with the name of Vairâgi, or *passionless*, many of them are monsters of vice. By the payment of the paltry sum of one rupee and four annas, a Vaishnava is joined we shall not say, in marriage, but concubinage, to a female of that persuasion. But should he be inclined to repudiate his mistress, it can be done with the greatest facility by the payment of the same sum again to a Gosain. We need not say that this pernicious custom is the fruitful mother of a thousand immoralities. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a set of more immoral men, than the lowest sort of the Vairâgis, is to be found in all Bengal. We will not outrage the feelings of the reader by detailing the atrocities of the *Nerâs* and *Neris*, a species of male and female Vaishnava vagrants. They are justly reckoned by the mass of the Hindu population as monsters of iniquity and the pests of society.

The natural tendency of Vaishnavism is to break down the fetters of caste. Chaitanya repudiated this baneful institution, inasmuch as he is said to have converted five Muhammadans to his faith. Though a Brahman, he freely mixed with all the castes, and bestowed the treasures of Bhakti upon any one that chose to receive them. Agreeably to the spirit of their faith and the practice of their master, the Vaishnavas receive all castes into their communion. The *Hari Nāmā* is given to the Brahman as well as the Chandāla. The Vairāgis, though originally of different castes, eat together, and look upon each other as brethren. A Brahman Vairāgi, *as such*, is not more honoured than a Vairāgi of one of the low castes. Muhammadans have been received into the community of the Vaishnavas ; but such cases have rarely happened. Amongst the secular Vaishnavas, however, the distinctions of caste are observed with the greatest rigidity. Though believers in the divinity of Chaitanya and in all his doctrines, though full of respect and reverence for the Vairāgis of all castes whatsoever, they observe amongst each other the rules of caste with the greatest pertinacity. That system, indeed, is too deep-rooted to be eradicated by the efforts of any Hindu sect.

We may remark here, that in opposition to the universal practice of all the Hindus, the Vaishnavas feel no scruple in burying, instead of burning, their dead. This is true only of the Vairāgi-Vaishnavas. Neither is it to be fancied that all the Vairāgis are buried. Far from it ; the major part of them are burned like the rest of the Hindus ; while the remains of a celebrated Vairāgi or Mahanta may occasionally be seen to be interred.

Before concluding this imperfect sketch of the Vaishnavas of Bengal, a slight notice of the two heresies that have risen amongst them may not be unacceptable to the reader. These heretics pass under the names of the *Spashtā Dāyakas* and the *Kartā-Bhajas*. The chief peculiarity of the former is the repudiation of that servile veneration, which is rendered by all the other Vaishnavas to the Gúrú. A mystical association of the male and female devotees, not unlike that which obtained among the Belgic and German Beghards in Europe, is another of their characteristic features.

The Kartā-Bhajas, so called from their devotion to the one Kárta, or Creator, are the reputed followers of one *Oulé Chánd*, a fanatic of no mean order. Professor Wilson, on the authority, we presume, of Mr. Ward, makes Rām Saran Pál the founder of the sect. But this gentleman was only one

of the twenty-two disciples of *Oule Chánd*, the original founder of the sect. The stronghold of Kartá-Bhajism is Ghoshpára, opposite Tribeni, on the banks of the Bhágirathi, thirty miles north of Calcutta. The whole of their practical religion is comprised in the following precept of the founder :—

“Gúrú Dhara, Satya Bala, Sangá Chala.”

i. e., “Attach yourself to a Gúrú, follow him, and speak the truth.” Discarding the Gosains, the Gúrús of the orthodox Vaishnavas, they attach themselves to the Páls of Ghoshpára, to the chief man amongst whom they render a homage almost divine. Miracles are not infrequent amongst them. The Kartá cures all manner of diseases without the application of medicine. They send forth evangelists and deaconesses to make proselytes of the other sectaries.

The system of Chaitanya is an important innovation on Hinduism. It is interesting to contemplate, as an index of the march of religious ideas. It contains the germs of certain great religious truths. There is a tendency in it to universal diffusion. This is an important idea in religion. It was lost sight of by the ancient religionists of India. Like the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of the Greek philosophers, the Hindus had, and still have, one religion for the lettered few, and another for the ignorant many. The *Gyán Kanda* contains the theology of intellectual men, and the *Karma Kanda* that of the illiterate multitude. The transcendental theosophy of the priestly class is quite different from the mythical religion of the people. This want of a fellowship in religious interest between men of culture and the unthinking multitude is repudiated by Chaitanya. His system encourages no monopoly of religious knowledge. It places the same doctrines before learned and unlearned men. It has no mysteries into which all its votaries may not be initiated. Its simplicity is another important peculiarity. This, too, is a move in the right direction. Unlike the metaphysical abstractions, refined subtleties, and hair-splitting distinctions of the Vedanta, all which pre-eminently unfit it to be the religion of a whole nation, the doctrines of Chaitanya are simple and level to the comprehension of the meanest capacity. Unlike, too, the multitudinous rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Hindu rituals, it proclaims the omnipotence of one principle, and the vast efficacy of one religious duty. In insisting on Bhakti, as a *sine qua non* of personal religion, it has made a faint approximation to faith, that prolific principle of the Christian revelation. It has brought out a new

element in the natural history, so to speak, of religious feeling. In opposition to the cold, intellectual and abstract idea of religion, which the Vedanta proposes, and the totally external view, which the popular superstition gives of it, Chaitanya lays much stress on the affections and sensibilities as constituting a great part of religion. We say not that the aspect, in which the system under review regards religion, is not external; for, that much of it is so in a very gross sense, will be evident from what we have already written. But yet it is delightful to observe that the heart, with its affections and feelings, has not been entirely thrown aside. We regard the system of Chaitanya as an interesting development of the religious consciousness of India. It is a sign of the times, and an index of the march of liberal ideas in religion. It contains the germs (and only the germs) of great religious principles, which were unknown to, or lost sight of, by the ancients, and which have had their full development in the pages of the only true revelation vouchsafed to man. Christianity, of all systems of religion, is the best fitted to become the universal religion of the world. It teaches the universal depravity of the whole human race, and consequently proposes the same remedy to all. It presents the same divine truth—the truth that sanctifies—to the free and the bond, the learned and the unlearned, the mighty and the ignoble. It is adapted to all countries. It is a plant whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. And by what divine simplicity is it pervaded! Although it has heights inaccessible and depths unfathomable by the mightiest intellect, yet its cardinal doctrines are such as “a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.”

THE SECOND SIKH WAR.

BY SIR HENRY DURAND.

Narrative of the Second Sikh War in 1848-9. By Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-Camp to General Thackwell. London. Bentley. 1851.

THE narrative of a war can seldom be correctly and faithfully laid before the public, immediately on the conclusion of military operations. The main facts of the struggle, its oscillations from partial success to partial failure, from victory to defeat, are indeed, in the present day, through the energy of the Press, very early before the public. With the assistance of such information, and the aid of an occasional bulletin from one or both of the belligerent parties, men draw their own conclusions (sometimes nearly right, oftener very wrong) during the progress of the contest, until at last the final issue puts a stop to many crude and a few reasonable lucubrations. At this stage, were truth generally safe and acceptable, many a man, whose sword had been drawn in the quarrel, would, on sheathing it, take up his pen, and give an account of the campaign in which he had been engaged. But wise men know the cost too well, and abstain; the field is left open to be occupied by men of a different calibre, who, neither aware of its difficulties or dangers, and protected by their very insignificance, plunge into their subject with the confidence of shallow minds. For one Eyre, who dares to come forward with a manly, sensible, truthful narrative at the close of a great event, there will always be on such occasions a score of Thackwells, aiming to accomplish that for which they are manifestly unequal.

We always take up the narrative of a campaign written by a British officer, with a two-fold purpose in its perusal, with a double interest in the work. The events of the war, as historical facts, are of course to be learnt therein—and that is one object: but it is one, which he should equally entertain, if reading any narrative of military operations written by a foreigner. War, however, is a great and a complicated science; and the attainments of our officers, in mastering its details and comprehending its higher principles, are matter of national importance. We are no advocates for war, and least of all for wars of mere aggrandizement: but, in spite of Cobden, Bright, and the Peace

Society, in spite of the dreams of well-meaning honest enthusiasts, or the hazy aspirations of self-deifying sceptical demagogues, we cannot perceive that our Old World is inclined as yet to belie its character. It seems very consistent in its ways ; has not even arrived at a transition-state with respect to its pugnacious propensities ; and seems obstinately bent on proving that, neither for an Autocrat of all the Russias on the one hand, nor for a Cobden on the other (though each in his line doubtless a respectable practitioner), is it reserved to put sound hearts into the millions, principle and wisdom into rulers, or to make peace and goodwill paramount on earth. Take it as you please—like the fact, or dislike the fact—hate or honour the red coat—it does not much matter : for there stands the dread inevitable before you—war, frequent war ; not to be denied, but (be it for weal or woe) necessarily to be encountered. It is therefore a matter of superlative interest to a State and particularly to such a State as England, to gauge the qualifications of her officers ; to scrutinize the indications in their writings of a knowledge of their peculiar science ; and, from their works, to estimate their comprehensiveness of view and general ability. We read, therefore, a work written by a British officer with these important questions always present to the mind :—How rank our officers in the scale of professional depth of intelligence—of sound, clear apprehension of the higher principles of the art ? What is the promise of genius and ability for the vague future, when the sword may be again in conflict with half-disciplined millions, or engaged in the more formidable contest between nations representing, on the one side free, and on the other autocratic, institutions ? In that impending struggle, however much against our will, we may, before long, be forced to take a part.

With these questionings in view, what would be the impression left upon the mind of a military reader by Mr. Thackwell's work ? We do not hesitate to say that they would be most unfavourable. The reader, if wholly dependent for his knowledge of the war on the work before us, would rise from its perusal with the conviction that the author was ignorant of the very elements of his profession ; that he so stated facts as to make it appear that the commanders in the army were, alike with himself, grossly and inexcusably deficient, not only in the higher, but also in the elementary principles of the art of war ; that the military mind of our leaders was so effete, so wanting in conscious ability and ordinary self-reliance, that, whether a simple shift of camp or an action were in contemplation, a council of war was equally indispensable ; that, if there is a low range of qualifications and ability among the commanders, there is a low tone of military

feeling prevalent among the subordinate officers of the army, to whom the comforts of cantonment life are more agreeable than the endurances of camp and conflict ; in short, that not only is the average of ability and soldierly qualities extremely mediocre amongst the regiments, but still more lamentably deficient among the staff, the commanders.

These would be very unsatisfactory and very painful conclusions to arrive at, from the perusal of a work by a British officer, who evidently had no intention of leading his readers to form such conclusions. We acquit him of any such design ; his range of intellect is limited ; filial reverence and partiality are excusable ; and, though Saidúlápúr, is brought up *ad nauseam*, we can pardon it on the score of a son's natural tendency to do all he can for his father's fame. Mr. Thackwell belongs also, or lately did belong, to Her Majesty's army ; and no man, who has the honour of bearing one of Her Majesty's commissions, would willingly tarnish the general character for ability and efficiency (let alone the honour) of her service. Willingly, therefore, we acquit Mr. Thackwell of purposing to bring his reader to such conclusions as those, the mere outline of which has been sketched ; but, that they inevitably follow from the premises he has put forth to the public, no reasonable man can deny.

We think we can modify the asperity of such painful conclusions, by dealing with the main features of the war somewhat differently from our author : and, as we rely on the accuracy of our information, we shall both praise and blame with the freedom of truth, confident that time will prove our main positions and statements correct, and that our views and opinions, consonant with those of men of the greatest military skill and experience, will be found faithful and just.

In the chapter, designated "Origin of the second Sikh War," the reader will in vain search for the real causes of that general rising of the Sikh nation in arms against us. They did so with one mind and one heart ; and the murder of the two officers, sent to Múltán, was merely the premature exhibition of the feelings, which pervaded the masses of the ill-subdued followers of Govind. Múlráj knew it well ; felt himself injured and insulted ; and either could not, or would not control the minds of his soldiery ;—but the great error lay at our own doors. Abbott, who had early given intimation that the spirit of revolt was on the wing and machinations were a-foot, was treated as a timid alarmist. Vigilance was fast asleep, where it should have been widest awake ; and no greater proof of this fact and of the real state of feeling in the Punjab, could have been evinced than by sending Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán on such

a mission as theirs, at such a time, and in such a manner. It was virtually courting an outbreak—but courting it at the wrong season, and when we were wholly unprepared for it, and not at all desiring it.

There seems in the undisturbed course of a civilian to high place and power, something which wholly unfits him for the exercise of the latter in positions of difficulty. His rise is too smooth and sedentary ; so very regulation pace and fashion ; he has so little knowledge or experience of the working passions of the masses ; is so entirely ignorant of the fiery temper of armed, half-subdued, haughty enemies ; is so easily bamboozled by a few interested smooth tongues and faces ; brings himself with so much difficulty to conceive that the ordinary placid routine of *kacheri*, or board, or court, or secretariat, is something entirely different from sounding, mastering, controlling, and guiding turbulent levies, and masses infected with the ardour of military progress and conquest ; he is so incapable of justly appreciating what military force can, or cannot do—when it should be employed, and how, and under whom—that nothing but the predominant influence of the class-interest in the Government of India would perpetuate an error, which never fails to produce bitter and costly fruit. Any one, but a civilian, would have foreseen that to send Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Multán at the time and in the manner selected, was almost sure to produce an ebullition of feeling, and of violence. It was very like rolling a live shell, with a lit fusée into a well-stored magazine, the chances in both cases being very decidedly in favour of an explosion. We despair of seeing it otherwise, when the training of the class is considered, whenever civilians are, in times of difficulty, in the position in which Sir F. Currie was placed ; and therefore we do not blame him, so much as those who should have known better, but who having purposes to serve by the presence in England, for a short time, of Sir H. Lawrence, took him away—willing to go because in weak health—exactly at the most critical period for the Punjáb.

When Sir Henry Hardinge, anxious to shew in how quiet and satisfactory a condition he quitted everything in India, largely reduced the army in order to cook a balance-sheet and found thereon a self-gratulatory farewell finance minute, it was clearly foretold by those, who had been long intimately conversant with the course of events on the N.-W. Frontier, that he was preparing trouble for his successor, and that the parting economy of Lord Hardinge would entail, in the course of a short time, enormous outlay on the part of Lord Dalhousie. Those

persons, who said this, would probably confess, however, that they did not anticipate such an immediate fulfilment of their prognostications : and we doubt whether Lord Hardinge's Punjáb policy, had he not taken Sir Henry Lawrence home with him, would so rapidly and thoroughly have gone to pieces. It must have failed, because it was unsound, hastily patched up to cover our own exhaustion, and thoroughly well fathomed by the Sikh leaders and people ; but the evil day would, in all probability, have been staved off by Sir Henry Lawrence, and Lord Hardinge would have been saved the mortification of seeing his Punjáb policy crumble into the dust before he had drawn the first instalment of his pensions. Hardinge took out his linch-pin, where the coach had a steep descent before it : and the result was a hopeless breakdown.

These were some of our errors, but there were others of internal administration of a different and deeper character, of which, for the present, we shall merely indicate the existence. Towards the close of 1848, many a village seemed to possess no other inhabitants than old decrepid men, women, and young children. Our two years' sway had not proved popular : and the able-bodied flocked to the rebel standards of the chiefs, even from districts under our immediate supervision and control, without the slightest check or hindrance.

We have said that Lord Hardinge, with the short-sighted vision of an ordinary mind bent on its own self-gratulation, sowed the soil with difficulties which his successor was to reap. Tares proverbially shoot up a-pace ; and, under the genial warmth of an Indian sun, rather faster perhaps than elsewhere ; so, whilst Hardinge's partisans were giving out in England that matters had been left in India in such an admirable state of quiescent security, that there would not be another shot fired for the next ten years, Sir F. Currie, though wedded to the Hardinge Punjáb policy, was forced to feel uncomfortably doubtful of the fact, and Lord Dalhousie gradually opened his eyes to the real state of affairs in the "Land of the Five Rivers," and began to entertain the unwelcome suspicion and forecast of the work his predecessor had left for him to execute.

Events followed fast after the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Múltán : but, though we may admire the vigour and the activity of Edwardes, and the courage and skill with which he brought his undisciplined troops into operation, we cannot award, either to Sir F. Currie, his superior or to himself, the meed of a clear apprehension of the state of affairs, or of sound military judgment as to the measures suited to the circumstances, under which we then were placed in the Punjáb.

For Edwardes there is the excuse, that a clever man will dare much in order to acquire a reputation ; but Sir F. Currie, instead of being stimulated by his energetic subordinate, should have controlled him. It was an unpardonable error, known as Múltán was, to endeavour to besiege it with the insufficient means with which this operation was first undertaken. Sir F. Currie must, or ought to, have been well aware, both of the strength of ordnance which Sir Charles Napier, when in Scinde, had always kept in readiness for Múltán at Bukkur, and also of the strength of the force, which that General deemed essential for operations against the place. Sir C. Napier had never shown any disposition to be over-nice in counting heads on a battle-field ; a few men went very far with him ; and therefore it not only smacked of great presumption, but really was such, when, regardless of the opinions and example, Sir F. Currie undertook the siege with far inferior means. Prudence dictated a more cautious course.

We know that it was the fashion to make light of the place—this, too, not alone in India, but in England also ; and at the India House, where they ought to have been well informed, the Chairman was known to have said “ that the Court of Directors “ had a plan of it ; that it was nothing of a place—only about “ 500 yards in length by 300 yards in breadth ; and that it could “ be easily shelled into a surrender ; ” in fact, they had been informed, on (what they considered) good authority, that it was a contemptible place ; and the expectation was, that the next news would probably be that it had fallen. At the Board of Control much the same impressions of course existed : and, when the President was frankly told that the place might not prove so contemptible, and that a check at Múltán might kindle the flame of revolt from the foot of the Himalayah to Scinde, or even to the sea, the idea was evidently as distasteful as it was new.

We cannot but blame Lord Dalhousie for his dilatoriness in arriving at the conviction that war, and war on a great scale, was unavoidable. A Governor-General, not very long arrived in Calcutta, new to the country, and ignorant of the men of the services holding at the time the posts of highest importance, cannot, however, for a while, do otherwise than see through the spectacles of those who are at the foci of political interest. If, as in the present instance, the Governor-General be not only labouring under the disadvantage of being new to his office, but also under that of thorough inexperience and ignorance of war questions, there are still broader grounds for excusing a somewhat tardy apprehension of the real condition of affairs, and an otherwise culpable neglect of all those timely preparations, which

war necessities. We cannot judge harshly of a nobleman thus circumstanced—all whose previous training, whether as a lawyer or as a politician, had been foreign to military affairs of moment and magnitude. The hope of staving off war and its charges, and of maintaining peace and its economy, was a laudable sentiment : and, therefore—though when taking a retrospective glance at our own conduct of affairs, we cannot but note as a very grievous error, the utter want of due preparation for military operations in November 1848—we do so, respecting the motives, and appreciating the individual circumstances under which that error was perpetrated. Once convinced, however tardily, that war was unavoidable, the Governor-General did all in his power to correct his own grave error. In selecting, for the head of that most important department—the Commissariat—Captain Ramsay, “an officer related by family ties to the Marquis of Dalhousie,” as Mr. Thackwell takes care to inform us, he selected the most active and the most intelligent officer available for such a crisis, and the man that any other Governor-General would at that time in all probability have chosen. Captain Ramsay proved the propriety of the selection, by at once pointing out that the absence of all preparation could only be remedied by the most prompt and the most energetic exertions on the part of his department, unhampered by the usual routine of the Military Board ; and that he must have authority to act as the emergency required, if the army was to be fed, and the campaign to succeed. In no other way, at the eleventh hour, could the Governor-General have rectified his own neglect ; and perhaps few other men, except Captain James Ramsay, would have succeeded, even so empowered and supported, in enabling the army to move when it did. He had great opposition to contend with, particularly from Colonel Benson, who was wedded to the Military Board system, and who could not perceive the utter inapplicability of that system to the urgent difficulties of the moment. Benson, a narrow-minded economist, would have perilled success rather than break a Board rule, and would have preferred having two distinct classes of commissariat agents and contractors to plunder the State, rather than one. Ramsay was of a different opinion. However much he might value Board rules, and theories of check and counter-check, he knew the futility of a system so complicated, that the accounts of a campaign are, under its operation, seldom wound up under from five to ten years. He preferred success to failure, though failure were accompanied with the intense satisfaction of having been in strict conformity to a Military Board rule ; and he probably thought that one Jotí Persád, of ability and in-

fluence equal to the occasion, was better than half-a-dozen Jotí Persáds of less ability and influence, but to a certainty adepts at plundering the Government both individually and collectively. He preferred, too, a system under which accounts could be balanced and cleared in the course of a year, instead of requiring ten. Any one conversant with Indian campaigns will side with Captain James Ramsay's views ; and any one cognizant of the condition in which the army took the field on this occasion, will not doubt that Benson would have ruined the campaign. Lord Dalhousie is more indebted to his cousin for the ultimate success of the war, than perhaps to any other single individual, political or military, be their rank or position what it may. Impartial in blame, and plain too as we are in censure, it is gratifying to have to note a mind of vigour, rising to the emergency of a critical juncture, and bringing to a successful issue the great problem of suddenly provisioning a large army, for the existence of which no sort of preparation had been made, and which had subsequently to be fed and maintained, man and beast, under circumstances of very peculiar difficulty. This officer, Captain James Ramsay, single-handed, retrieved one of the greatest and most fundamental errors that could have been committed at the commencement of the war.

Not to fatigue the reader, we shall not revert in detail to the first unsuccessful operations against Múltán ; and we will concede it to be doubtful, whether an officer of even greater ability than General Whish would not have refrained, circumstanced as Whish was, from pursuing and attacking Shere Sing. Whish had been thrust into a false position ; and, perhaps, after the example of defection which he had experienced, his wisest course was to remain in observation at Múltán, until reinforced, and until some general plan of operations, on a scale corresponding with the emergency, was arranged. Shere Sing had first out-witted him ; then, baffling his vigilance, had out-mancœuvred him and gained a start, which the long legs and light camp equipage of his Sikhs were not likely to lose, when followed by our more embarrassed columns. Shere Sing would have taken care not to fight, unless he pleased ; and Whish would have gained nothing by moving, unless he completely crushed Shere Sing. This was a feat he was not equal to : and any check or combat with indecisive results, was at that period very much to be deprecated. Shere Sing's object was clearly to place himself in communication with Chutter Sing, and to throw his army into a position, where he could assemble the Sikh levies, feed them, and have a strong country in which to operate.

When Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej in November 1848, he

found his enemy, Shere Sing, well placed. The Sikh masses were on the right bank of the Chenáb, at Ramnuggur, drawing their supplies from the productive districts on the upper part of the Chenáb. In this position, Shere Sing could intercept Gúlab Sing's movements, if favourable to the British, or a junction was secured, if Gúlab Sing was amicably disposed to the cause of revolt. Communications with Chutter Sing were covered, and reinforcements of men and guns could be looked for from Peshawur (as soon as Attock should have fallen) for the final struggle. The Chenáb—the strong ground on the left bank of the Jhelum—the Jhelum itself—the remarkably difficult country between the Jhelum and the Indus—the Indus itself—all presented a succession of formidable positions, on some one of which Shere Sing might hope to fight a successful action. To the southward, Múltán held out. Múlraj, now hopeless of mercy, was sure to make a stout defence, and for a time occupy a large portion of our troops and guns. Shere Sing's object therefore ought to have been (and it apparently was so) to bring the British general to action, before Múltán should have fallen ;—but, to bring him to action in a position unfavourable to the higher discipline and equipments of his force, and favourable to the larger numbers of the Sikh levies and their eagerness for conflict.

Lord Gough's course and position was marked out by the manifest objects of the enemy. To remain in observation on the left bank of the Chenáb ; to regard himself as covering the siege of Múltán, and holding Shere Sing in check until that place fell ; to give time for the completion of commissariat arrangements ; to cover Lahore, and cut off all supplies from the districts on the left bank of the Chenáb reaching the enemy ; jealousy to watch the movements of the latter, whether to the northward or southward ;—these should have been Lord Gough's objects. So long as Shere Sing was disposed to have remained on the right bank of the Chenáb, Gough should have left him undisturbed, and patiently have awaited the fall of Múltán.

To see, to keep clearly in view, and never to swerve from the objects of primary importance, and to subordinate to these the minor ones, is the stamp of military ability : to confound, to transpose, to invert things of major and minor moment, and to substitute the one for the other, are sure signs of military mediocrity. Tried by this standard, the operations at the passage of the Chenáb must be pronounced a normal strategical blunder. They were untimely, objectless, fruitless, and a departure without cause from the principles which should

have guided the General. As usual in military matters, where error is loss, the blunder cost him in the end very dear.

For the fall of Cureton and Havelock in the opening brush at Ramnuggur, and for the loss of a gun, Lord Gough is not to blame. Shere Sing was *à cheval* on the Chenáb, a position which could not be conceded to him ; and it was incumbent on Gough to make him withdraw to the right bank of the river : for, so long as he held the left bank, he could continue to draw supplies of men and provision from the districts, of the aid of which Gough was bound to deprive the Sikh General. The mode of executing this might, perhaps have been more judicious ; but even on this point it is difficult to pronounce ; for the ardour of Havelock completely disarranged everything, and Cureton, riding forward to bridle the fiery courage of the leader of the 14th, fell, struck mortally. Down went on that occasion the best cavalry officer we have seen in India ; almost the only one, who in command showed the nice judgment needed by the cavalry leader. Cautious, but quick and resolute, yet never carried away by his own, or any one else's impetuosity, he knew the arm thoroughly, and wielded it like a master ; knew when to charge, and when to draw bridle, and never made a mistake, as to what horsemen could or could not do. He was a great loss to the army ; for a good cavalry commander is rarely to be met.

We will not attempt to analyze the unfortunate proceedings at Ramnuggur, further than to say that they betrayed great preliminary ignorance on our part of the ground, and equal want of quickness in the faculty of *reading* ground (if such an expression be pardonable)—of taking in its features at a glance. The British horse artillery were permitted to dip into the low sandy channels of a bight of the river swept from the opposite bank by the enemy's heavy artillery. This was not exactly the proper position for light field batteries—whoever sent them there ; particularly, as the enemy was steadily withdrawing to the right bank, as fast as they could, when they saw our intention of denying them the left bank. Ouvry's unopposed advance, in order to cover the retirement of our embarrassed gun, proves this. Again, when once it was found that the gun could not be moved, further exposure of the cavalry was useless, and Havelock's request to be allowed to charge should have been met with a peremptory refusal. If the gun were to be saved in such a position, it must be so by infantry ; and Campbell, moving up his men and placing them under cover, of which the ground afforded plenty, might have prevented the gun being taken up by the enemy, and at night

might himself have saved and withdrawn the piece. Our light field batteries and cavalry might have been withdrawn, so as to be out of range and reach of the enemy's heavy guns, yet near enough to Campbell, to support him if the Sikhs tried to drive him from his cover ; which, however, they would probably not have attempted, because, in so doing, they must have placed themselves where the re-advance of our light pieces would have caused frightful havoc amongst them, whilst their heavy guns on the right bank must have remained in great measure silent.

Passing over the throwing up of batteries at ludicrously safe distances from the enemy, and other minor vagaries which followed this unlucky affair, and taking no note of Mr. Thackwell's cogitations on his friends, White, Scott, and Campbell, who must feel, we should opine, almost as much obliged to him as Sir J. Thackwell for the mode in which they are obtruded on the reader ; and, for the present, abstaining from remark on the crude lucubrations of our author upon the native cavalry, regular and irregular, we must observe upon one very curious and very characteristic circumstance.

For two years the Punjáb had been in our hands. The Sikhs had been but partially overcome ; and, though conquerors, we could not be said to feel very secure in our new position ; and, if the provisions of the treaty were anything more than verbiage, it was clearly to be anticipated that there would be more trouble at a future day. Now any other nation so circumstanced, but ourselves, would have made use of those two years in causing a military survey of the country to be made. Especial attention would have been had to the great military lines of operation : these are always pretty nearly constants, being marked out by the natural features of the country, its practicable roads, fords, &c., and by the position of the capital, chief towns, rich districts and the like. A few officers of engineers, with suitable establishments, labouring under one head and on a well-arranged system, would have completed such a work in the course of the first year—certainly before the campaign of 1848-49 broke out ; yet, so simple a precaution, if thought of at all, was so very inadequately provided for, that, when war broke out, our ignorance of the ground, on which the army was to operate, was as profound, as if Lord Gough and his troops had been suddenly thrown ashore in Kamschatka. A thorough knowledge of the ground, on which he was to act, would have been worth five thousand men to Gough, and possibly to Whish ; but, though we could pay our civil or military resident highly, and expend large sums in

pensions, and other questionable ways, the obvious and the useful were neglected. A few hundred soldiers lives, more or less, do not signify, nor the credit of our arms, nor the fame of our generals, nor the shake and perhaps peril of an empire ; but the economy, which, whilst it stints the necessary and the useful, squanders on the day-hero and the questionable, is dubbed politic and wise, and lauded accordingly. Every main line of military operations—what may be termed the constants for Punjáb strategical and tactical operations—should have been laid before Lord Gough, when the war again broke out : and it was very inexcusable, grossly culpable neglect, an unpardonable error, that such was not the case.

It has been observed, that, until the fall of Múltán, Lord Gough, unless the enemy committed some very glaring blunder, should have remained on the left bank of the Chenáb. He should have kept the Sikh general carefully under view, and watched his every movement : but he had nothing to gain by crossing the river to attack the Sikhs, for he could not hope to strike a decisive blow. The enemy was not likely to stand, and await imperturbably an attack on his left flank by a detachment ; he would rather move up to meet an attack, taking care to have his line of retreat on the Jhelum clear ; or to retire, when threatened. If, however, Gough had succeeded in driving him to the southward, he thrust him on the besieging force, which at that time had other irons in the fire, and did not at all desiderate the sudden appearance of Shere Sing in that quarter. Managed as the passage of the Chenáb was, the Sikhs were not likely to be ignorant of what was in contemplation. Quietly to withdraw his artillery of position, from in front of Lord Gough's distant batteries, was no difficult matter. To fall suddenly on Thackwell, and destroy the detachment before it could receive effectual support, was Shere Sing's proper course. If he succeeded, he could resume, if he pleased, his original position ; if he did not succeed, his retreat on the Jhelum was safe, and his artillery of position already on its march, secure from capture ; for Thackwell was evidently too weak to be able to maintain a hot pursuit in face of the Sikh masses.

Thackwell made a mistake in not occupying the line of the three villages of Tarwalur, Ruttai and Ramú-Khail ; and in not throwing out his advanced guards and pickets well in front of them. The villages were unoccupied, when he came up to his ground ; and there was nothing to prevent his taking up the position, which presented many advantages. As it was, when attacked, he was forced to withdraw his line, and thus gave confidence to the enemy, who took immediate advantage of his neg-

ligence, and themselves occupied the somewhat formidable position he had refused. The British artillery, opposed to about equal numbers, completely at last silenced their opponents; and the confusion, consequent upon this, was so apparent, that the line of infantry, Native and European, were alike anxious to be led against the enemy. It was the moment for an advance: and just at that critical time came Gough's order, leaving Thackwell free to act as his judgment might dictate. A portion of the enemy's guns were in his grasp, and victory sure:—but, instead of action, came a consultation, and the moment was gone for ever. Pennycuik was right in his soldierly advice: it was not a question of attacking Shere Sing's original position and entrenchments, as our author would suggest. Shere Sing had moved out far from his original position and entrenchments, had attacked, and had failed. The question was, whether to make his failure a defeat, accompanied by loss and dishonour, or to permit him to withdraw scatheless, and at leisure, without the loss of a gun. No one in his senses could have argued on the possibility of the original Sikh entrenchments being close in front of the villages: and that to push back the disheartened Sikhs, would be tantamount to knocking the heads of the British troops against such formidable field-works. Every one knew, that if they existed at all, they were miles off. The very doubt on such a head would betray a neglect of ordinary precaution, which is not Thackwell's character. That general deserves no such imputations, for he is wary, cautious, indefatigable in endeavouring to know his ground: and our author has himself told us that "patrols and scouts *were* sent "towards the Sikh entrenchments, the exact distance of which "from us was not known." He had evidently no suspicion whatever that such questions, as the following, might be founded on his representations: Why did not the general explore his front and flanks by the irregular or regular cavalry? What sort of alertness is that, which subjects a force to a cannonade, before any thing is known of the approach of an enemy? How long has it been usual in the Indian army, that round shot lobbing into a line of troops shall be the first intelligencers that the foe is at hand? Yet such must be asked, if we are to be guided by our author's work. We take the liberty to correct him. Sir J. Thackwell is a cautious, active, vigilant officer. Age has tamed the fire of youth, but it has given him much experience, and a calmness free from all precipitation on the battle-field. He may have thought himself not strong enough to press on, and turn the failure of the enemy into a decisive defeat; but he did so on no misconception, either of his own whereabouts, or of

that of the Sikh entrenchments. Good soldiers make mistakes occasionally : and in our opinion Thackwell made two at Saidúlápúr. He, first, with his mind full of the expected junction with Godby, and his attention too exclusively rivetted on that, neglected to occupy the line of villages ; and secondly, when the enemy failed and offered him victory, he stood fast, asked counsel, and let slip the moment. Notwithstanding this over-caution at a critical instant, Sir J. Thackwell is far from being the indifferent officer which the author's work would, in spite of its stilted endeavours to exalt the object of its peculiar laud, force upon the reader's conviction. All in all, he is a prudent, active, safe commander, and enjoyed the confidence of officers serving under him, whose abilities and experience were of a far higher order than Mr. Thackwell's.

If Thackwell was over-cautious at Saidúlápúr, Gough was still more slow at Ramnuggur. After harassing the European troops with the elevation of batteries at all imaginable distances, the gratifying result was, that shot and shell were flung away into an enemy's empty camp : and the fact, that there were no Sikhs to pound, being at last accidentally discovered, the main army crossed in support of Thackwell, about the time that the heads of Shere Sing's columns were composedly taking up new positions on the left bank of the Jhelum. Our false move had gained us nothing, except the power of somewhat circumscribing the sphere from whence the enemy, in Gough's front, could draw his supplies—an advantage counter-balanced by the greater difficulties cast on our own over-tasked commissariat department, which was straining every nerve to remedy the normal error of the campaign. The movement indeed elicited a despatch, but one that it would have been far better to have left unwritten. A few more of the same stamp would make the despatches of British officers as proverbial as bulletins.

The ill-advised passage of the Chenáb, the failure to strike a blow, and the withdrawal of the enemy intact, to positions of his own choosing, were doubtless sufficiently irritating. The press sang all sorts of notes. After having once made the forward movement, and effected the passage of a formidable river in order to close with the enemy, there was an indignity to the character of our arms, in suddenly and respectfully drawing up, when the patrols and pickets of the two armies were touching each other. Had there been a strong reserve on the river, no siege of Múltán in course of procedure, and field magazines complete, the passage of the Chenáb should only have been the prelude to a rapid advance on the enemy. There was,

however, no available reserve ; insecurity was felt at Lahore ; Wheler was busy in the Jullunder : the siege of Múltán was far from concluded ; commissariat arrangements were anything but complete ; and, instead of an unfaltering march on the foe, hesitation and a protracted halt ensued, as if the British army dreaded to measure its strength with the Sikh force. It was felt by every one to be a position derogatory to the *prestige* of the British arms, and calculated to produce an unfavourable impression. Gough would, if left to himself, have moved against the enemy, and have tried the fate of battle : but the Governor-General, on whom the responsibility of Empire pressed, felt and wrote in a different tone. The result was half measures ; and, next to error, half measures are the worst in military matters. A protracted halt at and about Heylah, from the 5th December to the 12th January, during which time Attock fell, and Chut-ter Sing was set free to act in support of Shere Sing, served to excite the impatience of the public, and to produce uneasy feelings that something should be done in almost every one. Strong minds that can withstand the surprise and abuse of the press, the fretting of the public, and the impatient importunities of an eager army, are rare, whether in Governors-General or Commanders-in-chief. After a month both gave way ; and that which, if done at all, should have been done at first, when Attock had not fallen and when we had first crossed the river and closed with the enemy, was now done, on the ground that Attock had fallen, and that Shere Sing might therefore, unless beaten beforehand, receive reinforcements from the side of Peshawur. This, so far as it went, was true : but if the argument had weight against the reasons opposed to crossing the Chenáb, it would have been wiser to allow that weight to operate before Attock had fallen, and whilst Shere Sing, with troops somewhat disheartened by failure against Thackwell, was retiring before the British army. To delay a month, and then fight, was to allow time for the enemy to regain confidence, and to have the assurance that, as Attock had fallen, reinforcements, and a strong reserve were either at hand, or available to fall back upon.

At Dingí the plan of battle was determined upon, and explained to the divisional commanders and brigadiers. A tolerably good general idea of the position occupied by the enemy had been obtained, and the dispositions for the attack framed accordingly. The left of the Sikhs rested on the heights of Russúl, whilst the line, passing by Futteh Shah da Chuck, was said to have its right resting on Múng. It was known that the belt of jungle was thick along the front of this position ; but a frequented road from Dingí led straight upon Russúl, and the

country was known to be more open and free from jungle along this line of road : and, as the enemy's line must be very extended and weak to cover the ground from Russúl to Múng, and the great mass of the troops must necessarily be in the plain, it was clear that to march in the direction of Russúl, to force the enemy's left, and to double up his line, and thrust it back in the direction of Futteh Shah da Chuck and Múng, would be to cut him off from the fords of the Jhelum, his line of communication with Chutter Sing, and the strong country between the Jhelum and Attock ; from Golab Sing's doubtful troops ; from the aid in men and provision he still continued to draw from the Sikh districts at the upper parts of the Chenáb and Jhelum ; and to push him south, hemmed in between rivers, he would not have the means of crossing, and upon a country, which could not afford him the means of supporting his force. This was well and soundly reasoned ; and, to fulfil these objects, Gough's army marched on the memorable morning of the 13th January, the heavy guns on the main road, Gilbert on their right, Campbell on their left, and cavalry and light artillery on both flanks.

The attack, as planned, would have done credit to a Frederic, and was in his style. Virtually it would have been an *echelon* attack—Gilbert's division forcing the left of the Sikhs, whilst the heavy and field artillery, massed together, would almost have swept in enfilade along the curvilinear position of the centre and right of the Sikhs. As soon as Gilbert's division had shaken and broken in upon the left of the enemy, Campbell, who up to that moment would have been in reserve with the massed artillery, was, with Gilbert and the cavalry, to throw themselves fairly perpendicularly across the left centre of the opposing force, and to hurl it to the southward.

Advancing with these intentions, Gough halted his army at Chota Umrao, whilst he sent on the engineers to reconnoitre ahead. They advanced along the Russúl roads, until, finding pickets of Sikh horse close in front and on their flank, they returned, and reported the road, as far as they had been able to proceed, clear and practicable for the guns, and the enemy marching down in columns of infantry from the heights of Russúl, apparently to take up their position in the plain. This was about ten o'clock in the morning, or a little after ; and Gough, on hearing their report, continued his march along the road to Russúl. After proceeding some little distance beyond the village of Chota Umrao, some deserters from the Sikh camp came to Major Mackeson, informing him that the enemy was in some strength, on the left of Gough's advancing column, in the neighbourhood of the villages of Mozawala and Chillianwala.

On hearing this, Gough inclined to his left, and quitted the Russúl road. He at the same time sent on the engineers to reconnoitre, directing them to explore in the direction of Chillianwala : meanwhile the army continued slowly inclining to the left of its original direction. The engineers returned, and reported small detachments of horse in advance of the mound of Chillianwala on the plain, and infantry on the mound. Upon this, Gough turned to his left, and marched his whole force straight on Chillianwala, leaving the Russúl road in rear of, and parallel to, his line when it was deployed. It would have been a very hazardous movement in front of an intelligent general, with troops quick and ready at manœuvre ; for Gough offered his right to an enemy in position within four thousand yards of him, with a thickish belt of jungle, which would have covered their approach, until they debouched and formed across his exposed flank. However, the outpost of Sikhs retired precipitately from the mound, and fell back upon its main line by the Múng road.

From the top of the mound of Chillianwala the enemy's position was distinctly visible ; and the army had to bring up its left in order again to front the Sikh line. Whilst this change of front was being effected, and the British force was assuming its new alignment, their commander was examining the position of the enemy from the tops of the houses of the village of Chillianwala. The Sikhs were drawn out in battle array. Their right centre, which was immediately in front of Chillianwala, was about two miles distant from the village, but less from the British line, which was deploying about five hundred yards in front. The Sikh left trended off to rest on the heights of Russúl. There was a great interval between the left of the right wing of the Sikhs under Utar Sing, and the right of their centre under Shere Sing. It was evident that the enemy occupied a position too extended for his numbers ; and, jealous of his extreme right, it was refused, and inclined back towards Múng. The British line did little more than oppose a front to Shere Sing's centre, the right of which it a little overlapped, so that Campbell's left brigade was opposite to part of the gap we have noted in the enemy's order of array—a circumstance to be kept in mind, as it told in the course of the battle. Front for front therefore the British army faced only the Sikh centre : their right and left, extending far beyond the left and right of Gough's force, were free to take advantage of the disposition if events favoured.

Being about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the troops having been under arms since daybreak, Gough determined to

defer the action, if possible, until the morrow, for he had but a remnant of the short day then before him. The quarter-master-general was accordingly busy making the usual arrangements, whilst the troops, drawn up in front of the village, were awaiting the issue, whether that were a quiet encampment for the night, or immediate battle. Shere Sing had no wish to give them a night's rest, or to afford time for dispositions, which should favour an attack otherwise than on his front : so, perceiving that Gough shewed no intention of attacking, he sought, knowing the impetuosity of the British general, to bring on the action, and with this view, he advanced a few guns, and opened fire at a distance, which rendered it very innocuous and in no wise compromised his pieces.

The enemy's fire determined Gough to attack : the heavy guns were ordered to respond, and having got into position, opened fire at a distance of between 1,500 or 1,700 yards from the enemy. They had however to judge their distance by timing the seconds between the flash and the report of the enemy's guns, and could see nothing amid the thick jungle in which they were placed. They were not left long to play single at their blind, but, as it chanced, effective game ; for Gough, feeling that daylight was precious, very soon ordered the British line to advance. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, or a little after. Steadily, and as well as the jungle admitted of its doing, that line advanced at the bidding of its Chief, whilst the enemy, relieved from the fire of the heavy guns, opened all his artillery on the approaching infantry. The Commander-in-Chief, who had at first given out that his staff would always find him near the heavy guns, advanced considerably in front of them, and was in rear of the centre and right of Gilbert's division, being desirous of seeing more than he could have done from the position of the heavy guns.

For a while nothing but the roar of the enemy's artillery was to be heard ; but after a time, the sharp rattle of the musquetry spoke that the conflict had begun in earnest, and that the infantry was closing on the enemy's position. Campbell's right brigade (that of Pennycuik) came full in front of Shere Sing's right centre, which was strengthened by many guns. Though the fire of these had been rapid, the brigade had suffered comparatively little, until, breaking out of the jungle, it came to a more open space in front of the guns. Now the storm of shot and grape thickened, and the gallant brigade charged : but the jungle had necessarily disordered the formations, and, having to charge over about three hundred yards, the men were winded before reaching the guns, and broke from the charging pace at the moment

that it was most important to have continued it. The brigade fell unavoidably into some confusion ; and a close, well-delivered fire of musquetry from the Sikh infantry, followed by a rush of their horse, completed the disorder and the defeat of the British brigade, which, already broken, now fled, pursued with great havoc by the Sikh sabres, almost up to the original position of the British line at the commencement of the action.

Campbell happened to be with Hoggan's brigade. He had over-lapped the right of Shere Sing's centre, and, marching on the gap we have already noted, he did not meet at first with the opposition which fell to the lot of Pennycuick's brigade. When the latter was attacking the batteries, Campbell, finding he had outflanked the enemy, brought up his left so as to place his brigade on the right flank of Shere Sing's formation ; and, as the pursuit of Pennycuick's brigade somewhat weakened Shere Sing's right by withdrawing horse from it and throwing the infantry forward, Campbell soon found himself in sharp conflict with the infantry and guns of the enemy, whom he now took in flank and at disadvantage. They were, however, quick to front him, and shewed no purpose of being easily beat. Meanwhile, although the cavalry under Thackwell and the guns under Brind kept in check to some extent the troops with Utar Sing, that is to say, checked their advance to their own front, they could not prevent corps of his infantry marching to their own left, and falling on the rear and left flank of Campbell. The latter, therefore, soon found himself engaged in front, flank, and rear, and his brigade's safety was to fight desperately. All honour to H. M.'s 61st for a most indomitable courage, during that mortal struggle, and on that strange day of stern vicissitudes.

Whilst matters stood thus on the British left, the right under Gilbert had as hard a contest to maintain ; for he, too, not only had to storm batteries supported by infantry in his front, but, owing to the break in the British line by the retreat of Pennycuick's brigade, and the repulse of the cavalry brigade with a loss of guns, both his left and right flanks were at the mercy of the enemy, whilst the repulse of the gallant 56th N. I., after severe loss, disconnected his two brigades, and made a gap in the centre of his division. He, too, like Campbell, found himself enveloped, forced to fight to front, rear, and flanks—a strange mixed combat, for even his two brigades were separated, and strove singly but bravely ! Dawes's battery of guns did good service on that day : for, in spite of jungle and every difficulty, whenever in a moment of peril he was most needed, Dawes was sure to be at hand ; his fire boxed the compass before even-

ing, and Gilbert felt and handsomely acknowledged the merit and the valour of Dawes and his gunners.

The day wore a frowning gloom at one period for Gough. The grey-headed commander sat calmly watching the issue of events, when a staff officer rode up, and reported Pennycuick's brigade to have been beaten back to the village with heavy loss, and half the 24th down. Shortly after Gough himself had to witness the cavalry on his right retiring in confusion, and passing to the rear of where he stood : whilst the Sikh horsemen, only checked by Grant's being at last able, disembarrassed of the flying cavalry, to bring round a gun and fire a shot, were within a few hundred yards of the Commander-in-Chief. This was followed by a cloud of dispersed infantry retiring in confusion and dismay from the front, and giving the impression that Gilbert's division, too, was shaken. It seemed as if left, front, and right were yielding, and the day promised to be a black one in our annals. At length, however, the well-known cheer of the British infantry sounded exultingly over the roar of the artillery and the rattle of the musquetry : and gratefully it must have struck upon the old leader's ear, for he knew that it was the shout of victory, and that that stout infantry, which has so often upheld its country's fame and honour in moments of appalling difficulty, had again proved true to itself, and would come forth with untarnished lustre out of the sanguinary struggle which was raging around.

Penny's reserve brigade had been brought up on the repulse of Pennycuick's : but brigades were by that time disconnected, fighting as each best could ; and, by accident, he joined Gilbert's right brigade, and wisely stuck to it.

The enemy's artillery now fired more slackly and fitfully ; the musquetry rang sharp and fast ; and it seemed as if the brigades, unable to see or support each other, communicated by hearty cheers that each made good its ground.

Meanwhile, after Grant with a few rounds had driven back the small band of triumphant Sikh horse, the cavalry had reformed ; and we feel convinced, that, had Lord Gough ridden up at this moment to H. M.'s 14th Dragoons, spoken a few words to the corps, and bid them retrieve the lost guns and strike for the bright fame of their Peninsular honour, they would have swept on like a whirlwind, and dashed upon the retiring confused masses of the enemy, as heedless of numbers as Unett's squadron of the 3rd had done on Utar Sing's compact unshaken troops. It would have saved many a bitter pang, many a reproach, and silenced for ever the mention of the unhappy

and unaccountable retreat, which gave our guns and gunners to the enemy. It would, too, have prevented the withdrawal of the infantry from the ground so hardly won ; and all the guns taken from the Sikhs, and all the wounded, of whom we had many would have been saved. Guns and cavalry were left, wher, they had reformed, as if useless ; whereas the horsemen, having come to their senses from the strange momentary panic into which they had been surprised, were themselves eager to wipe out the remembrance of the event, and were headed by officers that would have led them chivalrously. Grant's brigade of guns, though overwhelmed and forced back by the sweep of the retreating cavalry, had never partaken of the panic. Stern, calm, and as ready for battle as before a shot had been fired, he would have rendered invaluable service at the close of the action, when Shere Sing's forces, driven from their ground, were retiring to the heights of Russúl—guns, horse, and foot, in a confused and crowded mass. Grant's brigade of artillery and the cavalry were however left to their own moody thoughts and inglorious inaction ; whilst Gough rode forward to the infantry, which was close in front of him.

How much a mere handful of men could effect had been shown by Lane, who on the extreme right, even after the retreat of the brigade of cavalry, had isolated his position, kept in check large masses of the enemy's horse, and by his firmness prevented the Sikhs from taking advantage of the repulse of the main body of our cavalry on the right. More important service was never done to an army than by Lane's four squadrons and guns. But for their conduct, there is no calculating what the issue of the day might have been, had the masses of horse and foot on the enemy's left borne down upon our right and rear, both vitally exposed when the cavalry brigade gave ground. A few steady horsemen and guns may be said to have remedied this otherwise fatal event : yet, such is the discrimination of despatches, that this admirable service, so firmly, so judiciously, so timely performed, met with no mention, and no thanks ! For once we concur in Mr. Thackwell's remarks.

Sir J. Thackwell and his guns and cavalry on the left had also done important service. He held in check Utar Sing's force, and prevented its bearing down upon our left and rear, when Pennycuik's brigade was beaten. "It was impossible for him to prevent Utar Sing from pouring some of his battalions upon Campbell's rear and flank ; for this could be done without Thackwell being either aware of, or able, from his position and the nature of his force, to prevent the movement ; but he, like Lane, did very great service on that memorable day, by main-

taining an imposing front, working Brind's guns to advantage, and shewing by the gallant Unett's daring charge, that Utar Sing's advance from his ground, without the support of his batteries of position, would meet with no respect from those ready swordsmen, and that once in motion, the Sikh chief might look for rough handling from the 3rd Dragoons and their native comrades. Thackwell acted wisely, cautiously, and firmly.

It cannot be denied that the effect produced by the great loss sustained, the defeat of one brigade of infantry, the panic of the cavalry on the right, and the disgrace of losing guns, was to damp the confidence of the leader, and of some of his divisional commanders, and that it shook, too, when the amount of loss was known, the confidence of the troops ; nor was this feeling counterbalanced by our having driven the enemy from his position, taken or spiked many of his guns, and remained masters of the field. Yet, in our opinion, the latter consideration ought to have prevailed : and it was an error to withdraw the infantry from the ground they had very nobly won, leaving the wounded to their fate, and the guns taken to be recovered by the enemy. Night had come on ; and the Sikhs, who had retired in confusion were not likely to disturb the bivouac with more than a distant random shot. It was perfectly practicable to have bivouacked the infantry supported by guns, on the ground until daylight, by which time the wounded and the captured guns might have been secured, the weary troops refreshed, and, when day dawned, such dispositions made as circumstances warranted. Nothing was in fact gained by massing our force confusedly on Chillianwala ; and much was lost. Whether or not, when day broke, Gough would have been able to advance and drive the Sikhs from their position, may fairly be open to question. We incline to the opinion that the infantry, confident in their own unaided success, and scarce aware of the conduct of the cavalry, of the loss of guns, and of the havoc in Pennycuik's brigade, would have moved readily to the storm of the position. Our heavy artillery was intact, perfectly prepared for action ; our field artillery had suffered, and much ammunition had to be replaced ; but before morning all would have been ready ; and by massing heavy and light guns, the infantry would have advanced under cover of such a storm of shot and shell, that the shaken Sikh masses, already broken in confidence, would have yielded the position, and in all probability would have fled, even before the infantry moved up to close and storm. If, in order to avoid the shot and shell, the masses had taken to the ravines and broken ground, the havoc would scarce have been less from the lobbing shot and bursting shell : and, when the infantry closed, the exe-

cution would have been awful : for the field artillery could have moved up to the last in support of the infantry, and the heaped and confused masses of the enemy would have been devoted to a terrible carnage. The action would have been over before the rain of the 14th began.

This, however, was not the feeling, or the opinion, of the influential commanders ; and, it must be freely allowed, that they had strong arguments to advance in favour of the course that was pursued. We had suffered very severely. The enemy's position, upon which they had retired, was close, formidable to appearance, and unknown. Our troops were in want of food, rest, and ammunition. To bivouac on the ground might deprive the infantry of water, and food, and refreshment, as they might be harrassed all night by the enemy's cannonade. There was a good deal of disorder ; night was closing ; the army should be concentrated, and, before more was attempted, the organization of the force restored. We will not pretend to say which was the correct view : but our own opinion is, that, having expected an easy victory, the sanguinary vicissitudes of the day had, although crowned with ultimate success, too much depressed some of the commanders, and that the Lion Counsel was on this occasion the best. Far be it from us, however, to pronounce authoritatively ; for failure might have had most serious consequences. The issue could alone have proved the wisdom or the reverse of the more daring course. We know, however, that the Sikh infantry were desponding and dispirited at the close of the hard-fought day of the 13th January.

Lord Gough's original project of attack was admirable ; and he committed a great error in departing from it. Had he advanced along the Russûl road without turning off to his left, he would have gained, at a distance of about two thousand yards from the foot of the hills, open ground, free from heavy jungle ; and he would have found nothing in the form of natural obstacles to impede the execution of his contemplated mode of attack. He would, speaking with submission to the inscrutable will of an over-ruling Providence, have won a great and effectual victory, instead of a resultless action. Had he held on from Chota Umrao, he would have been in position about eleven o'clock, and before noon the battle would have begun.

When, however, he departed from his original intention, struck off to his left, and took up a position in front of Chillianwala, the gap between the enemy's right wing under Utar Sing, and Shere Sing's centre, merited attention, and a rapid attack, which should have placed the leading division, where Campbell broke in upon the enemy's line, would have given victory speedily, but

not of so decisive a character as would have ensued from the original project ; moreover, it would have required nice management and a departure from our every-day fashion of attack.

As it was, our attack, fair upon the centre of the enemy, gave the latter the full advantage of his very extended position ; and, as his centre was covered by thickish bushy jungle, which dislocated all formations in line, and inevitably produced confusion in the brigades, besides offering difficulties to the movements of the guns and to bringing them into action, the troops were sure to come into contact with the Sikh infantry and guns in the most unfavourable condition, their organization disturbed, and nothing but their own courage and the example of their officers to compensate for every conceivable disadvantage. Verily, British infantry, British officers, and British bayonets are of such a character, so entirely to be relied upon, that it is no wonder that British Generals will dare and risk much. The dauntless valour of the infantry rectifies the errors of its commanders, and carries them through, what would otherwise be inevitable defeat and disgrace. But it redeems their errors with its blood : and seldom has there been more devotion, but alas ! more carnage, than on the hard-fought field of Chillianwala, a field fairly won, though bravely contested by the Sikhs of all arms. Indecisive in its strategetical and political effects, it was not the less valour's victory : and, notwithstanding the remarks alleged to have lately been made by the Governor-General on that battle-field and the memorial to its slain, it is a victory, which, whether inscribed or not on the colours of the infantry, the latter may, and will be prouder of, than of most which decorate its standards : for it justly deems that struggle of two hour's deadly strife, to have ended, we repeat, in valour's victory.

We have dealt chiefly with the main features of the campaign, and have felt neither taste nor inclination for the exposure of the numerous errors and misrepresentations which disfigure Mr. Thackwell's work. Our object has been rather to convey a clear general conception of events and their causes, a bird's-eye view of affairs, than to descend into details. We cannot, however, altogether omit noticing his groundless animadversions ; and, perhaps, the simplest and most effective method of doing so, is to reprint the gentlemanly, thoroughly truthful, and soldierly letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford, and that signed by the officers of the 45th Bengal native infantry. This is the more necessary, as our English readers, not aware of the extreme inaccuracy, the blunders and prejudices of Mr. Thackwell, might, if we omitted all notice of his ignorance, misstatement of facts, and crude

presumption, have a very inadequate idea of the thorough untrustworthiness of the work :—

THE BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH.

To the Editor of the "*United Service Magazine*."

MR. EDITOR,—My attention has been called to an article in your Magazine, headed "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

The statement there given, as far as it relates to the 2nd brigade of cavalry, not only implies a want of exertion on my part in restoring order, after the command of the brigade devolved upon me, but the writer of it endeavours to fix upon me the odium of having given an order which, it is said, occasioned the disaster which afterwards occurred.

As I am not disposed to remain silent under such a charge, I have to observe in reply, that the circumstance of Brigadier Pope's having been wounded and disabled was only made known to me after the brigade had finally rallied ; I was therefore not in a position to give any orders to the 14th Dragoons during the retreat.

I solemnly declare that I gave no order to retire, either to my own, or to any other regiment ; nor did I hear such an order given ; and the first intimation I had of the retreat of the brigade was, having it pointed out to me by one of my own officers, when we were in the midst of, and actually engaged with, the advanced party of the Ghorechurras ; after which my whole energies and attention were necessarily directed to my own regiment, then giving way.

My trumpeter sounded the halt and rally repeatedly, which had the effect of halting the three troops of my own regiment engaged,* and other squadrons ; but, our flank being by this time turned by the Ghorechurras, the retreat was continued, in spite of my exertions to stop it.

I may here mention, that although there was great confusion, yet the retreat of that part of the line, which I witnessed, was not such a "*sauve qui peut*" affair, as the writer in your Magazine describes it : for example, my regiment did not ride through the ranks of the artillery, or penetrate to the Field Hospital. On the contrary, we rallied in the right rear of the guns, and many officers exerted themselves to stop the retreat ; and the following fact will, in some measure, prove my view of the case :—a standard of another regiment, which had fallen, its bearer having been killed in the advance, was brought in during the retreat by a havildar of my regiment, and restored to its own, after we rallied.

There are several mis-statements which I desire to notice, apparently introduced for the purpose of throwing blame on the native cavalry and its officers.

1st.—The writer of this article has revived the story of a young officer of Light Cavalry having given the order, "threes about," as emanating from authority.

The story was sifted at the time, and acknowledged by the officer, who brought it forward, to be without foundation ; and this the writer could hardly have been ignorant of.

2nd.—The account implies, that no squadron of direction was ordered, whereas Brigadier Pope named a squadron of the 14th Dragoons, and was seen in front of them, and he ordered the "trot" and "gallop."

3rd.—It is well known that the Brigadier led the 14th Dragoons, and was wounded in front of them ; therefore, the supposition, which the writer in-

* The other three troops were detached with Colonel Lane's guns.

indulges in, that the 6th Light Cavalry were the first to turn, because their Colonel was wounded, goes for nothing.

4th.—The other regiment could not have forced the 14th on the guns, as stated in the article in question, as we inclined to the left during the retreat, until after the temporary rally, when the troops inclined to the right, on the flank being turned. But I do not think this could have affected the dragoons, who by this time must have passed through the guns, having had a shorter distance to move.

If, as the writer states, "the turning of two troops" in a jungle is sufficient reason to convert an attack into a retreat (a fact which, though asserted by him, I apprehend most cavalry officers would be loth to admit), then why is it necessary for the honour of the 14th Dragoons, that a young officer of Light Cavalry should be conjured up to give the word "threes about?" Why is the camp whisper—satisfactorily disposed of at the time—to be re-echoed? and finally, why are faults to be imputed to me, of which I am wholly ignorant, and now hear of for the first time? Why are orders and actions insinuated and inferred, which never took place?

I can well imagine, Sir, that the fame and renown of a distinguished cavalry regiment are dear to their country: but does that justify the sacrifice of the reputation of others?

I think that even the most ardent admirers and anxious apologists of the regiment alluded to, would, on knowing the fallacy of the arguments, shrink from the disingenuousness of their advocate.

I hope, Sir, it may prove that the writer of this article has done as little harm to those, whom he involves in his false accusations and insinuations, as (in the minds of all men at all acquainted with the unhappy circumstances) he has done good to the cause of the regiment, of which he is, I conceive, the self-appointed advocate.

Requesting you will give this letter an early insertion in your Magazine.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. F. BRADFORD,

Lieut.-Col. Commandg. 1st Lt. Cav.

Cawnpur, November 21st, 1850.

To the Editor of the "United Service Magazine."

MR. EDITOR,—We beg to send you an article, which we request you will publish in a conspicuous part of the *United Service Magazine*. It is only fair that you should do so, after the article on the battle of Chillianwallah, which appeared in your number for September 1850.

We have ever been averse to moot this subject, being unwilling that the slightest slur should be cast on a regiment of Europeans, our own countrymen. We believe them to have been over-eager—that they knew not the description of enemy they were about to meet,—that, in short, they despised the Sikhs. We believe them to be brave and good soldiers, and that it was only the severe and galling fire of the enemy, coupled with that of the enemy's resolution and other causes mentioned in our article, which caused them to retreat. But, in thus stating our opinion, we would observe that it has become too much the custom to decry the native troops—that corps of Europeans should not be praised at the expense of their native comrades,—that credit should be given where credit is due—and that we feel as deeply a stigma thrown on our native regiments, as on any in H. M. service under the same circumstances.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the action of Chillianwallah; and during that time we have remained silent, trusting that the affair would

have been dropped. Now, however, when it is again stirred up, we consider it but due to ourselves, and but justice to our sepoys, to contradict the report of H. M. 24th outrunning the 45th. If need were, we are certain that Lord Gough would defend us. He knows the regiment well, and ever spoke highly of it. We give you full permission to publish this letter, and would account for the few signatures, by stating that, of those who were present at Chillianwallah—

Colonel Williams is absent with another Corps.

Captain Oakes is absent on political employ.

Captain Haldane is dead.

Lieutenant Oakes is dead.

Lieutenant Palmer is dead.

Ensign Evans is dead.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Your obedient Servants,

A. S. O. DONALDSON, *Lieut. and Adjt.*

J. FRASER, *Lieut., 45th N. I.*

G. C. BLOOMFIELD, *Lieut., 45th N. I.*

MILFORD TOZER, *Lieut.*

A. E. OSBORNE, *Lieut.*

W. L. TROTTER, *Lieut.*

I have perused the accompanying account of the action of Chillianwallah, and believe it to be essentially correct.

C. O. HAMILTON, *Capt. on Furlough, Med. Certificate.*

Feb. 11th, 1851.

In the September number of this Magazine there appeared an article, headed, "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

We also have a few words to say on that murderous, but not doubtful field. We say, not doubtful, though many think otherwise; for many there are who cannot distinguish between victory and the fruits of victory, between a conquered or only a beaten foe. The Sikhs at Chillianwallah were beaten, but not conquered. They were driven from the field of battle, only to take post in a more formidable position amidst the ravines of Múng Russúl.

Had two hours more daylight remained to Lord Gough on that eventful eve, he would have gained a far greater, though not so bloodless a victory as Gúzerat: for the Sikhs, cooped up in a bend of the Jhelum, and minus the whole of their artillery, which must have been left on the field, or at the foot of the heights, would have been almost annihilated. They never could have made head again: the campaign would have ended there. Yet, though fortune thus interfered, she did not abandon her ancient favourite. Twelve Sikh guns were left upon the field of battle—a larger trophy than remained to Napoleon after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen.

Our present object, however, is not to defend Lord Gough, who needs no defence, but to do justice to those who cannot defend themselves; and if, in the execution of our task, we should seem to speak questionably of the conduct of some, we beg to assure our readers we do so with the utmost regret. We do so from necessity, because we cannot, without dereliction of duty, allow those to be misrepresented, over whose welfare destiny has made us the guardians. We therefore now give a correct version of the advance and repulse of Pennycuik's brigade at the battle of

CHILLIANWALLAH.

This brigade consisted of H. M. 24th, the 25th N. I. and the 45th N. I. The 24th numbered about 1,100 bayonets, whilst the 45th N. I. had 600. We have more especially to do with this native regiment, to prove that the

reflection cast on it in the Septemder number of this Magazine, is unjust ; and to assure our readers that the 45th N. I. was never outrun by the Europeans when approaching the enemy, but supported them throughout well and firmly.

We commenced our march in contiguous columns, the 25th N. I. on the right, the 45th N. I. on the left, and H. M. 24th in the centre. The halt was sounded about ten o'clock, and each man opened three bundless of cartridges. After about an hour's halt, the brigade deployed into line and loaded. The battery attached to the brigade went to the front, and about 12 o'clock came on the enemy's advanced post.

It was a mound intrinched, and distant about 200 yards from the village of Chillianwallah. (On this very spot sleep most of our comrades who fell in the action).

The force of the enemy at this post was said to amount to five hundred men and two guns.

The first shot was fired by the enemy, and our battery replied warmly, whilst the infantry continued advancing until close in rear of our guns. A loud cheer was then given ; and the enemy fled, carrying off, however, their guns and losing but few men.

We proceeded a short distance beyond this post, and halted a little to the left of the village of Chillianwallah. The reason of the halt was not known, but it was supposed that it was Lord Gough's wish to ascertain the true position of the enemy. In about half an hour, the quarter-masters of corps, with camp colours, were sent for ; and it was understood we should encamp for that day. Our fatigues were, however, not yet over. The booming of artillery was soon heard. Our politicals (heavy guns) answered in style, and we could soon perceive an extensive line of the enemy's batteries by the smoke from their guns. All was now excitement !

After this cannonading had lasted for some time, our brigade was ordered to advance in line. It was soon anything but a line—marching through thick jungle, having to clear our way through enclosures of thorns, how could it be otherwise than broken ? We could see no distance to our front. Our light companies were ordered to skirmish, but not to fire. They might have knocked over many of the enemy, who were among the bushes and up in trees taking our distance, had it not been for this extraordinary order. We received this order from Brigadier Pennycuik, with the remark that everything was to be done with the bayonet.

When about 300 yards from the enemy's guns, either with or without orders, our whole brigade gave a cheer, and set off at the double. Many round shot had passed over us, and our battery had not opened its fire. At length it did so, but only fired about four shots when the line went ahead, the 45th N. I. not losing a foot of ground, but keeping up all the way with the Europeans. As we advanced, the fire became hotter and hotter. The enemy commenced in earnest, finding we did not return a shot. Suddenly, a battery until then silent, opened unexpectedly on our left, and sent such a raking fire amongst us, that the ground was actually ploughed up. A battery, it is said, opened also on the right flank ; almost every man killed and wounded in the 45th N. I. was hit from the left.

A short distance from the enemy's guns, the brigade was quite blown. It halted, 45th N. I. shoulder to shoulder with H. M. 24th. Then was shown the absurdity of charging so soon ! The order not to fire should have been countermanded. The enemy's guns to the front were placed on a mound, and opened upon us with grape and round shot. Their infantry, also, poured in a galling fire : and still we were silent. A good rattling file fire would have soon driven the gunners from their

guns. It was very lucky for us that their infantry fired so badly, and that, from our proximity, we were within the range of their guns. It was soon perceived that the enemy wished to concentrate their fire on the Europeans, easily known and quite conspicuous in their Albert hats. From the very long line of H. M. 24th, it is impossible for us to say what took place on their right; but we can safely affirm that the Grenadier company of the 45th N. I. was close to, and in line with, the left company of H. M. 24th—not a single pace in the rear. Three of the enemy's guns were quite distinct in front of the 45th. Even the gunners were clearly seen; and the 45th were as near to those guns as the Europeans. The enemy never left those guns, whilst the brigade was near them. We repeat, that what H. M. 24th did on their right, we know nothing about; but this we know, that their left wing was never one foot in advance of the 45th N. I. when approaching the enemy.

We were under the impression that the Europeans were merely taking breath, and would immediately make the final spring; but the enemy's fire had been very severe, and, as it was concentrated on the Europeans, they could not stand it, but broke and made off for the village. The 45th N. I. followed their example. It was not to be expected that natives would stand, when Europeans would not. We rallied at the village of Chillianwallah.

After a time we were marched down to support Gilbert's division, which had got into the enemy's trenches. After getting near, we were ordered to concentrate on some batteries; here we remained until nearly dark. The dead of H. M. 29th, and of the 56th N. I., were lying thick, as were also numbers of Sikhs, most of them gray-headed men, and two of them Sirdars. Three shots then passed over us when the order was given to retire, and, after great difficulty in finding our way, we reached again the village of Chillianwallah. A very slight drizzling rain fell during the night.

The tremendous fire of the enemy—the difficulty of advancing through thick jungle—the broken line—the absurdly long charge—the sudden fire of flanking batteries, and the order not to fire, were the true reasons of the repulse, and would have been quite sufficient, without laying it to the shuffling along of the natives in English leather shoes. The 45th N. I. did not wear English leather shoes. The forced marches, preceding the battle of Múdkí, will show how well the natives pushed along, and that they are not easily out-marched by Europeans.

It is well known that the 45th, in the retreat, kept very well together; hence the small number of casualties in that corps, and the fact of their three colours coming safely out of action. The retreat of the 45th was also covered by a body of their own men, amounting to 52 files, with four officers. Three times were parties of the enemy beaten off by this body, who expended sixty rounds of ammunition per man. That their fire was effective, may be inferred from the fact, that only three men of the 45th were cut up, whilst the great loss of H. M. 24th was sustained in the retreat. This small party afterwards joined Brigadier Hoggan, and charged with his brigade. From the thick jungle, the other sepoys saw not, or did not notice this small force, or all would have rallied at once.

Before closing this article, we would remark that, in a work on the last campaign by Dr. McGregor, the blame is thrown on the native regiments. We were silent on its appearance, because we considered it beneath our notice, being written by one who was not present, and whose work is certainly nothing extraordinary; but, when an aspersion is thrown on the native corps in such a widespread periodical as the *United Service Magazine*, we are bound to point out the inaccuracy.

The European cavalry engaged on the right, needed no such self-appointed, indiscreet advocate as Mr. Thackwell, and its noble-minded officers will feel no gratitude for a defence, based upon an endeavour, by the resuscitation of a ridiculous rumour exploded at the time, and by the sacrifice of the reputation of gallant officers, to cast blame where none was merited, and thus to apologize for one of those events with which the military history of cavalry actions is replete. We could quote many instances, had we the space or leisure, but it would be useless ; for some future day will show that the old spirit, which hurled two weak unsupported squadrons under Hervey upon the French at the Douro, and brought them back again through the masses that had closed in upon their rear after their daring charge, is not extinct, but fresh and living in the hearts and arms of men and officers. There will be many chivalrous Herveys to lead ; and their followers will wipe out all memory of the strange retreat at Chillianwallah by noble bearing and gallant deeds. We mistake, if their next field day, should the opportunity be afforded, be not memorable in the annals of cavalry success.

We have stated plainly that, in our opinion, Lord Gough was in error in departing from his original project of attack. It will have been easily inferred that, on the field of Chillianwalla, though the aged commander merits all praise for his courage and firmness, there was little skill ; and that, after his infantry had won him a victory, it is questionable, whether he was right in yielding his own more noble opinion to the sentiments of his subordinate commanders, and whether the throwing up half the symbols of his victory was well considered or wise. We shall now have the more pleasant task of showing that, subsequently to the battle, which had cost him so much in men and officers, and had added so little to his reputation, the course which he pursued, was on the whole the proper one to be adopted, and, as is well known, that it was finally crowned by entire success on the well-planned and well fought field of Gúzerat.

The day after the action of Chillianwalla, an error was committed in taking up too confined a position for the British camp. Instead of the compact parallelogram between Chillianwalla and Mozawala, the left of the army should have rested on Chillianwalla, the right on Kokri and its mound, and a strong outpost should have occupied the hill top opposite to Kokri. During the few first days before the Sikhs had regained confidence, there was nothing to have prevented this position being assumed ; and, had it been taken up, the enemy would have been so entirely under observation from the out-post, so closely cabined

in his narrow inconvenient position, that in all probability he would have withdrawn at night, and retired upon the fords of the Jhelum. The British army, on the more extended but strong position which we have mentioned, would have covered the roads to Dingí, and to Ramnuggur by Heylah; would have commanded the main road by the Khúri pass between the Jhelum and Guzrat; would have threatened the Sikh line of retreat and operations between the Jhelum and Russúl; and would thus have rendered the Sikh position on the heights of Russúl untenable, without striking a blow or firing a shot to drive them from it. To coop up the British camp into a narrow parallelogram, answered no purpose except to facilitate the enemy's foraging parties, to restore his confidence, to enable him to harass and insult the contracted position of the British General, and to maintain the command of the lines of road at the moment so important to the Sikh General. Nor was this error obviated by the ultimate erection of a redoubt on the Kokri mound. This somewhat restrained the insolence of the Sikh patrols and foragers, and made them respect the right of Gough's position: but it secured none of the strategetical objects, which would have been attained had the British General taken up at first the position which was obviously, on every account the most desirable, and which it would have been practicable to assume without a chance of active opposition. Much was thrown away of the fruits of victory by withdrawing from the ground, which the infantry had so nobly won at Chillianwala: but, when this had been done, much more was lost and thrown away, in our opinion, by failing to perceive the strategetical importance of the position, which, for several days after the battle, the enemy left optional to Lord Gough to take up or not as he pleased. Afterwards, when our own timidity had restored their confidence, the Sikhs saw the momentous importance of what we had neglected. They became exceedingly jealous of the hill top looking down on Kokri, and any demonstration on the part of Gough to seize it would have been stoutly contested.

Multán fell on the 22nd; and on the 26th, a salute was fired from the heavy guns posted on the mound of Chillianwala. The Sikhs turned out from their entrenchments to gaze upon the British camp, and wonder what the salute portended.

The Sikh army had been busily employed, ever since the 13th, in strengthening their Russúl position. When joined by Chutter Sing's reinforcements and the Affghans, their position became too confined for their numbers, and the difficulty of provisioning their forces was enhanced. It now became the

object of the Sikh commander, if possible, to bring the British army to action, before the reinforcements, set free by the fall of Múltán, could join.

On the other hand, Lord Gough was in a position which, though inconveniently contracted, covered, and gave him the command of, the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur, and thus secured his communications with the expected reinforcements. He watched the hard-won field of battle and the open ground between Múng and the belt of jungle, so that the enemy could not well hazard a flank movement in face of the British force in that direction. He commanded the road from Russúl on Dingí, and observed that by Khúri on the same place. His proper course, therefore, was evidently not to gratify the Sikh general by an untimely, indecisive action, but to hold Shere Sing in check, until Whish's reinforcements came within the sphere of tactical operations. Matters stood thus, when the Sikhs, being in force at Púran as well as at Russúl, thrust their horse through the Khúri pass, and, on the 3rd February, thus threatened the road by Khúri on Dingí. Mackeson, who had the credit of having wrung from the Governor-General a qualified assent to an attack on the Sikh position, and of having thus brought on the fight of Chillianwala, now advocated such a change of position, as would bring the army opposite the Khúri pass, and prevent the Sikhs from issuing forth upon the plain and marching on Gúzerat. In order to avoid an action, the change of position was to be effected by two or three pivotings on the flank of the camp.

The objections to this were obvious. Such a change of position, if effected as suggested, laid open the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur; threw up the battle field, and allowed the enemy to resume his original positions—an event which was sure to produce a bad moral effect—besides leaving it optional with the enemy to threaten or act upon our direct line of communication with Ramnuggur. Not only would the battle of Chillianwala have palpably been then fought for nothing, but Gough must have fallen back from his new position across the Khuri road, and might have found himself awkwardly situated by one of the Sikh commander's bold and rapid movements.

Gough was very right in holding on where he stood. Provided he watched the movements of the enemy, there was nothing to be apprehended from his issuing forth upon the plain. On the contrary, the Sikh commander would thus, in all probability, afford the British General the opportunity of fighting a decisive action. All that it behoved Lord Gough to be careful of was, that if the enemy issued in force by the Khúri pass and

threw up the Russúl position, he should not be permitted to march on Gúzerat and across the Chenáb, before the British army could close and prevent the passage of the river. With ordinary vigilance and prudence, Gough's position rendered the unimpeded passage of the Chenáb by the Sikhs almost an impossibility. He was in every respect justified, therefore, in giving weight to the objections against Makeson's proposal, and in standing fast.

The enemy finding that the show of their horse through the Khúri pass had produced no effect on the British General, encamped in force, on the 5th, at the mouth of the Khúri pass, and, on the 6th February, pushed on their horse to Dingí; but they held Russúl in undiminished strength. Again Mackeson argued for a pivoting change of camp to Dingí: but this was almost sure to bring on an action necessarily indecisive from the positions and strength of the enemy, whilst it was open to all the serious objections before stated. Lord Gough therefore stood fast.

The enemy, aware that the reinforcements from Múltan must be rapidly approaching, were now anxious to bring Gough to battle; and on the 11th February, they sought to induce him to quit his camp, and to bring on a general action. Their cavalry in some force advanced to Burra Omra, whilst their infantry guns formed a line in front of Khúri—their right resting on the strong hill ground, which was a prolongation of the Russúl position, their left refused, and the Khúri pass and road in their rear. At Russúl, the Sikh force formed in front of its entrenchments—the infantry and guns half way down the slopes of the range, and a strong advance of horse, foot, and guns fairly in the plain, and within about a mile of our nearest pickets and videttes. The Sikh plan was evidently to draw Gough out of his camp, and to bring on an action in the direction of Khúri—the Russúl force taking the opportunity of falling upon his flank and rear, as soon as he was well compromised. The army was under arms, and a cavalry detachment properly supported was thrown out in the direction of Burra Omra to watch the Sikh horse. The skirmishers of the cavalry were for some time engaged, but nothing further ensued; as the Sikhs, when they found that, if they would bring the British General to action, they must attack him, withdrew to their original positions for the day. During the night, they threw up the Russúl line of entrenchments, retiring that part of their force on Púran, and thus brought both wings of their army upon the same line of road, and in close communication with each other. On the 13th,

the enemy closed up their columns. At Khúri all was quiet during the day ; but at midnight the army marched : and, on the 14th February, it became known to the British General that the Sikhs had gained a march, and were on the road to Gúzerat.

This movement had been anticipated, and, with a view to the speedy termination of the war, was the most desirable course that Shere Singh could adopt. But, instead of the 14th being lost in indecision and a sort of extemporised council, it should have found Gough prepared to make a corresponding movement, with the view of securing his own objects, and hindering those of the enemy. The troops were ordered to strike camp about 11 A. M., but the march was counter-ordered at one o'clock. Gough, however, sent orders to Whish to push up a detachment of troops to Wuzírabad along the left bank of the Chenáb, so as to check any attempt at the passage of the river. On the 15th the army moved to Lus-súri, a position which secured a junction with Whish's force, and was near enough to the Sikh army to paralyze any attempt on its part to commence the passage of the Chenáb. Whish had judiciously anticipated the orders he received, and had pushed up to the neighbourhood of Wuzírabad a force of foot, horse and guns under Colonel Byrne. This body prevented Shere Singh's placing himself *à cheval* on the Chenáb ; whilst the proximity of the mass of the British army rendered a serious attempt to force a passage too dangerous and problematical an operation to be attempted.

The state of affairs was now delicate ; for the 16th, a march had been ordered, and subsequently counter-ordered. Indecision for a time prevailed. Mackeson was for marching to Kúngah, a place within about five miles of the Sikh position : but a junction with Whish's reinforcements had not been actually effected ; and it was so evidently the game of the enemy to bring Gough to action before he was reinforced, and the opportunity would have been so favourable after the troops had made a fifteen-mile march, that a battle was sure to follow. To have waited patiently a month and upwards for reinforcements, and then to have suffered himself to be brought to action without them, when a single day would suffice to bring up the advance of Whish's troops, would have been fatal to Gough's reputation as a General ; and, if the action under such circumstances had proved indecisive, the wrath of England would justly have overwhelmed him with disgrace. An advance to Saidúlapur was free from the risk of collision with the enemy. At the same time that it must attract his attention, paralyze his movements,

and force him to prepare for attack, it gave time for the reinforcements to come up, secured everything, and endangered nothing. Gough accordingly decided on the march to Saidúlápúr. On the 17th he made another short march towards the enemy, halting with his right on Golí and his left behind Isharah. He had the satisfaction of being joined by a part of his reinforcements : but Dundas was behind, preferring to march according to his own opinion of what was necessary, rather than attend to Whish's instructions ; and, therefore, he was written to peremptorily. His delay was injudicious and dreadfully inopportune. On the 18th the army made another short march, and halted its left on Kúngah. On the 19th, the army halted to allow Dundas to join, and Markham to cross the river at Gurré-ka-Putun ; and, on the 20th, another short march to Shadíwala, in battle order, brought the two armies face to face, with but a small interval to be traversed, before closing for the contest that was to decide the fate of the Punjáb. The Sikhs had, since the 16th, been kept in continual alarm and in daily apprehension of an attack ; and, having chosen their position, had repeatedly been drawn out in battle array, anticipating a more precipitate advance, and to be earlier assailed. But Gough, acting prudently, had determined to risk as little as possible : and knowing how much depended on the battle about to be delivered being a decisive one, he resolved to fight with well-rested troops and a long day before him.

Considering how long the country had been in our hands ; that Gúzerat is a place of great resort ; that officers and detachments had repeatedly been there—the ignorance of the ground, under which the Commander-in-Chief laboured, was truly remarkable. It proved how few men traverse a country with a military eye. Upon the little that was ascertained of the Sikh position, Gough formed his plan of attack.

When expecting an attack on the previous day, the Sikhs had drawn out their army, with its right, and right centre covered by the Dwara, a dry, sandy-bedded nullah of some breadth which, after passing to the west of Gúzerat, took a bend to eastward before striking off south to Hariwala and Shadíwala. The Sikh centre occupied the villages of Kabra ; and their left rested on the Katelah. They were supposed to refuse their right, which was thrown back nearly at right angles to their front, following the course of the Dwara, so that their left and centre, covered by the villages, was offered to the British. It was known that the Dwara, which bisected the British line, was no where at the time any real obstacle either to men or guns ; though of course it might be very useful to the Sikhs

in affording their infantry cover. Gough, therefore, determined to attack their left and centre, and to thrust them back upon their right. With this purpose in view, the British army was to advance with the heavy artillery in the centre, Gilbert and Whish's divisions forming the right wing, which, as that expected to bear the brunt of the action, was supported by the greater portion of the field artillery. The left wing, composed of Campbell's division, Dundas's brigade, and a smaller proportion of field artillery, was expected to come into play later than the right wing, and was intended to complete the destruction and dispersion of the enemy's masses, when the Sikh left and centre should have been doubled upon its right. The Dwara, up to the enemy's position, was to be the regulator of the advance of the British line—the right and left wings being ordered, with their respective left and right flanks, to skirt the banks of the nullah, whilst the general alignment and the pace of advance was to be governed by the progress of Shakespear's elephant-drawn eighteen-pounders, a fine mark on that open-plain, and therefore a good "squadron of direction" to the British line of battle.

The morning of the 21st of February was clear and bright; and, as the enemy's masses had very early taken up their positions, there was no dust of moving columns to cloud the purity of the air and sky. The snowy ranges of the Himalayah, forming a truly magnificent background to Gúzerat, and the village-dotted plain, seemed on that beautiful morning to have drawn nearer, as if like a calm spectator, to gaze on the military spectacle. A looker-on might have thought the army drawn out on some gala occasion; for the baggage being packed in safety at Shádiwala, the force moved free of incumbrance, and the whole had the appearance of a grand review.

In the order we have mentioned, his flanks supported by cavalry and horse artillery, and reserve brigades to each wing of his army, Gough marched at seven in the morning, and advanced until his centre reached Hariwala, a village on the Dwara. His right wing had now in its front, at a distance of upwards of two thousand yards, the Sikh left and centre, and the villages of Kabra, which they held in force. The Sikh artillery opened an innocuous fire; and our heavy artillery, taking up ground, began to respond, whilst the right wing deployed into line. The distance was however too great; and the cannonade beyond making a noise and burning powder, was ineffective on either side; so that our heavy guns had again to move, and assumed a more advanced, but still too distant, position. The field artillery threw themselves daringly to the front, and

made their fire tell well upon the enemy's line : but the most forward of our batteries went through a sharp ordeal, the enemy's guns being neither few nor slow to answer our gallant gunners. Meanwhile, the left wing, advancing gradually, so as to keep pace and alignment with the right wing as the latter moved forward under cover of the artillery, remained in columns at deploying distance, and paid no respect to the ineffective fire of the Sikh artillery in its front. When, however, the columns had passed the villages of Jumna and Júpúr, which the Sikhs had neglected to occupy, the enemy's shot, from pieces about twelve hundred yards distant, ranged up fair and free, and, threatening mischief, Campbell deployed, and moving up his line to within about a thousand yards of the Sikh artillery, made his infantry lie down ; whilst Mouat's guns, trotting rapidly forward before the Sikh gunners got the range, unlimbered, and at a distance of about eight hundred yards, opened a very effective fire on the battery opposed to him, and on the Sikh infantry supporting it.

Along the whole British line, except on the extreme left, the British artillery was now pouring shot and shell with rapidity and precision upon the Sikh batteries and masses ; and the latter, unable to face the pitiless storm, began to yield ground. The centre and left of the Sikhs withdrew behind the line of the Kabra villages, still however holding these in force, for they afforded good cover ; their right, having lined the bend of the Dwara in front of their guns with infantry, covered by the right bank from Mouat's shot, retired a few hundred yards, but in perfect order, and again fronted. In proportion as Mouat's fire told, Campbell pushed forward his guns, and advanced his division, making the line lie down when it halted. At length, the Sikh fire in front being greatly subdued, two of the British guns were enabled to take up a position, such that they could sweep the bend of the Dwara, which they strewed with killed and wounded. This cleared the nullah rapidly of the Sikh infantry ; and Campbell, with very trifling loss, by good management of the guns under his command, occupied the position, from which he had forced his opponents to retire, without firing a musket-shot.

Meanwhile, the right wing had had sharp fighting in carrying the villages of Kabra. They were stormed with great gallantry, but with heavy loss to the 2nd European and to the 31st Native Infantry, and with considerable loss to H. M. 10th, and to the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. Had Shakespear been permitted to expend a few minutes' attention

and a few rounds upon Burra Kabra and its supporting batteries, the loss would have been less, or altogether avoided.

When the right wing had carried the Kabra line of villages, and the left wing had forced the Sikhs from the Dwara, the enemy, though he had fallen back, seemed at one time disposed again to advance. However dastardly the conduct of the chief sirdars, the subordinate commanders had stout hearts; and they could be seen actively re-forming their infantry lines and encouraging their men. As the organization of their corps was not shaken by what they had suffered, and they were in good order, there was a prospect of sharp fighting in forcing the suilen mass from the strong environs of Gúzerat, even if their commanders failed to induce them to advance. Campbell and Dundas, however, taking up the line of the Dwara, had thrown themselves across the right flank of the Sikhs; whilst Thackwell, who in the early part of the action had punished an insolent demonstration of the Affghan cavalry by the gallant charge of the Scinde horse, and had pushed back the Sikh cavalry by the show of his own, now passing well ahead and to flank of Dundas's extreme left, threatened very dangerously the right and rear of the enemy, and was in a position to interpose his squadrons, and preclude the possibility of retreat by the direct road on the Jhelum,—that by which the Affghan horse had fled precipitately. The right wing, leaving the heavy guns in their last position, had, in the course of its advance, almost necessarily thrown up its touch with the Dwara; and for some time there was a very awkward gap in the centre of Gough's line. The Sikh commanders opposed to Campbell, were quick to perceive this; and, finding themselves pressed and turned on their right, apparently thought that the gap might afford the chance of recovering the fortune of the day. They accordingly formed a body of infantry and cavalry opposite to and pointing at the gap, and even advanced, as if resolved boldly to break in upon the weakened centre of the British line of battle and disconnect its wings. Two troops of horse artillery were now brought up, and partly occupied the endangered centre; but their shot and shell had been expended, and they had to await the arrival of communication from the rear. The Sikhs, judging from the silence of these batteries that something was wrong, and seeing that the opening was very partially occupied, were evidently serious in their intentions of an advance of horse and foot upon the empty interval and silent batteries, when Campbell, becoming aware of the threatened movement, turned part of his artillery upon the mass. The latter finding that its

advance must be performed under a flank fire from these pieces, and that Campbell would be able to throw himself upon them as they advanced, desisted, and, covered by cavalry, commenced an orderly retreat. Indeed, it was high time that they should ; for our right wing was advancing rapidly, and the Sikh left and centre were retiring fast, in heavy columns, covered by cavalry, over the open country, passing to the east of Gúzerat ; their right, completely turned by Campbell and Dundas, and driven in upon the camp and centre, was forced to withdraw from the field by the same side of Gúzerat as the other masses ; and the whole, being headed off the direct road on the Jhelum by Thackwell's advance with his cavalry, were driven to the northward. By one o'clock in the afternoon, Gough had overthrown the Sikh army, and had crowded it in heavy masses upon a line of retreat, which offered no hope of support, provision, or escape for the disheartened soldiery, if properly followed up. By two o'clock, Gough's infantry was in position to the north of Gúzerat, and the cavalry and horse artillery left to pursue the retreating foe.

Gough, very superior to the Sikhs, not only in weight of metal and in number of guns, but also in the skill of his artillery-men, made great use of this effective and terror-striking arm, and won his crowning victory mainly through its instrumentality. The battle was in fact a combat of artillery. Gough also had the merit on this occasion of not only forming a good plan of attack, but, an unusual circumstance with him, of adhering to it. We have already shown that all his movements prior to the battle were cautious and judicious—and that, too, in spite of advice, which at one time nearly prevailed with him, and would, had he followed it, most probably have been the ruin of his reputation as a commander.

On the field, errors of detail were committed, the most important of which was that our artillery, when it first opened its fire, did so at too great a distance, and therefore it was remarkably ineffective as to numbers slain, though completely effective in daunting the courage of the enemy.

Our author is wrong in stating that the chief objects of the enemy at Gúzerat were to turn our right flank and penetrate to the guns. The Sikh cavalry out-numbered and out-flanked our horse at both extremities of the British line ; and at both they made a show of turning our flanks and attacking. On the left, Thackwell dealt with this demonstration, as it deserved ; he charged with the nearest squadrons (the Scinde horse, supported by the squadrons, and the 9th Lancers), and made the enemy more respectful.

Lord Gough made a mistake, when he recalled the cavalry, and prevented Thackwell from carrying out his intention of bivouacking on the ground and continuing the pursuit in the morning. The horse artillery, after a night's rest, would have been perfectly able to move in support of the cavalry; and the infantry ought, part by the direct route on the Jhelum, and part in support of the cavalry, to have been under arms and in full march before day-break of the 22nd. Gough was too slow in his proceedings after the victory: but to insinuate that this arose from such motives as are implied by Mr. Thackwell's work, and that Gough sacrificed the interests of his Government to a personal bias in favour of Gilbert, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of becoming a K.C.B., is equally ridiculous and despicable. Gough had no wish to prolong the war if he could avoid it: and the escape of the enemy's masses to the right bank of the Jhelum might have prolonged the war for another year. If open to be actuated by petty personal motives, the publicly-discussed and then anticipated appointment of his successor, Sir Charles Napier, under circumstances not complimentary to Gough's renown, was more likely to influence him than mere partiality for Gilbert, and to lead him to strain every nerve, that the campaign might be satisfactorily concluded, before Sir C. Napier could be sent to assume command. Willingly, and of purpose, with the puerile object of making Gilbert a K.C.B., to prolong the contest, was to afford Sir C. Napier an opportunity of stepping in, finishing the war, and depriving Gough of much credit. The thought of such a contingency was not likely to be palatable to one so peculiarly jealous of all affecting his military fame, as Gough always showed himself.

Our author says that "Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's agent, controlled the movements of the Chief; and it was he who urged the advance of the British troops into the jungle at Chillian, as may be gleaned from Lord Gough's despatch." We have heard it affirmed on good authority that Mackeson was Lord Gough's own choice as a political agent. As the agent of the Governor-General, as the person entrusted with the duty of obtaining intelligence without restriction as to expense, and as the person charged with political negotiations, Major Mackeson's advice was sure to have weight. But we have shown that, as a military adviser, Mackeson was neither a safe nor a judicious one; and that, if he wrung an unwilling assent from the Governor-General, and induced the Commander-in-Chief to fight at Chillianwala, Lord Gough subsequently did not allow himself to be thus controlled but rejected Mackeson's

pressing and reiterated suggestions, and followed better counsel. Mackeson, although a most gallant officer, was not qualified for an adviser on military operations, where the difficulties were many, the dangers great, and the position of the General delicate. He was well in place, in a pursuit like Gilbert's. There no nice discrimination between things of major and of minor importance was essential; energy, and a firm adherence to instructions, were the requisities. Associated with the resolute and active Gilbert, there was no chance of a slack pursuit; and the manner in which it was conducted was highly creditable to both. Gilbert's operations perfected the victory of Gúzerat: but, for that victory, Gough was indebted to his neglect of Mackeson's advice—the latter failing to evince comprehensive views of Gough's position. The political shackles, in which our author states the Commander-in-Chief to have been entangled, were entirely of Gough's own forging, if they existed: for Mackeson could have no other weight on military questions, except such as Lord Gough chose to concede to his arguments. That these were long-winded and pertinaciously obtruded was well known throughout the camp: but Mr. Thackwell is in error, if he thinks that Lord Gough was otherwise authoritatively controlled than by the Governor-General's views and policy.

When a country like England entrusts its armies, and, with those armies, the military renown of the nation, to a General, the people will never ask whether a Chillianwala was fought by the advice of a Mackeson: but, with great propriety, they hold the leader responsible for the use made of the armed thousands at his disposal. His fame and reputation are bound up with the fate of the troops he commands: his judgment, and his alone, must decide, under God, what that fate shall be: and it is ridiculous to suppose that the sound, practical common sense of the English nation will trouble itself to enquire, whether a Mackeson, or even a Dalhousie, wrote this thing, or advised the other. It will always ask, What wrote the General? what measures did he take? and how he did act with reference to the circumstances in which he was placed? A Mackeson may give bad, and a Dalhousie may give ambiguous, advice, but all the world knows that the match cannot be lit, or the sword drawn, without the commander's word; and the British people are not of a character to endure that paltry excuses be palmed off upon them, with the view of shifting responsibility to other shoulders than those which are bound to bear both the load and the honour. Our commanders should

know and feel this truth : for most assuredly they will experience, that no excuse is taken for great military errors ; and that the allegation of advice, given by high civil or political functionaries, will be met with the smile of contempt. When once the sword is drawn, it is impossible to foresee the bearing of a political question on the condition and circumstances of the army in the field, and no British General should contract his views upon the subject of his own responsibility. He should, whether invested with political powers or not, make himself thoroughly conversant with all that, either directly or indirectly, can affect the operations entrusted to him ; keeping the fact clearly in view, that England ignores any advice, as relieving its naval or military chief from their great, but honourable, responsibility.

We think it highly injudicious, except under 'peculiar circumstances, to separate, when operations on a great scale are undertaken, the political from the military power. When these powers are in distinct hands, their representatives will, inevitably, to the great detriment of the public service, clash. We, therefore, concur generally in the expediency of investing military commanders in the East, when properly qualified, with political power. We would, however, stipulate, that they be not only able, but conscientious leaders, morally and mentally fitted for their high trust—men not likely to be swayed by the Siren charms of ribbons, rank, honours, and prize-money. These things are well enough in their proper places ; some of them are necessary, and others advisable to prevent greater evils ; but, whilst protesting against a system, which may cramp and obstruct our military commanders, and has, at times, produced evil results and left deep scars upon our renown, we would still more strongly protest against either military or political power being entrusted to leaders of low moral tone and principle—men disqualified, not alone by mediocrity or absence of diplomatic and military talent, but also by a want of those higher qualities, which confer real dignity on the profession of arms. Wherever that terrible necessity, War, calls forth a British army, be it in the East or in the West, let us have men in command, imbued with a keen sense of the not yet exploded truth, that a nation's honour and character are based on the justice and consideration evinced in its bearing to friends and foes ; and that conquest and victory, where international laws and rights are trampled upon, disgrace the transgressor, and frequently bring down on the offending nation the just, but terrible, retribution of Providence.

We had intended not to have dismissed the author of the work before us without a more detailed notice of his many errors, of his ignorance of native troops, and of the crudeness of assertions and opinions, which, apparently taken up at second-hand without a capacity in the recipient for investigation or inquiry, are misapplied strangely ; but, in endeavouring to give a general sketch of the broader features of the eventful campaign, we have already out-run our limits. We leave, therefore, the personal prejudices, and the petty spirit of discontent at the distribution of honours and promotion, without further remark, than that the work derogates, by its tone of captious murmur, from the dignity of the profession, and is calculated to give the impression, that Mr. Thackwell's brethren in arms are inclined, in the service of their country, to think more of purely personal questions and individual distinctions, than of the performance, on high principle, of their duty—to convey the impression of a pervading low tone of thought and feeling amongst the officers of the British army. Mr. Thackwell may not have meant thus to impress his readers : but, notwithstanding much verbiage of the pseudo-Napierian style, stilted talk of glory, gallant Sabreurs, and the like, with very queer enlistment of would-be classical allusions, the effect of the work is incontrovertibly what we have represented : and, as such an impression is erroneous, it should be counteracted. We must, therefore, observe that, after sedulously decrying Lord Gough to the uttermost, both in his capacity as a commander in the field, and as the appreciator and rewarder of military merit ; after taxing him with partiality, and implying questionable, if not dishonourable, motives to the aged chief ; after seeking in every way to damage his reputation, and to give currency to opinions most unfavourable to Lord Gough, the endeavour to shelter himself, under cover of such a passage as the following, betrays on the part of the author a spirit, which we regret to find characterising the work of a British officer. We do not give the writer credit for any originality of thought, or for any depth or breadth of view, but we should pronounce him utterly deficient in common sense, were we to assume, that he could for a moment imagine that an author, after disseminating opinions and commenting favourably upon them, can screen himself by so transparent a subterfuge as the disavowal of being himself the originator of the opinions he takes up and puts forth to the world. The futile attempt is an insult to the good sense of his readers ; an insult to that ingenuous truthfulness, which should be the aim of all writers

on historical events; and, for an officer and a gentleman, an unworthy attempt to mask a hostile attack by the endeavour to charge the sentiments and feelings of the author upon an honourable body of men, few of whom, if we mistake them not, would be thus guilty of shrinking from the candid avowal of their opinions, and none of whom would be guilty of charging them on others. The passage, we allude to, is the following:—

“It will be seen that no opinion has been pronounced in these pages on the policy pursued by His Excellency in these operations; it has been my object merely to place on record the plain facts connected with the action, and the different opinions current in the camp respecting it. The letters which appeared in the Indian newspapers during the progress of the campaign, containing animadversions on Lord Gough, were often based on false statements, and dictated by the most paltry malice. Men, who had been unsuccessful in their applications for staff appointments, vented their spite in elaborate articles, casting the most unwarrantable aspersions on the character of that illustrious soldier. Thus, they were able to gratify their vindictive feelings, without any fear of detection; for the papers, to whom their dastardly libels were sent, did not previously insist on their authentication.

“The injury, which Lord Gough sustained in this way, has been somewhat counterbalanced, however, by the glorious reception with which he has been honoured in his native land. Such a reception was justly due; for England has not sent forth a more successful General since the days of Wellington and Waterloo.”—p. 9.

If the writer of this passage was himself (as he was generally reputed to be) a frequent correspondent of the Indian press upon which he reflects, and also was not distinguished for over-accuracy in his communications, our readers may perhaps feel amused at his effrontery, and will feel inclined to think well of the temper, both of the press and of those whom he accuses. That ignorant and sometimes desponding letters were written, no one will deny; but that disappointed hopes or vindictive feelings gave rise to these communications, is a gross misrepresentation of the men in H. M. and in the E. I. C. army. We could wish that officers, whilst operations are proceeding, would be more guarded in what they write from camp, even when addressing friends and near relatives; for the impressions of the moment, which would often be corrected a few hours after, getting abroad, often do much harm. We how-

ever acquit this species of indiscretion of any such malevolent motive, as the author would clothe it with. The army considered Lord Gough no great genius of a commander ; and certainly none of his campaigns in India warranted a different conclusion. That he was a successful commander was always allowed ; but it had been experienced that his success, like that of other British Generals, was rather owing to the dauntless valour of the British infantry, than to any remarkable skill exhibited by Gough on the field. When, therefore, indecisive actions, accompanied by heavy loss, were fought, the opinions of the army naturally broke forth, and found vent through public and private channels. As soon, however, as that army found that its Chief could act warily and wisely, and could fight a well-planned battle, it gave him credit for the display, on his last field and crowning victory, of more proficiency and skill than he had hitherto ever shown : and it hailed with pleasure the triumph of the veteran, and the brilliant close of his military career in India. Personally, Lord Gough, from the urbanity of his manner and his kindness of heart and disposition, was always a favourite with the army : and, when he quitted India, there was but one feeling pervading the men and officers who had fought for and won the Punjáb—and that feeling was, that, if the Koh-i-Núr were honestly ours, the fittest man to lay it at the feet of Her Majesty was the one, who, after the sanguinary actions of Múdkí, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon, and Chillianwala, finally overthrew the Sikh power on the plain of Gúzerat. The army felt that the jewel, if fairly ours (which many doubted) was only so, as the emblem of sternly-fought and dearly-purchased victories ; that the jewel, if any ornament to the British crown, could only be so, as symbolical of the valour of the troops, which added to the empire of India the country of the five rivers.

We must close with a protest, in the name of the known humanity of the men and officers of the British army, against a sentence, which implies the prevalence of conduct wholly foreign to the feelings and the practice of a beneficent profession, the members of which ever proved themselves alike brave in danger, and merciful and attentive to *all* who needed their aid. After praising Surgeon Wirgman of H. M. 14th Dragoons, for having wounded Sikhs conveyed to his hospital and their wants supplied, the author proceeds to remark—“ This conduct should be placed on record, because mercy was “ a rare quality in those times.”

We, on the contrary, assert without fear of contradiction, that no such record was ever needed as an example ; that to say

that such a record was advisable, is an unfounded charge against the medical officers who were zealous in alleviating the sufferings of war, whether friend or foe came under their hands, and with whom mercy, instead of a rare quality, was the exceptionless rule. The labours of a talented and devoted body of gentleman ill deserve to be requited by such unmerited reflections; and the praise of Surgeon Wirgman, at the expense of his professional brethren, must be as little gratifying to him, as the author's injudicious advocacy and praise of others of his friends and acquaintances will indubitably prove to them.

War is a terrible, a hateful, necessity. The horror of its atrocities is only qualified by the rays of Christian mercy, which should break forth from Christian warriors. We are happy to know that British officers, at the hazard of their own lives, and in the very heat of conflict, sought to give and to obtain quarter for their infuriated enemies. Two officers were severely wounded by the men they had saved, or sought to save. More honour-conferring wounds could not have been received. They were wounds taken in behalf of humanity and mercy, and proved that the chivalry of the British officer is of the right stamp. Mercy was no rare quality even amongst the combatants, where Sikhs would receive quarter: but in general, they fought desperately and unyieldingly, and, as they had never given seemed never to expect quarter on a battle-field.

Not ourselves having the honour to belong to the faculty, we may be permitted, without a suspicion of favour or prejudice, flatly to disavow and contradict the allegation, that there was a want of mercy or attention to the wounded of the enemy. The medical officers were indefatigable; and their exertions were an honour to themselves and to their nation. Their conduct was throughout a noble tribute of respect to that Christian faith, which teaches and enforces sympathy, with an attention to the miseries of fellow-men—and that whether the sufferer be friend or foe.

a number of songsters of different castes, leagued together under a leader, who gives name to the association. The leader may be a Brahmin, a confectioner, or of any caste. The *animus* of the *Kavis* is rivalry. Two bands under different leaders vie with each other in winning the applause of the audience. Their songs, in the first instance, celebrate the loves of Krishna and Radha, or the praises of the bloody goddess Kali ; but, these over, they indulge in songs of the most wanton licentiousness, and crown the whole with calling each other bad names. So far for the matter ; the manner of singing is one of which Young Bengal may well be ashamed. *Kavis* must be seen, heard, and tested in order to be known and appreciated. The houses of some of the rich Babus of Calcutta are annually the scenes of these disgraceful exhibitions. Others have got heartily tired of them, and have substituted the less barbarous, but not the less immoral, *natches*. But the *Kavis* are in high repute in the mofussil ; and women, from behind the screens, may be observed greedily devouring their licentious effusions. The *Jhumurs*, or bands of female *Kavi-walas*, are nearly extinct.

We conclude this imperfect sketch, in the hasty drawing up of which some games and amusements may have escaped our notice, with expressing our hope, that with the progress of improvement and the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, the sports and recreations of the people of Bengal will be more polished and rational than they now are. Games and amusement are but exponents of the national character ; when a change is effected on the latter, the former will alter of themselves.

INDO-BACTRIAN NUMISMATICS, AND GREEK CONNECTION WITH THE EAST.

BY SIR R. TEMPLE.

1. *Ariana Antiqua. A descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Affghanistan.* By H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., &c. London. Published under the authority of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the E.I.C. 1841.
2. *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Griechischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul, und Indien ; durch Entzifferung der alt Kabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen ; von Christian Lassen.* Bonn. 1838. Translated for the Asiatic Society. Calcutta.
3. *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Affghanistan.* By H. T. Prinsep, Esq. London. 1844.

IT is hardly more than ten years since James Prinsep, when about to read some of his Numismatic essays before the members of the Asiatic Society, apologized for troubling them with so dull a subject, and added, that many of his scientific friends had complained of being "deluged with old coins." Little did either the essayist or his hearers, at that moment, foresee the grand results which were one day to crown these seemingly fruitless labours. If they had known what the future would produce, they would have contemplated these embryo discoveries with the feelings of Belzoni, when he penetrated the Pyramids and unveiled the mummied remnants of Pharaoh's line, or with the feelings of Layard, when his toilsome excavations at last revealed the Nineveh of Scripture. In awe and wonder they would have exclaimed—

"Stop ! for thy tread is on an Empire's dust ;
An earthquake's spoils are sepulchred below !"

This same Society, which then grudging a few minutes attention to the Numismatic treatises of its gifted secretary, would now, perhaps, be proud to own that its fame is partially based on the services rendered to Numismatical science, and would be eager to claim the honour of having tended the infancy, and fostered the growth, of discoveries that should pour a flood of light on the darkest portion of Asiatic annals. As the Society has appreciated the value of this science for the elucidation of history, so, we hope, will the public. And we feel assured that all who may study the coins of Indo-Bactria, will find their ideas enlarged and their trouble well repaid.

It has been the fashion to look upon Numismatics as one of the driest departments in antiquarian study. Ever since Monkbarns, the antiquary, was pictured by the greatest of our descriptive painters, the scoffing portion of the public have found an armoury stored with the weapons of wit, and a quiver, from

which might be drawn at pleasure, the pointed shafts of irony, banter, and inuendo. These resources have often been brought into play for the purpose of casting ridicule upon Numismatics. Nor, indeed, can it be denied, that this, like most other sciences, has had, and may still have, some absurd accessories. There are, doubtless, in the world many coin-fanciers who gloat over rust-eaten medals of indescribable rarity, which have been grubbed up with infinite labour and cost, in order that they might be hoarded in a particular drawer of a particular cabinet. All this may, no doubt, furnish a very fair mark for the pop-guns of satire. But it surely does not follow that the whole science is an absurdity. What branch of science, however useful and laudable, has ever been prosecuted without shortcomings and errors, which excite the regrets of the educated and the laughter of the ignorant? May we not say with Sydney Smith?—"If it is fair to argue against a science, from the bad method by which it has been prosecuted; such a mode of reasoning ought to have influenced mankind centuries ago, to have abandoned all the branches of Physics as utterly hopeless. We have, surely, an equal right to rake up the mouldy errors of all the other sciences; to reproach astronomy with its vortices, chemistry with its philosopher's stone, history with its fables, law with its cruelty and ignorance: and, if we were to open this battery upon medicine, there is no knowing where we should stop."* Nor should the learned labours of the Numismatist, the interpreter and illustrator of coins, be reproached with the vanities of the mere collector of coins, who cannot divine the meaning of the relic when he has found it.

But if it be really true, that the Numismatist is not, like Peter Schlemmil, running after a shadow, but is striving, with all his faculties to grasp a precious substance; then, let us think for a moment, what this substance is, and what are the *uses* of coins.

We all know the scriptural circumstances connected with the coin that bore the image and superscription of Cæsar. It will not be forgotten, that this coin was chosen as the aptest proof and illustration of Roman domination in Judæa. It is evident, that a similar use may be made of the coins of all countries. They must all give the name of the ruler and of the country ruled. The power of issuing coins and of regulating the currency is an universal attribute of the Supreme Government, be it monarchical or otherwise. The discovery of numerous coins in a particular locality, would (unless it were shewn that they

* *Vide* Sydney Smith's sketches of Moral Philosophy.

had been conveyed there in the course of commerce) furnish presumptive proof that a certain government, or dynasty, had reigned in that locality. If the coins of another dynasty were found there, it would appear, that the one had superseded or succeeded the other. But more detailed information than this may often be gathered from the coins. They were sometimes inscribed with political or constitutional maxims, or embellished with insignia, which typified the form of Government. Nothing can be more impressive than the manner, in which a recent writer on Prophecy has identified the coins of several great empires and potentates with the mysterious descriptions of Holy Writ.* Every coin must have a superscription written in the language of the country or of its rulers. If the language become gradually polished or barbarized : if it be modified : if it be amalgamated with other tongues : if it be abruptly altered : all these changes must be insensibly recorded on the coins. And it is superfluous to call to mind that the affinities and roots of languages are greatly relied upon by ethnologists, to trace the origin of nations, and the degrees of relationship which subsist between the several branches of the human family. Those, who are only conversant with the unadorned and uninteresting coins current in the British Empire during the present century, would scarcely have an adequate notion of the elaborate workmanship which has distinguished the mintage of other countries and other times. In ancient days, religious emblems were minutely depicted on the coins. Figures of gods and heroes—the symbols of ecclesiastical polity ; of rites, ceremonies, festivals, and ordinances, were delineated with the best artistic skill that the country could boast of. Where all these points are thoroughly and accurately represented, it is needless to expatiate on the rich fund of information thus supplied, or the picture thus presented to posterity of the faith, manners, modes of thought, arts, and civilization of distant periods and nations. We cannot follow out this tempting subject, which would lead us into too wide a field of discussion. But, without pausing to particularize all the value of Numismatical science, we may exemplify its general utility by a familiar instance, drawn from English history.

Suppose that there were no written records of English history, and that the only memorials of the past were the collections of coins in the British Museum and other places. Let us consider how much we should know under these circumstances. We should begin by observing some barbarous coins, bearing British names. There would be little difficulty in attributing

* Rev E. B. Elliotts *Horæ Apocalyptica*.

these to the aboriginal Britons. Next would be found a set of medals, evidently Roman, commemorating victories gained at places known to be in England. The Roman invasion would be thus indicated. Then would be seen coins, denoting the minor kingdoms, which composed the heptarchy. The emblem of the cross, which now begins to appear on the coins, would point to the introduction of Christianity. A series distinct from the British and the Roman, which by a comparison of nomenclature, could be traced to the Saxons, would indicate a foreign invasion. Every name in the Saxon dynasties would appear. The development of ecclesiastical policy would be shewn by coins inscribed to saints, and by medals struck in the names of archbishops and bishops. Some regal coins of Danish mintage, bearing the names of Sucin and Cnut, would shadow forth the advent of the Danes. Then a change would be perceptible in the names and figures of the coins. The most ordinary acquaintance with Norman affairs would enable the Numismatist to identify the figures with the family of the Conqueror. As the reigns of the several kings were followed out, allusions would be found, in the inscriptions, to the Irish acquisitions in Henry III.'s reign, and the French conquests under Edward III. This latter point would be further elucidated by an interesting series of Anglo-Gallic coins, discovered in France.* The armorial bearings, emblazoned on the coins, would illustrate the progress of feudalism; and specimens of baronial coins would show what power was once claimed and exercised by the English aristocracy.† The constantly occurring figure of a ship would represent the foundation of our naval power. The severing of England from the Romanist communion, and the investiture of the Sovereign with ecclesiastical supremacy in Henry VIII.'s reign, are plainly told by the legends on the coins. Next, we should learn from the inscriptions, that Scotland had been incorporated with England. The civil dissensions in Charles I.'s reign, would be indicated by the medals struck in commemoration of the sieges which distinguished the campaigns, and by the currency of coins issued during the king's retirement to Oxford and stamped with the Oxford crown. From this time, the date of the coinage begins to be engraven. The Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration are all announced by the legends on the coins. The Revolution of 1688, and the enthronement of a foreign prince, would be shewn by the quartering of the arms of Nassau. The "coins of the plantations," bearing such names

* Vide *Numismatic Manual*, by J. Yonge Akerman, F. S. A.

† *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

as Massachusetts, New York, and Baltimore, would mark the foundation of our Colonial Empire.* In token of our growing naval superiority, we should find that ships and nautical devices were prominent objects, in what are called the figurations of the coins. After the time of Anne, British coinage ceases to be interesting, inasmuch as nothing more was engraven than the name and date of the Sovereign. In this rapid summary, we have not paused to sketch the national progress in arts, dress, manufactures, and general civilization evinced by the Numismatic devices. But enough has been said to shew not only the amount of historical corroboration furnished by Numismatical science, but the amount of positive knowledge afforded thereby, whether political, economical, or chronological. The coins alone, if interpreted with skill, labour and learning, would almost give us an outline of the leading facts of English history.

We shall further perceive the value of coins when we come to analyse the nature of historical evidence—when, following the logical method and rigorous reasoning of such writers as Paley, we examine and arrange the grounds of our credence in narrated facts. A coin indicates certain facts, which, from their nature and publicity, could not well have been misrepresented: and with which those, who stamped the inscriptions, must have been particularly acquainted. The coin has been found, and produced under circumstances, which forbid the supposition of fraud or collusion; because its meaning was not understood at the time, but was only discovered after laborious research. We will not say that all coins fulfil these conditions; but a vast number certainly do. And when they are such as we have described, a valuable corroboration is afforded to history, and a firm foundation is laid for our historical belief. There is, indeed, much truth in the saying, that coins are witnesses which cannot lie. With the corroborative weight they have given to history, they do much to disprove the dogma of the virtuosos, who said "Do not read History to me; for that I know to be false." Let any period of history be illustrated by a complete series of coins, the discovery of which has been well authenticated; and most persons would admit that this apophthegm is a libel on knowledge. When a number of old coins are suddenly exhumed from the cavities of the earth, or the recesses of some neglected ruin, we feel, as if a host of co-temporary witnesses had risen from the dead.

History has always been considered to have two handmaids;

* *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 352-353.

Chronology and Biography; but we think she has a third, namely, Numismatics.* Moreover, if coins are useful as collateral testimony, in periods where history is full and explicit, how much more useful must they be, in periods of which we know nothing or little, and where, perhaps, that little serves but to convince us of our ignorance, and to stimulate our curiosity? Such was the period to which the Indo-Bactrian coins related: and we shall see, in the sequel, to what extent they have enlightened us. Thus, while Numismatical science must always be useful as a bulwark and coadjutor of history, it may sometimes be indispensable as our sole guide, and our sole source of knowledge. Its vindication, therefore, rests on this broad basis, that, if the history of the human race is interesting, or useful, so are Numismatics, and *vice versâ*. Those, therefore, who declare that they derive no pleasure or instruction from Numismatics, might, with nearly equal reason, disclaim all interests in such things as Biography, Chronology, or Politics. Numismatics does not form an isolated department of learning, embracing a limited range peculiar to itself, and capable of being studied without reference to any other science. Its difficulties cannot be mastered by the mere exercise of taste, or by the dint of uninstructed talent: but varied and extensive learning must be brought to bear on the subject, and, in proportion as this may be done, so will the interpretation of the coins be successful or otherwise. This science, then, so far from being intrinsically dull and mono-ideal, is closely interwoven with all these sections of knowledge, which are most useful, most amusing, and most generally studied. It has been thought necessary to enter, at some length, into the general merits of Numismatical enquiry, in order that we might, thereby, justify the propriety of noticing the results of Indian Numismatics in the elucidation of Asiatic annals. This subject we shall introduce to our readers, by a brief narrative of the singular circumstances, which attended the discovery of the coins, that were to rescue from oblivion the history of Central Asia.

The year 1830 was a great epoch in Indian Numismatics. Coins, indeed, had been collected before that time by Messrs. Tod, Tytler and others. But they had not proved of any especial value in an historical or antiquarian point of view. No class of Numismatists had arisen.† Some private collections had been purchased by the Government on the death

* Akin to the evidence of Numismatics, and of equal (or even greater) value and interest, is that of monuments, which carries us back to an antiquity, far beyond that of any hitherto discovered coins.—ED.

† *Vide* Preface to *Ariana Antiqua*.

of the Collectors. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta had shewn no promise of the distinguished part it was afterwards to play in the nurture of Numismatical science. It had a scantily filled cabinet, of which no account had been given to the world.* Even the great *savant*, James Prinsep, who was almost to lay down his life for science, and to weary out his splendid faculties in the decyphering of unknown alphabets, had not yet learnt to take an interest in coins. In the particular department of Numismatics, which we are noticing, still less had been done. Some stray coins had been picked up, few and far between, and had been sent to Europe, merely to serve as inexplicable enigmas and to exercise ingenuity. But the winter of knowledge was now passing away and a rich harvest season was at hand.

In the centre of the Sind-Saugor Doab, bounded by the Indus and the Jhelum, and half way between Jhelum and Attock, there was a village named Manikyala. Near this village, which was distinguished for its mural and sepulchral remains, there arose a peaked conical structure, which the natives called a tope, or sthupa. In 1831, M. Ventura, the well known General in Runjit Sing's army, happened to be encamped here with a small force. Having nothing better to do, he occupied his leisure by excavating the tope.† The cap of the cupola was opened, and layer after layer of masonry was removed. Here and there, between the interstices of the stone, coins, chiefly of copper, were found. After the perforations had been carried to a depth of nearly seventy feet, a copper box was discovered beneath a large slab of quarried stone. It was filled with liquid, and contained a golden cylinder and silver disc. Within it and around it, were found about sixty copper coins. With the utmost liberality, the General placed his new found treasures at the disposal of the Asiatic Society and its Secretary, Mr. J. Prinsep. The coins were ascertained to belong to the class, since well-known as the Indo-Scythian. At the same time, it was observed by M. Ventura's companions at Manikyala, that the ground, in the neighbourhood of the principal edifice, was studded with smaller topes. Some fifteen of these were excavated by M. Court, one of the officers serving under Ventura. Besides Indo-Scythic coins, there were dug up seven Roman specimens:—one of them bore the superscription of Julius Cæsar, another of Mark Antony. Such are the wanderings of a coin!

But we must now follow the movements of another la-

* Professor Wilson, however, published an account subsequently in 1831.

† *Vide Ariana Antiqua*, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society passim*.

bourer in the field of science. The existence of topes in Kabul had been observed by Mr. Moorcroft in 1820, when setting out on his ill-fated journey toward Samarkand. These observations were confirmed by Lieut. Burnes, when on his mission to Bokhara, in 1832. During the year 1834, Mr. Charles Masson, an individual residing in Affghanistan, resolved to examine a series of topes, which he had seen in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. For this purpose, he associated himself with a Dr. Honigberger, a medical officer in the service of Runjit Sing.

These topes proved to be not only Numismatic repositories, but also religious edifices. Now, if it could be determined to what sect they belonged, then this fact would help to shew what was the State-religion of those kingdoms to which the coins might be attributable. This led to an interesting comparison of these structures with kindred edifices in the extreme south of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. And, as the object of this comparison much concerns the ethnological and political questions about to be discussed, we shall devote a short space to a consideration of the meaning and nature of these topes.*

About fifty topes were discovered at Hidda, Darunta, and Chahar Bagh. Those localities are in the vicinity of Jelalabad. They were massive structures, ranging from 70 to 150 feet in height, and from 100 to 200 feet in circumference. They consisted of a basement, or pedestal, supporting a square tower, which was surmounted by a conical top. There was generally a flight of steps, leading up to the basement, and facing the East. There were also subterraneous passages conducting from the surface of the ground to the foundations, and, in the vulgar imagination, filled with hidden treasures. The building, generally, stood on an eminence, overhanging a ravine, or water-course. The presence of running water was indispensable ; and, where not furnished by nature, fresh and gushing from among the neighbouring rocks, it was supplied by means of beautifully constructed aqueducts. Though oftener separate, the topes were sometimes clustered together in a plain, as at Chahar Bagh. Near to every tope there was found an attendant tumulus, which seemed a kind of satellite to the main structure. The topes were not destitute of ornament. The superstructure, which rose above the basement, was generally encircled by a belt of mouldings, formed of bluish slate stone, which stood out in strong relief against the white

* *Vide* Memoir on the Topes of Affghanistan, by C. Masson.

painted surface. The interior was solid, with the exception of one small chamber in the centre. Within this hollow were generally found coins, and a metal chest containing relics. But both stones and relics were often scattered among the quarried stones, and even throughout the foundation below the surface of the ground. The relics were images, vases, instruments, cylinders, bits of bone, and ashes. Wherever the bones and ashes were plentiful, the other relics were scanty. The tumuli always contained bones, skulls, and ashes, but seldom anything else. Near many of the topes, there were carefully excavated caves with niches, doubtless meant to contain idols. The relics were seldom stamped with any distinct religious symbols. But one earthen-ware seal bore a Pali inscription, which was subsequently ascertained to be a formula of Buddhistic invocation. And on one of the vases was engraven the figure of Gautama, preaching to a Buddhist nun. The coins belong principally to the Scythian kings of India; some to the Sassanian dynasty; and a few to the Roman Emperors of the East,—showing how extensive the commerce of Upper India must once have been.

The first step in the investigation was to compare the Affghan topes with those observed in other places. One tope had been examined near Benares; some near Guntur; some near Bhilsa; a great number in Ceylon, of gigantic size and finished architecture, and accompanied by caves and tumuli, there called Dahgopas; and also a magnificent specimen at Rangún. It was seen that the Affghan topes corresponded exactly with specimens existing among a people still Buddhist, and which bore unmistakable marks of Buddhist origin. This is quite enough to show what sect raised the buildings under consideration, especially as no sect, besides the Buddhists, ever claimed them.* And we have just seen that some of the relics offer internal evidence to the same effect. Assuming then these topes to be Buddhist, what was their purpose? Now there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the Ceylon topes, caves, and tumuli. The tope was the supposed burial place of one of the saintly Gautamas; the tumuli, or dahgopas, were the tombs of the saint's disciples; the caves were the shrines of his priests. It is surely, then, most reasonable to refer the Affghan topes to the same object.†

We suppose, then, that the topes were intended to veil the sacred remains of the Gautamas. There will be little difficulty in fixing their date. They were, probably, not prior to our æra: for they contain coins of princes, who are known to have

* The Hindus, however, used to venerate them.

† See Professor Wilson's summing up of the evidence.

reigned at, or after, that period. Those, which contained coins of Kadphises and Kanerkes (who will be hereafter mentioned), could not well have been earlier than the first and second centuries; nor those, which contain Sassanian coins, earlier than the fourth. Nor on the other hand, could they have been later than the eighth century, when the followers of the prophet began to vex the unbelievers in Kabul and Affghanistan. It will be seen, subsequently, that the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose coins are found in the topes, reigned from the first to the third century of our æra. The discovery of the topes in Affghanistan would certainly show that Buddhism had prevailed during that period in this region. It would also prove, that the Indo-Scythian princes encouraged Buddhism. This is confirmed by the fact, that Buddhist emblems appear on their coins. The few Roman medals may have been deposited in the buildings, because, not being understood—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*—they were looked upon as mysterious rarities. But such could not have been the case with the Sassanian coins, which, of course, bore emblems of Mithraism, or the worship of the elements. But what could Mithraism have to do with Buddhism? It could not be answered that its real purpose was unknown, as in the case of the Roman coins. For the Sassanian princes were, at that time, most notorious throughout Asia. As the religious and political reformers of the Persian empire, and as zealous propagandists, they had made their name universally dreaded. What then was meant by this admission of Mithraic coins into Buddhist temples? The coins explain this. In all the coinage of the Indo-Scythian kingdom, there is a palpable admixture of Mithraic, Buddhist, and Brahmanical emblems. It is clear, therefore, that the Indo-Scythians patronized all three forms of faith. What wonder, then, that the religious edifices, constructed at that time, should be decked with heterogeneous symbols? Such are the curious cross rays of light which the different departments of discovery throw upon each other. And, indeed, the concatenation of circumstances, attending these curious montiments, is wonderful. Who would have thought, that in the North of India, there would be discovered Buddhist buildings containing coins of Scythian kings with the names written in Greek letters, and with titles, partly Greek, partly Persian, partly Indian—or that rude imitations of the Greek Hercules and the Greek Victory, on Scythian coins, should be found in the same casket with coins also Scythian, but blending the emblems of Mithra, of Siva, and of Buddh, and yet exhibiting Greek inscriptions? What can be a greater conglomeration than these things, of which we are

about to unfold the narrative? And yet not a mere conglomeration:—for, as enquiry proceeds, order is educed out of this seeming confusion. This meeting of all religions on the neutral ground of India was not fortuitous, but the result, as we shall see presently, of regular and intelligible mutations in systems, governments and races.

From this digression, we must revert to the advancing course of discovery. We have seen how General Ventura and Mr. Masson discovered Indo-Scythic coins, under circumstances, which materially aided the progress of research. We have yet to see how Mr. Masson disinterred a series of coins, which illustrated the history of the Græco-Bactrians, the predecessors of the Indo-Scythians.

About twenty miles east of the modern city of Kabul, there is a level piece of table-land, extending over six square miles, called the plain of Beghram. The surface was strewn with fragments of pottery, metals, and sculpture. Here and there arose solitary mounds of stone and brick, which seemed to indicate the remains of human habitations. The happy situation of this plain at a spot where rivers meet, and where the main roads and mountain passes converge from all the four quarters, and the interesting vestiges visible on the surface of the ground—all this would soon shew, even to the casual observer, that here had once existed a great capital. In modern times the plain had become a sheep pasture. A vague avarice induced the shepherds to scratch up the soil in search of treasure. Soon they found seals, rings, bits of metal, and coins in vast quantities. The coins, which were principally copper, they would hawk about the city of Kabul. As these "treasure troves" became frequent, the trade began to thrive. And soon the mint-masters and copper-smiths of the city would repair to the great plain, visit the tents of the shepherds, and purchase the coins by weight. It was estimated, that about thirty thousand coins a year used to be procured in this manner, and melted down. And thus were consigned to indiscriminate destruction, myriads of coins, which the greatest academicians in Europe would have honoured with a place in their cabinets, and which might have told us more about Central Asia than all the histories that ever were written! At last, in July 1833, Mr. Masson, being engaged in searching for the site of one, among the many Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great, happened to visit this plain. He first met with eighty coins. These specimens appearing to be valuable, he prosecuted the search, until he had amassed upwards of thirty thousand coins, of which the greater part were copper,

and the remainder silver and gold. From this collection were evolved the annals of Indo-Bactria, and the history of Greek connection with the East.

The Asiatic Society's Journal was the organ through which these results were announced to the public. Mr. Masson himself contributed a great many papers. But the most elaborate analysis was made by James Prinsep.* A great difficulty arose at the outset. The inscription on the obverse of the medal were Greek; but, on the reverse, an unknown character presented itself. The first object, then, was to decypher this character. Mr. Masson had pointed out some Pehlevi signs, which had been found to stand for certain Greek names. "It struck me," writes Mr. Prinsep, "that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a clue through them might be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the alphabet, which might, in its turn, be applied to the translated epithets, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed." This plan was followed out with infinite labour and skill, and met with complete success. This most arduous and valuable service to science was the last which he lived to perform.† The interest, attaching to these discoveries, was not confined to India. The news spread to Europe, and raised a sensation in the academic circles of London, Paris, Vienna, Göttingen and Bonn. The first great scholar who took up the subject, was M. Raoul Rochette. He was followed in his own country by M. Jacquet, and in Germany by the Grotefends, Müller and Arseth. The *Journal des Savans*, the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Vienna Jahr-bucher*, the *Göttingen Anzeigen*, and the *Numismatic Journal* of London, all vied with the *Calcutta Journal* in disseminating the results of Mr. Masson's discoveries and Mr. Prinsep's interpretations. For some time, England did less than the other two great European nations, to blazon abroad the exploits of her gifted sons in the East. But at length, in 1841, the appearance of the handsome work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, redeemed the character of the mother country. The celebrity of Professor Wilson's name in the world of Eastern literature, and his long and intimate association with Mr. James Prinsep in the Asiatic Society, give his work a peculiar value. And the Court of Directors have evinced the interest they take in this subject, by bestowing on the publication their pecuniary aid and their influential

* *Vide* Journal of Asiatic Society, Vols. I.—VII., *passim*.

† The Arianic alphabet is given in Professor Wilson's work.

patronage.* At the head of the present article we have placed this work, as being the most complete and lucid exposition of the whole subject, besides, being embellished with a great variety of beautiful plates. With it we have associated a learned dissertation by Professor Lassen, on the history derived from the Bactrian and Scythian coinage. We have also added a small but useful volume, by Mr. Thoby Prinsep, in which the general results of the Numismatic discoveries are unfolded in a brief and popular form. Besides its intrinsic merit, this work possesses an additional interest from having been composed with materials left by James Prinsep at his decease, and from having been written by his brother.

It has been already intimated that these discoveries relate to the mediæval history of Grecian Bactria. But before treating of this history, it is necessary that we should fix, with geographical precision, the limits of this somewhat undefined country. Bactria, as understood by the Greeks, was nearly coincident with Ariana, or Central Asia. Its northern boundary was the Jaxartes; its southern the Indian Ocean. The eastern boundary was formed partly by the Indus, and partly by a line drawn northwards from the sources of that river. The western frontier might be described by a line drawn from the south eastern corner of the Aral lake to the Caspian sea: and thence southward. The vast square tract thus marked off was divided into two halves by the Caucasian chain, the upper half being again subdivided by the Oxus. Above the great range of mountains are the Steppes of Tartary; below them is the desert of Gedrosia. Such was the country which the Macedonians styled the province of Bactria.

The ancient history of this country is well known as the birth place of some of the oldest languages and religions in the world. It was in primæval times a favoured land of fable and of song, and could boast of such names as Zohak, Ninus, and Semiramis. It formed a portion of the Assyrian and Median empires, and was eventually the scene of Macedonian triumphs. Its modern history is not less interesting, from the rise of the new Persian empire, the foundation and extension of Islamism, the sudden erection and destruction of barbaric kingdoms and the marvellous careers of Jenghiz, Timùr, and Baber. Its commercial importance had been considerable from the earliest ages, and was greater still in later times, when it was traversed by the routes through which the products of the

* No bookseller could have afforded to publish the work with its present style and finish. The Court published it at their own expense. The bulk of the edition they presented to Mr. Masson's mother.

East and West were conveyed.* For many centuries it was eminently the country of great roads and vast caravans. But, between the ancient and modern periods of history, or more accurately, between the epoch of Alexander the Great, B. C. 330, and the epoch of Ardeshir Baba-jan, A. D. 230, there intervened a space of more than 500 years, which may be called the mediæval period of Central Asia. This period was almost utterly unknown; and yet was evidently worth knowing, as being the transition æra from old things to new, and the point where conflicting systems in religion and politics met together. A few hints had been gathered from the scattered notices of classical writers, themselves ill-informed, and from the vague accounts of Chinese historians. All these paltry scraps of knowledge were ably arranged and set forth during the last century by Bayer. But his learned treatise only served to shew how little the highest scholarship could do in its efforts to pierce the impenetrable gloom.

The announcement that the missing links in the chain of events were to be supplied, would be interesting to all students of history. But the expectation of filling up the void by Grecian coinage, of all others, was specially calculated to attract the observation of Numismatists. For no coinage in the world is more instructive than that of Greece. Its artistic beauty alone would rivet the attention of every cultivated mind. The marble and the canvas did not express all the loftiest conceptions of the Greek. The precious metals were also made to bear the impress of his genius. The mould and the die, together with the chisel and the brush, equally became the instruments of imparting an outward form to Greek ideas. In the opinion of the Greeks, the bonds of commercial pater-nity, of political union, and of patriotic sympathy, among the numerous members of the great federation, would be strengthened, if the medium of exchange should be stamped with the marks of their common religion, of rites, games, and ceremonies, equally dear to all the states, whatever might be the differences in their constitution and Government. Nothing, therefore, can be more perfect than the figures of the gods and heroes, or the personifications of inanimate nature, engraven on the coins, which thus furnish a key to the whole mythological system and to the ritual of religious observances.

But ancient Greece is just as interesting for its multiform political developments, as for its pre-eminence in art. And here, again, the coinage is a most faithful mirror of this great national

* *Vide* Heeren's summary of these commercial routes, in his "Researches into the history of Asiatic nations."

characteristic. In the inscriptions, the sacred Dèmos of Athens had its place, as well as the kings of Lacedæmon, or of Macedon. If a city enjoyed its own laws, it would assume the title of Autonomos : if a naval power, that of Nauarchidos ; if a guardian of any great temple, that of Neokoros,—and so on.* Those states, that were bound together by treaties of amity, recorded the fact on the coins : either by a special inscription, or by the symbol of joined hands. There was scarcely a public office of note or rank, in any state, that was not denoted by coins. The Archons, the Ephori, the Amphictyons, the ministers of the games, festivals and mysteries, are all represented. With regard to colonial coinage, the Syracusan medallions are glorious instances of the high art attained in the distant dependencies of Greece. The geographical position of the states was also generally defined. If a city was at the foot of a mountain, or on the sea shore, the circumstance would be stated on the coins.† In the same way, there are few Grecian rivers of any importance which were not named. But, as the Greek coins had been the mute, though eloquent, witnesses of their country's glory in her palmy days, so also they became, in time, the sad records of her degeneracy and servility. They represented the deified Romè, and the Senate personified as a divinity : and they shewed, in the pompous titles bestowed on the Emperors, how conquered Greece could stoop to oriental flattery. Such was the coinage that Alexander the Great was to carry in his victorious train to Egypt, Syria, Persia, Bactria and India ! The Macedonian mintage turned out specimens, that may be classed with the best efforts of Greek art ; and Philip of Macedon lived in the period, when Greek coinage reached its climax. The coins of Macedon preserved their celebrity even in the dark ages, and served as models to barbarous nations. It is supposed, that the first rude coins of ancient Britain were struck in imitation of Macedonian specimens that were current all over Europe.‡ If so, how boundless must have been the influence of Macedon ! Alexander's successors taught the art of medallography to the Scythians, who carried it across Central Asia into the heart of India ; and coins of Macedonia Proper found their way to the northern wilds of Britain, the " Ultima Thule " of the then known world. The chief divinities, figured by the Macedonian artists, were Apollo, Minerva, and Hercules. We shall find these constantly reissuing from the Bactrian mintage : we shall see

* Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual*, pp. 25—28.

† Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual*, pp. 13—15.

‡ *Numismatic Manual*, p. 214.

with what fidelity the Greeks in Central Asia preserved, in their coinage, the style of the parent state, both as to design and execution ; and we shall further observe how Grecian ideas were reproduced, modified, and gradually barbarized as they passed away from the Greeks, and were adopted by Scythian dynasties.

We shall now touch on the history derived from the Greek coins of Bactria. On the death of Alexander, this province, esteemed one of the wealthiest in the empire, fell to the share of the Seleucidæ, and was placed under the control of a local Governor. But this viceroi soon raised the standard of rebellion. Antiochus marched against the rebels ; formed an alliance with Chandragupta, the monarch of Upper India (called Sandracottus by the Greeks), and ceded to him several districts of Lower Bactria—that is, part of the country lying south of the Caucasian range, and on either side the Indus. But the bonds, which held together the world-wide empire of Macedonia, soon began to loosen ; and the Bactrian governors, though shorn of half their dominions, took advantage of the general confusion, to declare themselves independent. The kingdom thus created, embraced Bactria Proper, that is the countries north of the great mountains, and some of the countries to the south. Eastwards were the Paropamisian dominions of the Indian monarchs—a line of kings ennobled by such names as Chandra Gupta, Asòka, and Subhàgasèna. Their policy was to profit by the dissensions which tore the Macedonian empire, and to side with whichever party had the upper hand. In this way, by helping Antiochus against the rebel Greeks of Bactria, they had regained a part of the Paropamisus. To the north were the Scythian hordes, at present tolerably quiet, but containing in themselves the elements of strife and destruction, which should one day burst upon Central Asia. On the west lay the formidable and aggressive kingdom of Parthia.* The Parthian Arsacidæ were originally Syrian subjects. Thirsting for independence, they revolted again and again. The first Bactrian prince purchased indemnity for his rebellion, by aiding the Seleucidæ against his fellow rebels of Parthia.

The second Bactrian prince reversed this policy ; made common cause with the Parthians, and helped to establish the throne of the Arsacidæ. He little thought that the power he thus raised, would one day be to his house the deadliest of rivals. Such were the circumstances and such the neighbours,

* See Mr. H. T. Prinsep's account of the Parthian coins in the cabinet of the East India House, presented by Sir H. Willock.

with which the two first kings of Bactria, both named Diodotus (Theodotus ?), found themselves surrounded. The third, named Euthydemus, had to brave the vengeance of Antiochus, who strove to win back his lost dominions in Central Asia. The Seleucidæ defeated the Bactrians in a pitched battle, and again formed an alliance with the Indians, under king Subhāgasena, to whom were ceded all the remaining Bactrian provinces, south of the Caucasus. But Antiochus spared the kingdom of Bactria Proper, because he thought it would serve as a convenient barrier against Nomad irruptions.

The next Bactrian prince, named Demetrius, grieved at the loss of these southern Provinces, and sorely pressed in Bactria Proper by an aspirant named Eukratides, determined to reconquer the Parapomisis, and to found there a kingdom for himself, where he might reign secure from his rival. But while he pushed his victorious arms towards the south, Eukratides pursued him from the North. Having first seized upon Bactria Proper, Eukratides possessed himself of Demetrius's Indian conquests, and again extended the Græco-Bactrian dominion to the banks of the Indus. He had now reached the limit of Bactrian power, and was the sole ruler of Ariana. But the close of his reign was harassed by aggressions from the Parthians and the Scythians ; and he was at last murdered by his own son Heliokles.* Before, however, we chronicle the parricide's reign, we must pause to note some internal changes that were in progress.

Hitherto the devices and inscriptions of the Bactrian coinage had been executed in a pure style of Greek art. The figures of the divinities were tastefully engraven. The emblems associated with the main figure, the helmet, fillet, spear, tripod, bow chlamys, ægis, the Herculean club and lion-skin, were all strictly classical. The inscriptions were in polished Greek, with the characters distinctly wrought. But, in the reign of Eukratides, a square copper coinage issued from the Bactrian mints, with bilingual inscriptions. On the obverse of the coin, the legend would be in Greek ; on the reverse, in a language and characters, designated by some as Arianian, by others as Kabulian. The task of decyphering and interpreting the words of this language was chiefly performed by James Prinsep. The language was at first supposed to be Zend ; but was eventually shewn to be Prakṛit, a rude and colloquial form of the language, so well known as Sanskrit. It there-

* It has been doubted whether Heliokles, the parricide, is the Heliokles of the coins. In this place we have followed Professor Wilson.

fore belonged to the Indian family. But the characters were evidently not Indian, being written from right to left. They seemed to belong to the Semitic class, which include the alphabets of the Phœnician Hebrew, and a form of the Pehlevi, nearly allied to these which had a local currency in Western Persia. The precise locality of this language could hardly be Bactria Proper; otherwise, traces of it would have been found in the purely Bactrian coins. From these premises, it was inferred with tolerable certainty, that the dialect belonged to the people who dwelt west of the Indus, and south of the Hindu Kush—a race partly Indian, and partly Semitic. Such being the language, which the Bactrian princes now adopted on their coinage, it is clear that, from this date, namely the re-conquest of Lower Bactria by Demetrius and Eukratides, the Greek colonists began to cast their ideas in an oriental mould, and to domesticate themselves in their Indian possessions; to conciliate and naturalize their Indian subjects; and to fuse together the Western and Eastern elements of the body politic. It will be found also that the finish of Grecian art in the coinage begins to decline. We shall miss the dignity of the Minerva, the beauty of the Apollo with the rays of glory round his head, the majesty of the thundering Jove, the massive strength of the club-bearing Hercules, the god-like energy of the charging Dioscuri, and the airy gracefulness of the winged Victory. All this must now gradually give place to ruder devices. The elephant's head will occur more frequently than heretofore, and the Indian bull will figure on the coins. In short, the exclusive idiosyncrasy of Grecian coinage will begin to pass away.

We return to Heliokles, the last monarch, who ruled from the Jaxartes to the Indus. At this time the destinies of Parthia were swayed by Mithridates the Great. Arsacidan aggression commenced during the reign of Eukratides, was perseveringly continued now. The western districts of Bactria having been forcibly annexed to Parthia, and the central provinces severely harassed, the arms of the invader were carried even into the Indian provinces. Some ancient historians, indeed, have included India among the Mithridatic conquests. But Numismatic enquiry would seem to shew that the Parthians did not, at this period, gain any permanent footing south of the Hindu Kush, though subsequently they formed some minor principalities in that quarter. As regards the present period, the coins reveal the names of as many kings, not Parthian, as could have reigned within the ascertained interval of time. Even professor Lassen, who attributes to the Parthians, instead of to the Scythians, the subversion of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom,

admits that these Parthians did not establish any dominion in India, or the Paropamisus. At all events, these Parthian invasions, combined with constant attacks from the Scythians, made the Bactrian empire totter to its fall. Its centralization being thus broken up, the several provinces became separate, and ranged themselves under distinct sovereigns.

The coins would shew that, between this date, *viz.*, 155 B.C., and the period of the great Scythian invasion, several synchronous dynasties of Greek origin reigned in different parts of Bactria. Hitherto, assistance has been derived from classical authorities in the composition of a consecutive history. But the coins are henceforth almost our sole guides in tracing the fortunes of these scattered dynasties. Even in the foregoing narrative, although the names engraven on the coins, had (many of them) been previously known to fame, yet the succession both of persons and events has principally been determined by Numismatic evidence. The sovereigns of one family fortunately adopted a coinage, which, though it differed in details, yet agreed in style. The modelling of the portraiture, the emblematical devices, the dress, and the figuration of the tutelary deity, generally corresponded; just as in modern times, the armorial bearings among the members of the same family correspond. In the brief and eventful period, which intervened between the death of Heliokles and the Scythian invasion, similarity in Numismatic blazonry furnishes valuable data, by which the members of the same dynasty may be grouped together. Identity or similarity in monograms may also supply means of distinction. The monogram is a mark or symbol introduced on the field of the coin. Whatever its particular signification may be, its value remains the same for purposes of identification. The Bactrian monograms have always been supposed to be something more than mere devices. Many efforts have been made to discover their import without any decisive success. They have been variously considered, as referring to places, to person, and to dates. But it is now generally admitted, that dates are not symbolized by them. From many of them, Captain Cunningham has, with great ingenuity, deduced the forms of letters, which letters he believes to be the initials in the names of various cities and places of mintage; and thus he gathers a mass of collateral information as to the dominions which belonged to the several dynasties. As yet, however, this interesting path of enquiry has not been thoroughly explored.* Such, then, are the means,

* It is no new fact in Numismatics, that exergual abbreviations, which differ but little from monograms, and also devices, have been employed to mark the places of

which the coins have afforded us of distinguishing the different dynasties in a period, where history is silent.

The names of eighteen kings have been classified under five dynasties. The first four were anterior to the Scythian invasion. The fifth was, probably, founded about the same time with that catastrophe, and certainly survived it. Of the four dynasties first named, two existed in upper, and two in lower Bactria. Of the two southern dynasties, one was founded by the descendants of Demetrius. It will be remembered that this prince, flying from Eukratides in Bactria, raised his standard in the Paropamisus. Although Eukratides overran this territory also, yet, after his death, Lysias, the son or descendant of Demetrius, regained this portion of the patrimony. His coins resemble those of his predecessor in configuration, but differ materially from them in language. Demetrius's coinage was purely Greek. In Lysias's coinage, the inscriptions are partly in the language of Ariana. The former was essentially a Bactrian prince, though, towards the close of his career, he aimed at Indian sovereignty. The latter was a Greek sovereign, reigning over an Indo-Semitic people, whose language he adopted in his Numismatic superscriptions: hence the diversity in the coinage of two kindred sovereigns. After Lysias, Professor Wilson places a king named Amyntas and a queen named Agathokleia, whose husband has since been ascertained to have borne the name of Strato. The imagery of the coins would certainly seem to connect these persons with the Demetrian family. Beyond this, however, there is little information regarding them.

Another kingdom was founded by a prince, named Agathokles, in the provinces adjacent to the Indus.* The exact date of this event is as yet a disputed point. The coins of this king and of his successor Pantaleon are remarkable, as exhibiting, in some degree, the concurrence of Grecian and Asiatic imagery: the inscriptions are bilingual. But the Prakrit words are written, not in the Semitic characters of Ariana, but in the Pali letters of India. The divinity on the coins is Bacchus. An Indian mintage might possibly be thus devoted. Moreover, it is known, that the vine flourished in the mountainous

mintage. The Greeks used to represent the sovereign cities, which issued the coins, by the initial letters of the names: and the Romans represented their places of coinage in the same manner. The British kings used to adopt fanciful devices for this purpose. The devices, however, are so arbitrary, and in such great variety, that, without explanatory information, no consistent theory or interpretation could be based on them. Consult Akerman on this point.

* The position of this king has been much disputed: he has been assigned to several different dynasties. We have again followed Professor Wilson.

regions of that quarter : and some relics have been discovered which shew, that the worship of the Grecian Bacchus was popular among the mountaineers, or it may have been that the Greek rulers introduced the orgies of their favourite god at the vintage seasons. There is also on the coins a figure of Jupiter, holding a three-headed Artemis, who bears a torch in either hand. In this device, M. Raoul Rochette has discerned the influence of Arianian Mithraism on Grecian mythology. In connection with this idea, we observe a somewhat elaborate female figure, dressed in the Persian, rather than in the Indian, style. This kingdom was short-lived. It was subverted by the still more interesting dynasty of Menander, which we shall advert to presently.

Of the two northern dynasties, one followed Heliokles in direct succession. It comprises the names of only two kings, Antalkides and Archebius. The imagery on their coins would seem to shew that they sprung from the stock of Heliokles. They probably reigned in Bactria Proper, and in the upper part of Arachosia, or the country lying immediately below the Caucasian range.* The other dynasty consisted of Antimachus and Philoxenus. The devices on their coins shew them to have been distinct from the other Bactrian dynasties, and, perhaps, to have imitated the design of the Syrian mintage. Their precise locality has been a matter of much dispute. The figure of Neptune holding a palm branch, and the device of the Indian bull, have been considered to indicate a naval victory gained in the southern seas, towards the mouths of the Indus.† No Numismatic specimens, however, have been discovered in those regions, which confirm this view. Indeed, the coins of this dynasty have been invariably found in more northern localities. Besides, there were so many other principalities, unquestionably founded in this quarter, that it is difficult to find space or time wherein to place an additional dynasty. We have followed Professor Wilson in locating them in a tract immediately above the Hazarah hills, from which post, it may be presumed, that they made a last stand against the Scythians.

The long threatened destruction at length arrived. Down poured the Scythian Sakas from the wilds of Siberia. The hapless empire of Bactria, dismembered by internal strife and harassed by its old enemies the Parthians, fell an easy prey to

* Such is Professor Lassen's opinion. Professor Wilson does not bring them below the mountains.

† The rare occurrence of this figure of Neptune renders it difficult to form a decided opinion. Professor Lassen, being unable to account for the fact of a naval victory in the south, has conjectured that the scene of contest was the Lacus Drangianus, or Aral Lake.

the barbarians in 127 B. C. The political ascendancy of Greece, which had long been waning north of the great mountains, now set for ever. The Sakas carried everything before them, till they reached the Caucasus, where, for the present, they rested, content with their triumphs.

We have only now to follow the fortunes of the last remnant of Græco-Bactrian power in the south-eastern extremity of the empire. For some years, previous to the great Scythian inroad, a prince, named Menander, had been overthrowing the petty principalities which had risen on the ruins of the Bactrian empire, and had consolidated a kingdom in Kabul and in the provinces east of the Indus. It is supposed, with much reason, that he held the upper Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and may have even penetrated much further, both southward and eastward. He might have shared the fate, which befel his countrymen north of the Caucasus ; but the torrent of Scythian invasion was arrested, probably, by the Parthians. And thus, perhaps, the very nation, whose implacable rivalry had made the Bactrian empire defenceless against its barbarous foes, was instrumental in preserving the offshoot, which had established itself in the Paropamisus. So the branch continued to live after the parent trunk had been cut away. Many coins of Menander have been dug up in various parts of the North Western Provinces : and this, coupled with the statements of classical authors,* would go far to shew that his kingdom extended to this neighbourhood. Up to the first century of our æra his coins were current in Guzerat ; and there is little doubt, that he held the Indus provinces down to the sea. The various attitudes of mortal combat in which the coins represent this prince, would shew the many struggles and difficulties by which he attained his regal state. But, when once seated on the throne, he diffused national wealth and contentment and tradition has handed down, that eight cities contended for the honour of conferring the rites of sepulture on his remains. To his successor have been attributed the names of Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Hermæus. But as to the position of the first two names, both in respect of time and place, serious doubts may be entertained : and it is not improbable that they belonged to some of the earlier Bactrian dynasties. In the coinage of this dynasty, the devices are, for the most part, purely classical, interspersed occasionally with figures of the bull and the elephant. The regal titles and the representations of the tutelary divinities are, many of them, borrowed from the Syrian mintage of the

* They assert that he passed the river Isamus. This river has been supposed by some to mean the Jumna ; Major Cunningham holds that it is the Ecsun,

Seleucidæ. But the coins of the last king Hermæus exhibit tokens of decline. The figures, human and divine, the emblems and the letters, become barbarized both in design and execution. And thus the coins begin to tell, in silent but intelligible language, that Scythian influence had reached the last stronghold of Bactrian independence, and that the traces of the Macedonian policy in Asia were fast fading away—to be lost for ever. The dynasty of Menander became extinct about 50 B.C. But before we describe the collision of the Scythians with the races of Upper India, we shall pause to take leave of political Hellenism in Asia.

The Greeks had now ruled for 200 years in the very heart of Asia:—and to every thinking mind will be suggested the question, what influence had the Greeks on the Asiatics or the Asiatics on the Greeks? It is generally considered, that, in the eastern Satrapies of the Macedonian empire, the Greek did, to a certain extent, forget the rugged customs of his mountain home, and while revelling in the luxuries of the East, did adopt oriental manners and imbibe oriental ideas of worship. But the Bactrian Greek was an exception to this rule. The natives of Bactria differed from all the other orientals with whom the Greeks had mingled. The climate and nature of the country somewhat resembled Macedon. The Mithraic Fire worship, the adoration of the elements, and Zoroaster's doctrine of light were, perhaps, the purest forms of faith, which the unaided mind and feeling of man had ever invented. Professor Lassen says, speaking of Bactria, "Here, if any where, Zoroaster's doctrines must have been preserved most purely: and thus, in the amalgamation of the Oriental and Hellenic character, Bactrian Hellenism must have formed from the beginning a circle in the revolution of the East." The idea of this passage is a fine one: but Numismatic enquiry does not support it, or rather tends to prove the contrary. The many hundred Bactrian coins which have been discovered, abound in religious devices: but, with the exception of one doubtful instance, a Mithraic emblem is nowhere to be found. Neither are there any indications of Indian mythology. The figures of the gods are strictly Macedonian: and several of them, such as the Hercules, the Minerva, and the trophy-bearing Victory, the Bactrian kings seem to have borrowed from their great prototype, Alexander the Great. They would appear, therefore, not to have mingled any foreign elements with the religion of their forefathers: nor is there any reason to suppose that the native Bactrians imbibed any Greek ideas on religion, as the Scythians subsequently did. The Indo-Bactrians, that is, the people, south of the Cau-

casus and toward the Indus, certainly did not. In fact, they were more likely to proselytise than the Greeks. In India, the Sabæan, or Mithraic, religion, which probably had prevailed universally in the East, had degenerated and branched out into two systems, namely, Buddhism and Brahmanism, both distinguished for the power and energy of their priesthood, and both aiming at universal sovereignty, political and spiritual. The established religions of India, therefore, effectually prevented the spread of the Grecian religion to the south of the mountains. In a religious point of view, then, there was probably no amalgamation between the Greek rulers and their Asiatic subjects: whatever union did subsist was political. That there was some such union, had been already evidenced by the bilingual inscriptions. Some of the regal titles (such as Nikè-phoros, or Soter) were much the same as those borne by the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. The kings, while they fully kept up the prestige of the Grecian name, appreciated the military resources of their subjects, and valued the fame of the Bactrian cavalry, as is evident from the constant appearance of the horse on their coins. That the country grew in material wealth under their rule, is proved by the prolific abundance of their silver coinage. Their mints not only sustained the currency of Bactria Proper, but supplied the wants of the eastern divisions of their empire. The silver pieces of Bactria continued to be a medium of exchange for some centuries after our æra. And, vast as were the monetary and commercial transactions of Upper India, yet the Bactrian fund of silver coinage was so adequate, that it was not found necessary to issue any silver coinage at all in India, until after the decadence of the Indo-Scythian empire in the third century. Nor can any counter inference be drawn from the absence of gold Bactrian coins, inasmuch as the specific reason for this circumstance will be hereafter assigned. There was much wisdom in Antiochus's political principles, when he determined to spare the kingdom of Bactria, in order that it might stand as a dyke between the surging sea of Nomad invaders and the rich lowlands of Central Asia. At that time, the Scythians were hanging like a thunder cloud in the north, ready to rain destruction over the civilized east. The Parthian kingdom, at that crisis of struggle for its own independent existence, was unable to stretch forth the arm of resistance. Had the Bactrian kingdom been at that period annihilated, the Scythians would have overrun Central Asia, swept on to India, or even penetrated to the capital of the Seleucidæ. But when at last the Scythians did prevail, the Parthians had, in the interval, gathered strength, and the Indian monarchs had steadily consoli-

dated a colossal power. Thus was the progress of the barbarians checked. Such were the benefits that Asia owed to the Bactrian dynasties, that for so many years shielded the east from desolation. And when the fated moment did arrive, the fair structure of Grecian civilization had been so well and firmly raised, that the conquerors were obliged to succumb to the humanizing influences of the conquered—an influence, the same as that which Horace declared the Greeks had exercised over the Romans also ;—*Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

Such were the interesting results of the extension of Greek dominion from the Caspian to the Indus. The political supremacy perished, but the moral influence survived. The dynasties, of which we must now treat, are chiefly interesting, because they used the Grecian language, adopted the imagery of the Grecian religion, and venerated Grecian art. They exhibit also the last instances, in which the symbols of Greece were blended, in the same coinage, with those of India. And thus, in the barbaric kingdoms which follow, we shall behold Greece faintly imaged, though "living Greece no more." Yet we shall see how Greece could "brokenly live on."

" Even as a broken mirror, which the glass
In every fragment multiplies ; and makes
A thousand images of one that was—
The same, and still the more, the more it breaks."

The Scythians, who overthrew the Bactrian kingdom, were urged on, not only by the love of conquest, but also by the spur of necessity. Scythia Proper was not large enough to hold all the Nomad hordes that were congregated within it. At this period, it was a kind of political volcano. Within its bosom were stirring and heaving all the elements of mischief. At length, with a tremendous eruption, forth there issued a fiery stream of lava, that was to flow resistless over the plains of Asia. The Sakas were the first tribe, that were driven out to seek their fortune in the South. And, in all probability, these were the destroyers of the Bactrian empire. The ancient records of India, when collated with the Chinese and classical histories, leave little doubt that these Sakas—after they had subdued, first Bactria and subsequently the Soter dynasty (of Menander) in the Paropamisus, and had brought all Upper India under their dominion—were eventually overthrown by Vikramaditya, king of Oujein, in B. C. 56. This monarch, who is a hero-divinity with the Hindus, was surnamed Sakari, or the foe of the Sakas. But either he, or one of his successors, was forced to yield to the Yuchis, a second tribe of Scythians, still more powerful than the first. These Yuchis founded a most

important kingdom, generally styled the Indo-Scythian. In determining the time and place of these Scythian invasions, much assistance has been derived from the Chinese annalists and travellers. It may appear strange, but it is nevertheless true, that Chinese literature has been found of great practical utility in these respects.

It should be added, that a series of Indo-Parthian coins have been found, which would shew that, for a brief space, some Parthian princes must have ruled in the direction of the Paropamisus. In all probability, when the Bactrian empire was despoiled, they managed to seize a moiety of the plunder. We shall then first dismiss this line of Parthian kings; and then, passing on to the Scythians, we shall commence with the Sakas, and afterwards proceed with the Yuchis.

Doubts have been already intimated as to the Parthians having acquired any Indian dominions at an early period. The dynasty, of which we are about to speak, are certainly Parthians, both in name and in style of coinage. The inferiority of the characters, in which the Greek inscriptions are engraven, would shew that the coins belong to the later and declining period of Græco-Asiatic mintage; and the Arianian inscriptions on the reverse would mark an Indian locality. Various attempts have been made, with indifferent success, to identify the first prince Vónones, with personages of that name, who figure in the Arsacidan history of Parthia. The coins of the third prince, Gondophares, are distinguished by a peculiar monogram, in which Professor Wilson discerns a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Ecclesiastical history corroborates most singularly the Numismatic evidence regarding this prince. Saint Thomas is said to have received a divine commission to visit the Indians, who were ruled by a prince named Gondoforus.* The coincidence is somewhat striking. Another prince, styled Abagasus on the coins, is connected with Gondophares by uniformity of monogram. There are several other princes included in this dynasty. But we do not know enough of their reigns or their policy, to make them interesting. And thus, we must close our account of this distant Indian offshoot of that dynasty, which the name of Mithridates has rendered famous in Roman history, and which was remarkable among the kingdoms of Macedonian origin, from having been finally subverted, not as Bactria, by barbaric invasion, nor as the Seleucidan and Ptolemaic kingdoms by the irresistible progress of Roman conquest, but by

* Sharon Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons. Note to p. 147, vol. II., quoting a Saxon Life of St. Thomas, to be found among the Cottonian manuscripts. This passage was pointed out to us by a friend.

the zealous onset of religious fervour, by the enthusiastic vigour of Ardeshir Baba-jan, the perpetuator of the Magian tenets, the renovator of the Sabæan and Mithraic religions. And while we treat of the Indo-Scythian dynasties, and reflect how Buddhism and Brahmanism (both offsprings of Mithraism) grew up under the shadow of Greek civilization, till they overspread the extreme East, we should not forget that a great day was at hand for the common progenitor of both; and that Mithraism was to be reinstated in the "high places" of Central Asia.

Our view must now be turned towards the Saka-Scythians. In the earlier coins of this class, the letters can hardly be decyphered, being rude imitations of the Greek: and the names are frequently illegible. The three first names given in Professor Wilson's list, namely, Spalarius, Palirisus, and Mayses, we shall pass over summarily; merely remarking, with respect to the two former, that they are placed by many Numismatists among the Bactrian princes; and regarding the latter, that it corresponds with Mâds or Mâs, which Professor Lassen shews to be of Mithraic origin. We then come to the interesting set of coins, which bear the name of Azes. This prince must have been the greatest, that had appeared in Asia since the days of Alexander. The extension of his rule to the frontier of Central Asia has led many to suppose, that he was of Indian origin. He certainly does sometimes figure on the coins in an Indian attitude. But no Buddhist or Brahmanist emblems are associated with him. Whether he be Indian or not, the Chinese theory, which identifies him with Asoka, or Ayu, is decidedly wrong. On the other hand, some of the best authorities, such as Lassen, conclude him to be Scythian. The figure of the mounted king (a Szu, or Saka device, according to Lassen) and the general aspect of the types would certainly favour this supposition. And it is improbable, that an Indian ever could have reigned north of the Caucasus, as Azes certainly did. His coins were found, chiefly, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and in Affghanistan, also in various parts of the Punjab, but not lower. They are numerous and greatly diversified both in type, device and monogram; and they are generally executed with much precision and completeness. The inscriptions are in Greek and in Bactro-Pali. The imagery is drawn from Grecian mythology. Beyond this, there are no religious emblems. There are no devices, that could represent Mithraism or Hinduism. The most important coins are those, which indicate the extent of his empire. There is the Bactrian camel,* the Indian lion

* See Professor Lassen's able interpretation of these emblems.

and elephant, the bull of Kabul. There is also a remarkable device, which represents Neptune trampling on a swimming figure. This has been confidently referred to victories gained in the vicinity of the Indus. Connected with the coinage of this prince, are some specimens, bearing the superscription of Azilises, who was, no doubt, a kindred sovereign—whether successor, or predecessor, is uncertain. Belonging to the same series are a most numerous set of coins, displaying the title of "Great king of kings, the Preserver." One emblem of this set represents a male figure in a long robe, with a cap and fillet, and the right arm stretched over a fire-altar. This is interpreted as an evident allusion to the Magian religion. These coins have been found in the very heart of India, at Benares and at Malwa. The nameless title has, by some, been referred to a confederation of states. But it was, probably, the generic name of a line of kings.

The coins, then, show that there arose upon the ruins of Bactria, a barbaric empire of Saka-Scythian origin, professing a mixed religion, composed of Mithraism, Hellenism, and perhaps Hinduism—an empire, that stretched from the confines of Tartary over the Caucasian range, and thence centring itself in Affghanistan and the Punjab, reached down to the mouths of the Indus—spread eastward, over the plains of Hindustan, to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna—and, southward, over Rajputana to the Vindhyan range of Central India. But for the coins, what historical speculatist would have dreamt of this? In fixing the dates of this dynasty, we must remember, that it came after the first Scythian invasion, and before the second, by the Tokhares, or Yuchis. It is well known that the Indian king, Vikramaditya, defeated some Saka power. And it may be inferred with tolerable certainty, that these must have been the Sakas so defeated. Then, if this be so, the date of their overthrow may be deduced with precision, for the era of Vikramaditya has been placed beyond doubt.* What became of the Sakas after their Indian defeats, neither history nor Numismatics inform us. It cannot be supposed that Vikramaditya pursued them into Bactria Proper. But whether they maintained their power in that quarter, or yielded to some other Scythian swarm, is unknown—a point too dark even for conjecture. That the Sakas, however, were succeeded in India, after no long in

* It is unfortunate that Archæologists have not been able to connect Vikramaditya with any one of the several kinds of relics, whether coins, or rock-inscriptions, or pillars; while they have succeeded to so great an extent in establishing the position of Chandia Gupta and Asoka.

terval, by the kindred tribe of Yuchis, or Tokhares, may be regarded as an historical fact. They could not have followed in direct succession, inasmuch as it was Vikramaditya, who overthrew the Sakas. But it is known that the kingdom, which his spirit and patriotism had founded, fell into confusion after his death. And it is most probable, that the Yuchis took that opportunity of usurping his throne and power, and of raising up a great Indo-Scythian empire. We shall, henceforward, hear no more of Bactria Proper; our attention will be confined to Upper India, including Affghanistan and the Paropamisus.

The coins of the Yuchi, or Indo-Scythian, dynasty have been discovered in vast numbers. They are entirely gold and copper. There is only one silver specimen in the whole set. Now, it has been already stated, that the Bactrian coinage was entirely silver; while the Indian coinage was entirely gold and copper. When we consider that the two countries were conterminous, and that commercial intercourse and monetary exchange largely subsisted between them, it can hardly be regarded as a fortuitous circumstance, that, in one country, the more valuable coins should be nothing but silver, and, in the other, nothing but gold. It was not that the Indians never availed themselves of a silver currency; for, as was previously mentioned, the silver pieces of Bactria, were current in India for some centuries after our æra; so numerous were they, that it must needs be concluded that the Bactrian rulers made special provision for the monetary requirements of India, and augmented the silver mintage accordingly. Why, then, did the Bactrians follow this policy? Some reason there must have been. A reason is supplied by the author of the *Periplus*, who says, that the silver denarii were exchanged with advantage against the gold kaltes of India.* But, when the Bactrian pieces became obsolete and fell out of circulation, and the resources of silver currency thus began to fail, the Indians introduced a silver coinage of their own. Towards the decline of the Indo-Scythic power, and the accession of the great Gupta dynasty, the Satraps of Guzerat† and the Gupta sovereigns of that region coined beautifully in silver, while the coinage of Kanouj, the then capital of northern India, continued to be gold. The monetary remains of the Indo-Scythic epoch seem to shew that this was a period of national wealth and commercial activity. That there was a brisk demand in the money market and the bazaar, is evinced by the

* On this point consult Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, and Cunningham's *Numismatic Tract*.

† Vide "Saurashtra Coins," by E. Thomas, Esq., B.C.S.

immense issue of copper coins. The pice of the Indo-Scythian Kadphises and Kanerkes were current in the Hindu kingdoms of Upper India, and remained in circulation till the Muhamadan invasion. But, besides difference in metal, there will be observed other important changes in the specimens of the coining series. They cease to be bilingual. The coins of Kadphises, the first king on the list, form a single exception to this rule. The Arianian, or Bactro-Pali characters (of which so much has been said) are no more to be seen; the Greek alphabet alone remains. Heretofore, in each series, Greek mythology has supplied a goodly portion of the imagery: but henceforward that also disappears. Greek art is passing away; but the court language, and the fashionable orthography, are still Greek. It has been already stated that the general features of the coins, and the localities in which they have been found, prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that this kingdom comprised Upper India, that is the tract of country between the junction of the Ganges and Jumna and the Western extremity of the Paropamisus. The first king was Kadphises. Some of his coins were first discovered at Mathura (Muttra) and Allahabad. But the figurations had become indistinct from long friction, and the letters of the inscriptions could not, at that time, be decyphered. These specimens remained therefore unintelligible, until they were compared with the more recently discovered coins. A great number of fellow specimens have been dug up in Kabul and the Punjab. The king's dress, and the cast of his features, are unquestionably Tartar, or Scythian. In one coin, he appears worshipping at a fire-altar. In some coins, the Hindu Shiva is represented with his usual attributes, and his attendant bull, bedecked after the regular fashion. On the reverses of the coins (as we said before) the Arianian characters are seen for the last time. There are other coins bearing the same name: but, on account of dissimilarity of device, they are conjectured to belong to another Kadphises. It is agreed on all hands, that he was not the only one of his race who bore this name; and that, at all events, other kings must have intervened between him and the monarch we are now about to notice, namely, Kanerkes. That this king was of a different lineage from Kadphises, seems clear from the absence of bilingual inscriptions, and an additional set of honorific titles derived from the Magian vocabulary. But general uniformity of design and monogram, and identity in place of discovery, would show that both princes belonged to the same race and the same kingdom. On some of the Kanerkian coins, there appears the figure of the Sakya Sinha, one of the Mûnis or patron saints of Buddhism, in a

preaching or benedictory attitude. Major Cunningham considers * that he has got a coin of this king, in which the aspect of the figure is eminently Buddhist, and with an inscription, which he decyphers as an invocation to Budha. This prince has also been identified with Kaniki, or Kanishka, a king known to Cashmerian history, and a zealous Buddhist.†

The coins of the next king, Kenorama, are in much the same style as the preceding. But the constant occurrence of the elephant would seem to denote the consolidation of the kingdom in the interior of India. Neither is there any thing that calls for especial notice in the coinage of the next king, Oerkes, except that his dress closely resembles the vestments of the Sassanian kings of Persia, as depicted on their coins. There is a fire-altar plainly represented in the coins of the next king, Baraoro. The regal head dress is unquestionably Sassanian.‡ We next come to a set of coins, inscribed with the name, Ardokro : whether it belonged to one, or to several monarchs, is uncertain. Their principal type is a female, sitting on a high-backed throne, and holding a cornucopia.§ The recurrence of this type in the Gupta coins of Kanouj (and it will be remembered that the Guptas succeeded the Indo-Scythians), associated with regular Hindu inscriptions in Sanskrit, marks the Ardokro coins as the last of the Indo-Scythian series, and as belonging to the transition period, when the last vestiges of Bactrian influence and Grecian civilization were fast fading from our view to be seen no more. From a comparison of the respective types and monograms, James Prinsep has pronounced the Indo-Scythian to have been the original model of the Kanouj coinage. And thus Indo-Scythic history may, perhaps, explain the Rajput tradition, which declares the founder of the Kanouj race of Rahtores to have been a Yavan, or Greek, of the Asi or Aswa tribe. A Bactrian chief was, no doubt, meant. The tradition, however, is only useful as showing that Indian tradition preserved the remembrance of dominant races, who had come down from the north. It cannot have much historical significance : for the Rajput bard forgot, or ignored the fact, that it was the comparatively low caste Guptas, and not the high-born Rahtores, who drove back the Indo-Scythians. In Surat also, the southern extremity

* *Numismatic Tracts*.—J. A. S. Bengal.

† See J. Prinsep's account of this king in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* ; also Cunningham's *Treatise on Kashmerian coinage*.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI., (1843.)

‡ *Vide* Wilson's Account of the Sassanian coins.

§ Lassen has observed that the Saka kings are generally represented as mounted, and the Yuchis seated in a chariot, or on a throne.

of their empire, the Indo-Scythians left their Numismatic devices to be imitated by their successors.* These Numismatic coincidences, while they prove what James Prinsep called "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj coinage," are still more valuable as establishing the consecutive order of events.† The later history of Kanouj is detailed in genuine and authentic narratives, and may form a sound basis on which to raise a structure of Numismatic facts. If, therefore, the connection of the Kanouj coinage with the Indo-Scythic, and the connection of the latter with the earlier Scythian coinage, and again the connection of this last coinage with the Græco-Bactrian and the Macedonian (when we again meet the domain of history) be all made out, as we trust it has—then something has been done to evince the fidelity and trustworthiness of Numismatic enquiry, and to vindicate, in legal phrase, the "admissibility" of the coins as evidence.

By this time, that is, the beginning of the third century, a race of Gupta chiefs had arisen. They expelled the Indo-Scythians: and, having thus rid themselves of foreign domination, they founded a kingdom, which extended from Nepal to Gúzerat and from Magadha to the Paropamisus. And thus Hindu supremacy was restored in the north of India, where it had not been known since the days of Chandragupta and Asoka.

But before this Indo-Scythic dynasty is finally dismissed from our consideration, there are one or two questions, connected with the religious emblems of their coins, which merit a brief discussion. What, for instance, meant the Mithraic emblems? How and from whence did they get to India? Elemental worship was the original faith of Central Asia. It is known by the several names of Magian, Sabæan, and Mithraic. This superstition, in itself purer and simpler than other forms of heathenism, soon became corrupted, and degenerated into a mythology, the most stupid and senseless of all.‡ As the religion spread, a number of strange names and epithets were incorporated into the sacred nomenclature, and the deified heroes of neighbouring nations were allowed the honor of apotheosis in the Mithraic Pantheon. But this Persian mythology, though it no doubt was venerated in the homes of the people, does not appear to have been more than tolerated by the successors of Alexander. As far as we know, it was not politically encouraged,

* See "Saurashtran Coins."

† See *Tod's Rajasthan*—Connection of the Rajputs with the Scythians, Chapter I. and VI.

‡ See Malcolm's account of the process of corruption in the *History of Persia*.

and it certainly did not receive the allegiance of the kings. When the Greeks lost their political power, the barbaric conquerors at first adopted the Grecian, and not the Magian mythology. And thus, for many years, the Greek religion continued to be fashionable. The Yuchis, however, rejected the European, and adopted the Asiatic mythology. But when established in India, they deemed it politic to encourage the two prevailing religions of that peninsula, namely, Brahmanism and Budhism—which were after all only offsprings of the parent Mithraism. Hence it was that the emblems of Shiva, of Budh, and of Mithra, appear together on the Indo-Scythic coinage. We will first notice the names and figures characteristic of Mithraism.*

The titular terms Miro, Mioro, or Mithro, attached to the regal names of the Kanerkian dynasty, are identified with the word Mithra, the Zendic name for the sun. This famous word, which has given a name to the Mithraic religion, reappears in Persian as Mihir, in Sanskrit as Mitra and Mihira. But in these two languages, it is only one name for the sun out of many: whereas the original Mithra means the one sovereign sun, and corresponds with the Hèlios, also found on the coins. He is seen in a flowing dress, with light radiating round his head. The Deus Lunus of Asia Minor appears on the coins under the Zendic name of Mao and Manao Bago, corresponding with the Sanscrit word Mas. The figure resembles that of the sun, only, instead of the rays, we have the lunar circlet. In connection with this divinity, the coins give the name of Nanaia, Nàna, and Nàna Rào. This goddess, a tributary of the moon, is the triple faced Artemis of Agathokles (the Bactrian king), the Anaitis of the Persians, the Anaia of Armenia, the Bibi Nànì of the Muhammadans.†

Next we have Athro on the coins, the peculiar god of the Ignicolae, the personification of fire. The figure is encircled with the sacred element, and the hair seems to wreath itself into flames. The name is also Zendic, and agrees with "Atars," Fire. The word "Oado" on the coins has been identified with the Zendic "Vato" and the Persian "Bad," Wind. Two words "Okro" and "Ardokro" have not been satisfactorily explained. The "Ard" has been reasonably conjectured to be the common prefix "Arta," Great, as in Arta Xerxes. Another name, "Pharo," on account of the similarity of the figure to which it is attached, has been supposed to be an epithet of the sun.

* See Lassen's interpretation of these names and figures.

† Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*.

Now, it must be steadily borne in mind, that *all* these names are written in the Greek character. Thus was the Greek language made the medium, by which the people of India were to learn the sacred terminology of the Persian Zendavesta. Until the discovery of the coins, no three things could be more separate—more irreconcilably disconnected—than this language, this people, and this religion. But now the coins have brought these three together ! And, thus corrupted, Mithraism was to run its course, not only in Ariana, but in the Indian peninsula. It was soon, however, to be driven out from the former by the Sassanian descendants of the great reformer, and from the latter by the Guptas.

The blending of Brahmanist symbols with the pantheistic imagery of the Indo-Scythians needs not excite surprise ; but the admission of Buddhist emblems may suggest a few observations. For some time Buddhism was denied its proper place in history. It had the misfortune to be overthrown by a system, in which historical mendacity, in support of religious tenets was held to be a cardinal virtue.* The Brahmanists, having established the most complete civil and ecclesiastical polity, and elaborated a polished literature, were reluctant to admit that there had been such a thing as a Buddhism, which once ran Brahmanism very hard in the race of dominion. But the veil was gradually withdrawn. Chinese literature gave forth its stores of information. Accounts came pouring in from Burmah, Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon. The earth and the mountain yielded up their monumental treasures. Caves were penetrated—relics dug up—rock-inscriptions decyphered. The writings on the Delhi and Allahabad pillars were read. The coins began to tell their story. As our knowledge of the dynasties which ruled in Upper India and Kabul began to increase, the works of several Chinese travellers, who visited India during the first five centuries of our æra, were critically examined.† The correctness of their geography and the general truth of their statements were remarkably verified by the relics and the coins, which have formed the subject of the present treatise. From all this evidence, some scholars have believed that the Pali language was current, and the Buddhist faith dominant, at a

* We do not, of course, mean to say that Buddhism was not mentioned in Sanskrit Literature, but only that its position was not duly described.

† We need not give the names of these travellers. The accounts of their travels were most elaborately commented on by Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and others. The work of the principal traveller, Fa Hien having been translated into French, was again translated into English by Mr. Laidley of Calcutta.

time, when the polished form of the Sanscrit was unknown, and when Brahmanism could not raise its head.* Without going so far as this, and without claiming any undue antiquity or pre-eminence for Buddhism, we may safely say that for sometime, it was at least co-extensive with, and at one epoch, superior to, Brahmanism; that it extended as far north, and was probably carried into Indian kingdoms beyond the Indus and below the Caucasian range—countries, whither Brahmanism, perhaps, never penetrated; that some of the most illustrious Hindu monarchs were its disciples—monarchs, who made treaties with Antiochus the Great, and kept the Bactrian Greeks at bay; and that it took its place, side by side with Brahmanism and Mithraism, in the adoration of the Indo-Scythians, we have already seen. And this fact was further strengthened by Captain Cautley's exhumation of a Buddhist city at Behar, near Scharunpur. Among the ruins were discovered, not only a series of Indo-Scythian coins with the Buddhist symbols, but also a collection of undoubtedly Buddhist relics. The discovery of Indo-Scythian coins in the Buddhist topes of Affghanistan has been already described.

With the extinction of the Indo-Scythian power will close the historical drama allotted to this article. However incomplete our treatment of the subject may have been, we trust that, at all events, the history itself has been proved to merit attention. It has been seen that Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Græco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East; how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization in pristine purity, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects; how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity; how they held the barbarians in check; and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythians. The coins have shewn how the Bactro-Scythians raised a vast, but short-lived, empire, at one time, greater even than the Græco-Bactrian; how they borrowed the arts, policy, language, and religion of the Greeks; how, at the same time, they engrafted on this noble stock, the mythology and the forms of oriental worship. Lastly, the coins have shewn how, on the expulsion of the Bactro-Scythians, a kindred race of Indo-Scythians seized the southern and eastern portions of the old empire; how they augmented the material

* See Colonel Sykes' treatise on the religious, moral and political state of India, before the Muhammadan invasion,

wealth of monetary currency of this new kingdom ; how they adopted and blended together the ideas and the superstitions of the three great sects of orientalism, but still retained the Greek, as the classical language of the court and the state. Such facts as these history had not shewn, and, unless new materials should be discovered, never could shew. Besides these points, on which coins alone have furnished the main body of the evidence, they have supplied a mass of collateral and supplementary information regarding the origin and growth of some of the oldest eastern languages and the most potent eastern religions. Those who imagine that this picture is overdrawn, we must refer to the many learned and elaborate treatises, both English and continental, alluded to in the foregoing pages, and to the plates, with which most of the works are embellished, and by means of which the reader may judge for himself, whether the inferences drawn from the coins are just and fair, or not.

It must not, however, be concluded that the Numismatists of India are resting on their oars, or are content with the archæological trophies already won. There are, we doubt not, many acute and accomplished minds still labouring to throw additional light on the facts of this history. Not a year passes away without some circumstances being adduced in confirmation, addition, correction, or illustration. Much has been done in the way of correction. The position of individual kings, and even the dates and localities of particular dynasties have been occasionally altered ; but the cardinal points of the narrative, the nature and extent of the several kingdoms, the succession of races, languages and religions—all this has stood unassailed and unimpeached throughout the ten years of Numismatic scrutiny. And it is upon *these* points that we have endeavoured to dwell, rather than upon points of minor importance, which cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, and which do not affect general principles or theories. Much has also been done in the way of corroboration. And few portions of the subject have been more strengthened than that which relates to the geographical extent of the several kingdoms, both classical and barbarian, which existed in Upper India. The tendency of recent discoveries has been to shew that Kabul and the Punjab formed the pivot, on which often turned the fate of Central Asia and of India. It is, indeed, no newly discovered fact that this region has been to Asia, what the Netherlands were to Europe, the arena of incessant contest between the different aspirants to universal dominion. But for aught that history told us to the contrary, we might have supposed that it enjoyed

a respite from contention during the long interval between the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander and of the Mussulmans under Mahmud. The coins, however, shew that during this period also, it was as sharply contested for, as it ever has been subsequently ;—that it was the battle-field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions and opinions ;—that it was the scene of such contests, as might be anxiously looked upon (to borrow the Homeric notion) by the gods of Greece, by the Hindu Triad, by the Gautamas of Buddhism, and by the elemental divinities of Zoroaster.

Nor must it be supposed that Indian Numismatics stop here. We have only traced the History of India for six hundred years. But the coins, to use Professor Wilson's words, have followed the destinies of India for two thousand years. Following the Indo-Scythian dynasty in close order, there come several series of Hindu coins, which explain much that was obscure in the Ante-Muhammadian period of Indian history, and which conduct us down to the epoch of Muhammadian conquests. Then, following the tracks of authentic history, the coins accompany us through the periods marked by the several Muhammadian dynasties, and by the different policies which they pursued ;—until at last there appears a coinage, which has spread even further than the Macedonian, which heralded a civilization higher than that of the Greeks, and which belonged to an empire greater than that of Alexander. These subjects may perhaps be treated of in a future article : but we shall not touch upon them at present, inasmuch as we have confined ourselves to the limits of Greek dominion and influence in the East.

RESULTS OF MISSIONARY LABOUR IN INDIA.

BY REV. J. MULLENS, D.D.

1. *Thirty-Eighth Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.* Calcutta. 1851.
2. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.* Madras. 1851.

INDIA is the largest appendage of a great empire, which the world ever saw. It is not merely a country, but a continent, which, in ancient days, contained numerous kingdoms, independent of one another. Stretching 1,800 miles in extreme length and 1,300 in extreme breadth, it includes within its mighty boundaries all varieties of climate, scenery and soil. The giant range of the Himalaya, capped with eternal snow; the sandy deserts of Rajputana; the fertile plains of the lower Ganges and of Tanjore; the mighty Ghâts and the salubrious plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It contains at least one hundred and thirty millions of people, distributed in twenty-four provinces, and speaking thirteen polished languages. The resources, with which Providence has gifted it, are fitted to promote the comfort of human life in a thousand ways. It supplies the cheapest food of numerous kinds: and the warmth of its largest provinces requires but scanty clothing. It furnishes fields of coal, beds of copper, lead and iron, and mines of salt. It has giant forests of the most useful trees, especially sal, teak, segun and oak; while its bamboo topes, its cocoanuts and palms, furnish the poor with the posts, roofing and thatch of their houses, and with a variety of articles besides. Its dry plains produce in abundance varied kinds of pulse and vegetables, together, with wheat, indigo, cotton, sugar and opium: while, in its vast swamps, are grown luxuriant crops of rice. The noble rivers of Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces furnish a ready highway for trade, while the cheapness of labour brings their vast produce into the market at a low rate. Not only in the necessaries of life, but in its luxuries, does the value of this mighty continent appear. It has given to the world its largest jewels and finest fabrics. The shawls of Cashmere, the muslins of Dacca, the flagree jewellery of Cuttack, are to this day unrivalled. The might of European machinery has, in these things, yielded the palm to the taper fingers and ingenious skill of the natives of India: while their carvings in ebony and ivory, their curious musical instruments, their rich embroidery, viewed in connection with other features of their character and occupations, prove them to be a unique and wondrous people. The population has its features of interest, as well as

the country. It includes the clever and cunning Brahmin ; the submissive and patient Sudra, the poor outcast Paria of Madras, and the licentious Mussulman. It includes the coward yet cunning Bengali ; the spirited Hindustani ; the martial Sikh, Rohilla and Gurkha ; the fighting Mahratta and Rajput ; the mercantile Armenian ; the active and honest Parsi ; the busy Telugu, and the uncivilized Gonds, Khunds, Bhils, Todawars, Garrows, Lepchas, Kassias, and the like, who now inhabit the hill forests, but who once roamed as lords over the outspread plains. The revenue paid to the Government is equal to twenty millions a year : and the annual trade of the three ports of India amounts to not less than forty millions of pounds sterling.

But its people are not happy. Though the land contains immense resources for the production of wealth, and the population that must develop them, swarms upon its surface, the motive to industry is wanting. The cultivator is in the hands of a grasping landholder and greedy underlings. Caste divides the nation into sections, setting tribe against tribe, family against family, and one pursuit against another. A tyrannical priesthood lays its grasp upon every source of gain, and exacts fines and fees from every transaction of the Hindu, from the time of his birth till he is burnt on the funeral pyre. A debasing idolatry, which has sanctified by religious worship the most odious vices, and calls the vilest of characters incarnate gods, rules over millions of votaries. To the *dicta* of their priests and the assertions of their Shastras, they yield implicit obedience ; sacrificing to their cruel sway, the appeals of conscience, the conclusions of reason, and the evidence of their very senses. Can it then be wondered at, that all the power of this people is grossly misused—that their intellect is debased and perverted, or that their moral sense is often all but dead ? Is it strange that their should be found among them so little of truth, patriotism, justice, or heart-purity ; while covetousness, revenge, licentiousness and lying, are as common as the light of day ? The Hindus may be clever, acute, and skilful to a certain point, but their moral character as a nation is debased in the extreme.

For what purpose, then, we may ask, has this great continent, with its vast resources and countless population, been placed under the rule of a small island in the western world ? Why is it that, in the far east, 'regions, Cæsar never knew,' should be governed by the people of that barbarous island, which Cæsar's legions were the first to conquer ; and that their steamers should bring within five weeks' distance of each other, countries, which

to him were the extremities of the earth ? Why is it that this conquest should be effected without great cost to England by the people of India themselves, in spite of Charters, Acts of Parliament, and the voice of public opinion ? The hand of God has been in it. Even statesmen and politicians, who never acknowledged a Providence before, have confessed that they see it here. But for what *end* has it thus been given ? Not that the pride of England may be flattered by tales of prowess and deeds of arms ; not that its armies may reap ‘ imperishable glory ’ on well-fought fields, or that its generals may be raised, by their victories, to an English peerage : not that India may provide place and pay for the numerous relations and dependents of its governors ; not that it may yield three-quarters of a million in dividends to East India proprietors, or that it may enlarge the trade of English merchants, give work to English artisans, and bring an annual gain of eight millions sterling to the English nation : not for these and a thousand other earthly objects has this mighty trust been committed to England’s charge. It is given to her, that the blessings which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too : that her high civilization may be shared by her dependent ; that the knowledge, which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the mind of the Hindus : that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered ; that the justice, the moral tone, the truth of England, may be infused into a people, who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India’s idolatries and caste ; raise her people from their degradation ; purify them from the immoralities which their religion now teaches ; make them just, truthful and happy ; raise the female population, give them joys in this life, and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss. It is that Christianity may “ raise the poor out of the dust, and “ lift up the beggar from the dunghill ; to set him among “ princes, and make him inherit the throne of glory.”

In accomplishing this end, all who come to India, have a work to do. The Government, in all its branches, civil, military and financial, has to show the influence of Christian principles in wise legislation ; in the just administration of sound laws ; in the faithful protection of the life, the freedom, the conscience, and the rights of all its subjects ; in justly apportioning the burdens of taxation among all classes of the community ; in promoting intercourse between all parts of the country, and in endeavouring to preserve peace. Merchants,

traders; factors of all kinds; officers of Government in all grades; and all Christians, whatever be their station, ought to shew the excellence of their faith in their consistent life, and by taking all proper opportunities of pointing out the errors of false religion, and using efforts to remove them. "Seek ye," said the prophet, "the peace of the city, whither ye are carried captive; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. But by far the largest share of the great work of India's renovation belongs to the Church of Christ; and all the agencies which it can put forth, it is bound to exert to its utmost power. The door is now open for the fulfilment, in India, of the great commission which its master has appointed as its duty through all time.

Now that the opportunity of discharging this important duty has existed for many years, the questions naturally arise, how has the trust been fulfilled, or what measures are in progress for its faithful discharge? These questions we propose to take up in the present paper, deeming the close of the half century just past, a fit opportunity for reviewing what has been effected, and for enquiring what amount of agency is being employed for carrying out the end designed. We do not now enquire at any length, what the Government has done. We make no search into the character of its legislation, the efficiency of its army, its magistracy, or police; into the state of its roads, its revenue and public debts; neither shall we examine into the character and proceedings of the merchants, the planters, and other classes of English society, scattered throughout the country.

We fear that, on several points, we should derive little satisfaction from either investigation. There are great leading facts in the history of the Court of Directors, which might well serve to moderate the warmth of their admirers. They opposed the opening of England's trade with India in 1813, and the opening of her trade with China, and the free settlement of Europeans in India in 1833. They now derive a vast revenue from supplying opium for the iniquitous traffic, in which men, calling themselves Christians, seek gain by selling poison to myriads of Chinese. In the battle between Christianity and Hinduism, throwing their sympathies and aid into the scale of idolatry, they imparted fresh vigour to the falling cause, by renewing the temples and beautifying the pagodas; they compelled their officers to take charge of the funds, brought their troops to attend the festivals, and received the fees of pilgrims at the pagan shrines. They opposed the abolition of

Suttee ; they resisted the introduction of missionaries into India, and sanctioned the deportation from its shores of men like Judson and Gordon Hall. They have done little to promote the simple vernacular education of the great mass of the people. They govern the country by means of a small exclusive service, the members of which are, every one, sent out to be provided for life with large incomes, however unserviceable they may prove : and the monopoly of this service, consisting, as it does chiefly, of their own relatives and connections, they preserve, with a jealousy, which every Governor-General lives to find, is one of the chief elements of their policy. Of the Europeans in India, generally, we must equally fear, that the truest account would be the most unfavourable. We have heard of some, who regarded themselves as Hindus, rather than as Christians : of others, who deemed Muhammadan festivals fit objects for special patronage ; and of others, who directly counteracted the instructions of missionaries, by advising young men not to become Christians, and teaching them that Deism was the true religion for men. We have heard, too, of thousands, who lived as though they regarded gentleness, mercy and spiritual worship, less than the heathen by whom they were surrounded.

It would be unjust to deny or conceal that, in recent years, there has been a considerable improvement both in the spirit of the Government and in the example of the European population. In the Madras Presidency especially, there has been a large increase in the number of the Europeans, who fear God and count his service an honour. The days, when a sepoy could be dismissed from the army, simply for becoming a Christian, (a fact in the time of Lord Hastings) have, we trust, passed away, and the influence of upright Christian laymen is rapidly on the increase. There is, too, a decided improvement in the character and principles of our rulers. Doubtless there were, in former years, a Charles Grant and a Parry in the Court of Directors, but the predominant influence was that of the Scott Warings and Twinings, who wished to exclude all Christianity from India. Things are different now, as many recent despatches show ; and far be it from us to pass lightly over the gratifying fact. But much remains to be improved. When it is remembered that only three years ago, the acting Resident at Nagpore compelled the missionaries to give up a convert to be imprisoned by the heathen Rajah, on the ground that the treaty forbade the English authorities to 'aid' his '*discontented subjects* ;' and that this extraordinary measure, justified by this strange reason, was formally sanctioned by the present Governor-General—it will be seen at

once, that the improvement we speak of, is only comparative. But on these topics we shall not enlarge further than to express our earnest desire that men of Christian zeal and courage may be raised up to rule this land ; and that henceforth the name of Christian may not be spoken of among the heathen as it was in former days.

At present we shall confine our view solely to the direct promotion of Christian Missions in Hindustan by Christian men, as such, and to the efforts of Missionary Societies. And when we consider the gigantic field open to those efforts ; when we consider the perfect freedom, protection and safety, with which they may be carried on ; when we survey the vast regions, the thickly peopled towns and villages, the millions of people within our reach ; when we see the strength of those superstitions which hoar age has hallowed, and a spurious learning has defended and explained ; when we behold the power of the Brahminical priesthood and the firm bonds of the caste system ; when we see how, in the vast population, reason has been perverted and conscience degraded—we shall feel compelled to ask ;—“ *Is there not a cause*” for the warmest zeal, the purest self-denial, the greatest tenderness, and the most scrupulous fidelity, on the part of all, who are called to take up this great duty, and to engage in this gigantic toil ?

Attempts to Christianize India, in whole or in part, have been repeatedly made, during a period of more than three hundred years ; and four distinct plans of operation have been adopted, for accomplishing that end. The Portuguese, backed by King John, and led on by their fighting priests, endeavoured to compel the people of Ceylon and South India to receive their faith, by bloody massacres, cruel persecutions, imprisonments and fines. We read of no sermons preached ; no distribution of the Bible effected by them ; but we find, that they ‘demolished, burnt and rooted out’ the ‘pagan temples,’ sought to abolish the heathen sports, and ‘severely punished’ obstinate recusants. The Jesuits, in the same part of the country, endeavoured to accomplish the same end more thoroughly, by a persevering system of the most stupendous frauds ever committed under the sun. They pretended to be Brahmins of the highest caste ; they dressed like Sanyasis ; adopted their manners, dress and food to those of the heathen ; forged a Veda ; denied that they were Europeans ; and, to support their character, resorted to the most unblushing lies, during a period of many years.

The Dutch Government next entered the field ; and, in

addition to setting before the heathen the same example of dishonesty, covetousness, falsehood, licentiousness, cruelty and intolerance, which they had seen in their predecessors the Portuguese, they sought to bribe the Singhalese to adopt Dutch Presbyterianism by the offer of places and situations; and to terrify them into it, by refusing all Government employ, and even the farming of land, to all who were not baptized, and had not signed the Helvetic Confession of Faith. Each of these three plans acquired thousands upon thousands of nominal converts, but nothing more. Neither cruelty nor fraud, nor appeals to self-interest, laid the foundation of a sincere and permanent Christian community. It naturally followed, therefore, that these thousands of converts returned to the heathenism of their fathers, as soon as the efficient cause of their profession was withdrawn.

‘ They melted from the field, as snow.
 When streams are swollen and south winds blow,
 Dissolves in silent dew.’

In 1802, there were 136,000 Tamil Christians in Jaffna: but in 1806, after the English conquest, Christianity was ‘*extinct*.’ Of the 340,000 in the Singhalese district, in 1801, more than half had relapsed into Buddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. The Roman Catholics of South India, the descendants of the Jesuits’ converts, and numbering some 40,000, are at this day scarcely distinguishable from the heathen. Their ceremonies are, to a great extent, the same; the names only of their deities differ. Such are the results of the early attempts to convert the natives of Hindustan: attempts, of which two were made, not by the teachers of Christianity, but by the Governments of Europe.

The *fourth* and last plan of missionary operations adopted in India, is that employed by modern Missionary Societies. It is that of endeavouring to convince the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christianity, by preaching to the old, by teaching the young, by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues, by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings, to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments, and draw their hearts, so that they may become willing converts, and abide in the faith which they are persuaded to embrace.

The series of efforts made in India, on this plan, began with the labours of the Tranquebar missionaries in 1706. In that year, Ziegenbalg and Plutsch, the well-known founders of that useful mission, entered on the work of preaching the gospel

in the vernacular tongue, and, for more than a century, did they and their successors continue to carry it on. Until a few years ago, little was known of the extent and character of their work, of the stations they had founded, the missionaries who had laboured, the incidents which had happened, and the results by which their labours had been followed. A recent work,* however, has brought the subject prominently to light, and has enabled the Christian Church to see on what an advantageous ground the work of missions was placed in South India during the last century. But that mission was almost entirely a Continental one. Begun by the King of Denmark, it was supplied almost entirely in men, and subsequently in money also, from the Evangelical Church and University of Halle, sustained by Augustus Herman Francke, and his illustrious successors. The light, which God had kindled in that Prussian town, sent its rays far into Southern India: so long as it continued steady, the mission stations prospered greatly: but, when it faded and at last expired, the missions languished and expired too. During last century, more than fifty missionaries arrived in India, in connection with the Tranquebar Mission. Amongst them, Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, and Gericke, are well known to English readers. But Dr. Schultze of Madras, the first Telugu scholar and translator of the Telugu Bible; Huttemann of Cuddalore; Breithaupt, Fabricius, and Dr. Rottler, all of Madras—the last, a man of science and a scholar; Kohlhoff of Tanjore, the companion of Schwartz; Dr. Cæmmerer; Dr. John of Tranquebar, the first founder of English Mission Schools; with Klein, Zieglin and Weidebrock, Pressier and Pohle, Horst and Kiernander, some of whom continued their patient labours for more than fifty years, deserve no less esteem. Through those labours the mission branched out in various directions. From Tranquebar it spread first to Tanjore, then to Madras and Cuddalore; then to Negapatam and Palamcottah: and from these servants of Christ, the province of Tinnevely received its first right impressions of Christian truth. They employed the same agencies in their work, as others do at the present day. They preached in the native languages: they undertook extensive journeys; they gathered Christian congregations, taught numerous schools, translated the Bible into Tamul, and laid the foundation of a Christian literature. Several of their native converts were ordained to the ministry, while others aided them in their schools. The

* Hough's History of Christianity in India, vols. iii. and iv.

number of their baptized converts amounted, altogether, to more than fifty thousand : and had their labours been properly sustained, and the places of those who died been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But the springs, whence their waters came, began to dry up. German neology usurped the place of Bible truth. The missionaries that came towards the end of the century, were few and far between : and at last ceased altogether. In 1806, only six missionaries, and in 1816 only three remained, supported, with one exception, entirely by English funds. Under these circumstances, many of the native churches, as was natural, fell away and were scattered ; the schools were closed ; the missions lost their distinctive character ; and at length, their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active missionary agencies. Perhaps one cause of their rapid decline arose from the mighty error, which had been committed from the first, of allowing native converts to retain the caste usages, which they had followed as Hindus : an error, which long existed in subsequent missions, and is retained by the successors of the Tranquebar missionaries at the present hour.

The modern era of missions in India begins with the founding of the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1799. The continental Christians had retired from the work ; but the churches of England and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years, stations were established in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the Presidencies of Hindustan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The LONDON Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah ; to Travancore ; to Madras, Vizagapatam and Bellary ; to Surat ; and lastly to Ceylon. The AMERICAN Board, after some opposition from the Government, occupied Bombay. The CHURCH Missionary Society entered first on the old Missions at Madras, Tranquebar and Palamcottah : but soon began an altogether new field, among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The BAPTIST Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinajpore and other places ; and also began its mission in Ceylon. In the latter island, the

WESLEYANS speedily followed them ; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American Board. North, south, east and west, the church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the inspired word, and, within a few years, it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages, for the first time. In thus endeavouring to occupy the vast field opened before them, the missionaries and their advisers were at first compelled, from want of experience, to act much at random. Numerous were the errors and mistakes they fell into ; mistakes to which all new colonists are liable in all lands. Much of their time and energy also was devoted to the spiritual benefit of their destitute countrymen, who suffered from a most grievous deficiency of the means of grace. They had to create facilities for acquiring the languages of India, for learning the superstitions, notions and habits of its people. They had to create their various agencies, and to begin the very simplest plans for applying gospel truth to the ignorant objects of their care. But they had a spirit powerful to meet difficulties and put them down : they had a noble object in view ; and they laboured, looking to that fruit which begins already to gladden the eyes of their successors. In spite of inexperience, in spite of discouragements and difficulties, arising from the language, the people, and their irreligious countrymen, they laid a broad and solid foundation for future sure success. And now their successors can enter at once upon their work, with abundant facilities of every kind, for its speedy and effective application. Honour be to the men, who thus bore the burden of the first and hardest toil ! Eternal honour be to that Lord who enabled them to exalt the valleys and make low the hills ; to make the crooked straight and the rough places plain, that the glory of the Lord might be revealed and all flesh see it together !

Steadily advancing in their efforts, in the year 1830, after a lapse of twenty-five years from the entry of most societies into India, the missionary agencies stood thus : There were labouring in India and Ceylon, TEN Missionary Societies, including the great Societies of England and the American Board : the missionaries were a HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN in number, and their stations were a HUNDRED AND SIX, scattered over all parts of the country. Since then, however, the interest felt by European and American Christians in the conversion of this country, has greatly increased, and renewed exertions to secure it have been put forth with vigour. The discussions concerning the

Suttee ; the removal of old restrictions by the last charter ; the publication of numerous works on Indian Missions ; and the appeals made to Christian churches, have shown that India is one of the noblest fields where missionary labour may be carried on. The result is that, during the last twenty years, those churches have nearly TREBLED the agency previously employed, have greatly enlarged the sphere of their operations, and are beginning to reap the most substantial fruits. With a view to exhibit these results completely and with scrupulous exactness, we have lately entered into very extensive correspondence with missionaries in different parts of India, and passed under careful review a large collection of Missionary Reports, together with the recent religious literature of the various Presidencies. The facts thus elicited have been formed into a statistical table, and the following is a brief statement of its results.

At the close of 1850, fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindustan, and thirty years since they have been carried on in full efficiency, the Stations at which the gospel is preached in India and Ceylon, are two hundred and sixty in number, and engage the services of FOUR HUNDRED AND THREE MISSIONARIES, belonging to twenty-two Missionaries Societies. Of these missionaries, TWENTY-TWO are ORDAINED NATIVES, assisted by FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE NATIVE PREACHERS ; they proclaim the word of God in the bazars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded THREE HUNDRED AND NINE NATIVE CHURCHES, containing seventeen thousand, three hundred, and fifty-six Members, or Communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These church members form the nucleus of a NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, comprising ONE HUNDRED AND THREE THOUSAND individuals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old. The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to thirteen hundred and forty-five day-schools, in which *eighty-three thousand, seven hundred boys* are instructed through the medium of their own Vernacular language ; to seventy-three boarding schools, containing *nineteen hundred and ninety-two boys*, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries premises, and are trained up under their eye ; and to one hundred and twenty-eight day-schools, with *fourteen thousand boys and students*, receiving a sound Scriptural educa-

tion, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in Female EDUCATION embrace three hundred and fifty-four day-schools, with *eleven thousand, five hundred girls*; and ninety-one boarding schools, with *two thousand four hundred and fifty girls*, taught almost exclusively in the Vernacular languages. The BIBLE has been wholly translated into *ten languages*, and the New Testament into *five*, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages, a considerable Christian literature has been produced, and also from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for distribution among the Hindu and Mussulman population. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. While preaching the gospel regularly in the numerous tongues of India, missionaries maintain English services in fifty-nine chapels, for the edification of our own countrymen. The total cost of this vast missionary agency during the past year amounted to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS; of which thirty-three thousand five hundred pounds were contributed in this country, not by the native Christian community, but by Europeans. A few comments on these expressive facts may put them in a clear light.

The various Missionary Societies, from whom these efforts spring, are twenty-two in number. Besides the great Missionary Societies of England, the Established and Free Church of Scotland's Missions, and the American Board, they include the American Presbyterian Church; the American Baptist Missions; six societies from Germany, of which the Society at Basle ranks first in its amount of agency: the General Baptist Society; the Wesleyan Society; the Irish Presbyterian Church, and others. To these we must add the six Bible and Tract Societies of England and America. It is a most gratifying fact that, notwithstanding the numerous and sometimes bitter controversies which occur among Christians of the western world, their missionary messengers in the East Indies exhibit a very large amount of practical and efficient Christian union. While occupying stations apart from each other, and thus avoiding occasion of mutual interference with each other's plans, in numberless instances the labourers of different societies cultivate each other's acquaintance, and preach together to the heathen. Almost all use the same versions of the Bible; and the Christian tracts and books written by one missionary become the common property of all others. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the missionaries of all Societies are accustomed to meet monthly, for mutual conference and united prayer. In these meetings, all general questions relating to the more efficient

conduct of missionary operations, to common difficulties and common success, are brought forward and discussed; while frequent occasions are furnished in private, for cultivating personal friendships of the closest kind. Of the exceeding value of such union, as well as of its duty, scarcely too high an estimate can be made. In a land so given up to all moral abominations, as India is, never could "the Prince of this world" obtain a greater victory over the preachers of the Cross, than by inducing them, on trivial grounds, to turn their arms against each other. And never can the agents of Christ's church so justly hope for a sure triumph, as when they obey their Master's command in striving, with common efforts, with undivided affection and united prayers, for the extension of His kingdom and the conversion of perishing souls. Let us hope that the "evangelical alliance" of Indian missionaries throughout this great continent, may become more close, more pure, more sincere, and more efficient every day; and that the few, who, in pride of sect, stand aloof from others, may lay aside their estrangement, and become *one* with their brethren and fellow labourers in the Lord's work! It is when men "see eye to eye" that the Lord has mercy upon Zion.

The Missionary agency, connected with the direct preaching of the gospel to young and old, is thus distributed:—

			Missionaries.	Native Preachers
In Bengal, Orissa and Assam	...	...	101	135
In the North-West Provinces	...	...	58	39
In the Madras Presidency	...	...	164	308
In the Bombay Presidency	...	...	37	11
In the Bombay Presidency	...	...	43	58
In Ceylon	...	...
			403	551

The numerous bands of missionaries here mentioned constitutes more than one-fourth of the entire body of missionaries sent into all parts of the world; and furnishes a splendid proof of the deep interest which Indian Missions have aroused in the church of Christ. It must, of course, be supposed, that of the whole number, some were absent from their stations during the year, through ill-health: and we believe, that *twenty* were so situated. The number of missionaries, that died during 1850, was four. A careful examination of the different periods during which these missionaries have laboured in India,

will at once explode a fallacy widely circulated among the friends of missions, in relation to the length of missionary service. It is generally believed that in this country, owing to the deadly climate, the average duration of missionary life is seven years ; and many have come out as missionaries under the idea, that they would be certain to meet with a premature death. But this is a great mistake. From a careful induction of the lives or services of two hundred and fifty missionaries, we have found, that hitherto the average duration of missionary labour in India has been sixteen years and nine months each. It was, doubtless, much less at first ; and numerous cases can be adduced, in which young missionaries were cut off after a very short term of labour. But a better knowledge of the climate and of the precautions to be used against it, the use of airy dwelling-houses and light dress, with other circumstances, have tended very much to reduce the influence of the climate and preserve health : so that the average duration of life and labour is improving every year. As an illustration of this fact, we may state, that out of the 147 missionaries labouring in India and Ceylon in 1830, fifty [we can give their names] are still labouring in health and usefulness ; while of the ninety-seven others, who have since died or retired, twenty laboured more than twenty years each. Several living missionaries have been in India more than thirty years. It is a remarkable fact, that the average missionary life of *forty-seven* of the Tranquebar missionaries, last century, was *twenty-two years each*.

The NATIVE PREACHERS associated with missionaries form, on the whole, a large body, though in each station they appear few in number. They constitute the best portion of the native church in India, and are engaged in the useful work of instructing their converted countrymen, or of preaching to those still in idolatry. Whilst missionaries rejoice in the co-operation of these native fellow-labourers, they are quite alive to the imperfections of their religious character, and their want of ability to carry on the work of missions by themselves. Some have attained to character of a high rank, and give much satisfaction by their consistency, their earnest zeal, and readiness to seek other's good : but the majority share in the weaknesses and defects of their fellow countrymen, and often give pain to their friends by the inconsistencies and follies, into which they occasionally fall.* Were the great body of native Christians better, some, who are now native preachers and

* It is but fair to state that not a few of the better educated converts are young men of distinguished ability and exemplary life, and give promise of great future usefulness.—ED.

have been appointed from the necessity of the case, would be set aside for others of a higher Christian character. Efforts are being made in all parts of India to train a superior class of preachers; and, if it be made a *sine qua non* in all missions, that native preachers shall be men of clearly manifested piety and of active intelligence, and that they shall receive a good education (especially in their own language) before they are appointed, we may hope to see the great body of teachers greatly improved in character and influence during the next thirty years. The rule to be adopted in choosing them is clearly stated in the Bible, and ought to be scrupulously observed:—"The things which thou hast learned among many witnesses, the same commit thou to *faithful* men, who shall be *able to teach* others also."

The various STATIONS occupied by missionaries throughout India are TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY in number. They are scattered very unevenly over the surface of this great continent, but form a pretty continuous chain throughout the three Presidencies and the island of Ceylon. They are thus distributed:—

Bengal, Orissa and Assam have	69
The North-West Provinces	24
Madras Presidency	113
Bombay Presidency	19
Ceylon	35

In the Bengal Presidency, they are situated chiefly in the larger towns that lie on the great rivers by which the country is intersected, as the Ganges, Hooghly, Jumna, Megna, and Brahmaputra. In that of Madras, they have been fixed in the towns between the hills and the sea, on both sides of the continent; and in Ceylon, along the sea-coast. A few mission stations are located in the salubrious climate of the hills. A slight glance at the map of India will shew how little these stations can effect for the thorough proclamation of the gospel in all parts of India: and how thoroughly insufficient the present amount of agency is for the grand object which it is intended to effect. It is true that the chief towns of the Presidencies, as is most just, are not ill supplied with missionaries. Calcutta, the metropolis, has twenty-nine missionaries, labouring at twelve different stations in the city; Benares has eleven; and Agra eight. In Madras there are twelve stations and twenty-five missionaries: in Bombay, four stations and thirteen missionaries; while Colombo has but two missionaries at two mission stations. Other stations have but two or three missionaries; and the majority only one each. Scattered

throughout the country, there are whole districts, with numerous towns, villages, and a dense population, that never hear the word of God at all. The position occupied by Europeans in India proves that "the Lord hath surely called us to preach the gospel" to its idolatrous people; but the cry "Come over and help us" is in many places unheeded. Were missionaries to be thoroughly successful in their present spheres, they would have yet to acknowledge: "There remaineth much land to be possessed."

The NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES in India established by missionaries, now amount to THREE HUNDRED AND NINE. Some of these contain numerous members; but the great majority have but a few. It must be remembered, that the standard of admission into these little societies is not every where the same. Some missionaries admit members only upon good evidence of their conversion, arising from competent knowledge and consistency of Christian conduct. Others require merely a certain amount of knowledge in their communicants, and the absence of great inconsistencies. By some the communion of the Lord's Supper is considered a church privilege, to be enjoyed only by those who can appreciate it. By others it is counted a means of grace, which shall fit men for understanding its ends. The number of members admitted on the higher standard is *five thousand two hundred*: of those on the lower, *twelve thousand*. The care of these infant churches constitutes one of the missionary's hardest trials. While it is a matter of thankfulness and joy to see their members forsaking idolatry, seeking the true salvation, and attending regularly the means of grace, their defects, their backslidings and the grievous falls into sin which sometimes occur, prove how imperfect their character is, and give him many a bitter hour. It is scarcely just to look for any high general development of Christian excellence amidst the dense heathenism of India, and amidst a people as low in moral goodness as any in the earth. The evil may be accounted for; how to devise a remedy is more difficult. Careful pastoral superintendence and instruction, raising the standard of admission into the body of communicants and members, and the faithful administration of Scripture, discipline, may, under the divine blessing, tend to the elevation of native Christians, and by degrees, diminish the evils which prevail among them.

Connected with the native churches, is a body of individuals, cut off entirely from the great communities of Hindus and Mussulmans. It includes not only the families of native Christians, but of many others, who have cast off the restraints of heathenism, and placed themselves under the influence of the

gospel. Though but nominally Christian, they are all under regular Christian instruction ; the children especially are cared for in schools ; and, under the blessing of God, much good may be effected among them in the future. It only remains to state how they are distributed :—

	Churches.	Members.	Christians.
Bengal, Orissa and Assam	71	3,416	14,401
North Western Provinces	21	608	1,828
Madras Presidency	162	10,464	74,512
Bombay	12	223	554
Ceylon	43	2,645	11,859
	309	17,356	103,154

The labours of missionaries in the education of the young occupy an amount of time and attention, second only to those connected with the preaching to adults. The share which Education occupies in the great work of India's renovation, must, from its amount, greatly astonish, as well as gratify, all who are interested in that object. The school for boys are of three classes. *VERNACULAR SCHOOLS* have been established, chiefly, for the benefit of the heathen ; but are, in many localities, beneficial also to the children of native Christians. Of course, the Scriptures are taught in them all, either by a missionary or native preacher, or both. In the majority of these schools, the general education given is not of a high character ; consisting of reading, writing and the elements of general knowledge, in addition to Scripture instruction. In some, however, in North India, and in others among the large Christian congregations of South India and Ceylon, the education is of a very superior kind.

BOARDING SCHOOLS have, in many stations, been established upon missionaries' premises, for the benefit of orphans and the children of native Christians. Besides imparting a good vernacular education, they have the advantage of keeping their young charge away from the evil influences of private heathen life, and retaining them continually under the power of Christian example and discipline. Several of the boarding schools in South India and Ceylon, exhibit this extraordinary peculiarity, that *Hindu boys and young men reside on the mission premises and eat food there, without losing their caste.* Such a fact is utterly unheard of in North India, and shews, how different, in some of its practical details, the caste system of

South India is from that of other parts of Hindustan. The same is true also of Female Boarding schools.

THE ENGLISH Missionary schools are confined to those parts of the country, where a strong desire is felt for acquiring the English language. They are most numerous, and have the largest number of scholars, in and around Calcutta. In that city and its neighbourhood they amount to nine schools, or Institutions (as they are generally called), and contain more than *five thousand scholars*, of whom three hundred are young men, deserving the name of college students. The same desire for an English education, though to a smaller extent, we find in Benares, in Bombay and Madras; in which cities also most efficient missionary institutions have been established. In other parts of India, the scholars are comparatively few in number. The English Missionary Institutions occupy a sphere of usefulness peculiar to themselves. They convey Bible truth, in connection with a high degree of intellectual training, to the minds of lads and young men some of them belonging to the upper and wealthy ranks of Hindu society. This class is left almost untouched, in many districts, by vernacular education, or vernacular preaching; but, through the English schools which they attend so eagerly, they receive the gospel as well as others. A great change has already been produced by means of these schools. Missionary schools are distributed throughout Hindustan, as follows:

	Vernacular day Schools.		Boarding Schools.		English Schools	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools	Boys.
Bengal, Orissa and Assam ...	127	6,369	21	761	22	6,054
N. W. Provinces	55	3,078	10	209	16	1,207
Madras Presidency	852	61,366	32	754	44	4,156
Bombay Presidency	65	3,848	4	64	9	984
Ceylon... ..	246	9,126	6	204	37	1,675
	1,345	83,787	73	1,992	128	14,076

FEMALE EDUCATION has occupied much of the attention and anxieties of missionaries; but such powerful hindrances lie in its way, as to have greatly crippled the efforts which they were desirous of making. Boarding schools for orphans and

the daughters of native Christians have been most successful; many of the most intelligent and best-behaved of the native Christian women have there received their education. Many of the orphans, saved from desolating famines, or from the murderous Meria sacrifice, owe life and name to these Christian sanctuaries. But female day-schools have, in most parts of India, met with little encouragement. The habit of secluding females prevents the wealthy from attending them; and the early marriage of the scholars (at the age of eleven or twelve) takes away those who do attend, just when they are beginning to learn. In Bengal there are very few of these schools now; though at one time they were most numerous, especially in Calcutta. In Madras, however, and in Bombay, they flourish much better. The female schools are thus distributed:—

	Day Schools.		Boarding Schools.	
	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, &c.	26	690	28	836
N. W. Provinces	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency	222	6,929	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency.....	28	1,087	6	129
Ceylon	70	2,630	5	172
	354	11,549	91	2,446

A portion of missionary labour in India is employed in ENGLISH RELIGIOUS SERVICES, for the benefit of our European countrymen. Though this is not professedly the duty of a missionary, it is frequently beneficial to many, who would otherwise be deprived of the means of grace altogether. By maintaining such services, missionaries may 'save souls from death;' may remove hinderances to their work among the heathen, and raise up friends, who will aid them in carrying it on. The total number of such services regularly maintained is FIFTY-NINE; of which twenty-one are in the Bengal Presidency, seventeen in that of Madras, and twelve in that of Agra.

Lastly, the work of TRANSLATING the Word of God and of publishing Christian works in the various languages of India is another object, to which considerable missionary labour is

devoted. There are in India eight Bible Societies in all, auxiliary to the two great Societies in England and America, and to those of the Baptist churches. During last year, they published 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages ; and distributed 185,400 copies. These Societies are endeavouring, in some parts of India, to supply every family with a portion of the word of God. There are also fifteen Tract Societies, who receive grants of money, paper and books from the English and American Societies, and are engaged in supplying works for native Christians, short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth for the heathen, and school books for missionary schools. These Societies help greatly to make the preaching and teaching of missionaries more effective, and to render their agency more lasting.

The total cost of all these missions, as we have already stated, including all items of expenditure, amounted in 1850. to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS. The items included are, the salaries of missionaries, the expenses of missionary journeys, the expenses of native preachers of schools, and of the circulation of Christian books. Of the whole sum, £153,460 were drawn from Europe and America, and the munificent sum of £33,540 was contributed by Christians in this country. It is surely a remarkable fact, that while the East India Company, with an annual revenue of twenty millions, has expended so little for the physical improvement of their great empire, for roads and bridges, and the acceleration of safe and rapid communication, the Christians of Europe, America, and Hindustan, are found devoting, of their own accord, the sum of more than *eighteen lakhs of rupees* to the spiritual interests of the Hindus ; a sum not drawn from Government resources, but made up of the free-will offerings of Christians of all denominations.

Such is the amount, and such are the varieties of agency, employed at the close of the half century just past, for spreading Christianity among the people of India. Each kind of agency has long been in operation in the older localities ; and missionaries are seeking to render all efficient, wherever they are employed. Each, too, has met with the most gratifying results. The public preaching of the gospel in the bazars and markets, in private houses, and in the great assemblies of idolatrous pilgrims, has led many a Hindu to become the disciple of Christ, and has induced many more to doubt about the efficacy of their own religion. The instructions of day-schools have brought numerous young men to give up all for the gospel ; and the Christian influence of boarding schools has led those, who were Christian in name, to seek for conversion of heart. Through

their means, Christian young men have come forward to teach their countrymen, and Christian women have maintained a consistent profession before many witnesses. The circulation of the Bible and of religious tracts has not only excited enquiry and given instruction, but has proved, in numerous individual cases, the direct means of converting the soul. And the continued preaching of the gospel and administration of the ordinances of the church have been the means of building up small bodies of native Christians, the nucleus of larger communities yet to be gathered. The approval of the Lord, in whose name the work is carried on, has rested upon all these branches ; and, amid many difficulties, has encouraged his servants to persevere.

But the question is often asked ; Does the number of native church members, and of natives under Christian instruction, exhibit such a result, as all the great labours of the past fifty years lead us to expect ? In other words, have missions been successful, or a comparative failure ? Missionaries and others interested in the conversion of India have often discussed the matter ; but different opinions have been entertained ; some considering that the results are fully equal to what might have been expected ; others thinking that, for some reason or other, they fall short of them. It is not difficult to perceive that these differing conclusions arise from the different expectations which their advocates had previously formed, from the kind of results looked for, as well as from the standard by which those expectations were measured. Before examining into the question, we must remember *first*, that a large portion of the missionary agency now employed has been in operation too short a time to allow us to judge definitely of its final fruits. Nearly two thirds of the missions existing in Hindustan have been established less than twenty years ; and several even less than ten. How could they have brought forth finished results within so short a time ? We must remember, also, the peculiar manner in which missions work on the country. An indigo planter or sugar manufacturer can soon tell whether the district he cultivates gives him a due return for his labour and for the expensive factories he has erected. A farmer can tell, after a complete season, the capabilities of his farm. But it is not so with missions. Human society is slower in changing its views, than is the physical world in bringing forth its fruits. In undertakings beset by great obstacles, as in railroads, vast labour is expended before the uses, to which they are designed, are effected in the smallest degree : and form any years after they have begun to succeed, the 'block,' the 'fixed capital' expended at first, is regarded as the source of present gain. Apart from the actual

converts already gained (no mean number, however), we consider the 'block' of Indian missions one of the greatest results attained. A most valuable and effective agency has been prepared and set going; and long will it be before the results of labours, hitherto done, are exhausted and cease to flow. Of this we shall speak more fully hereafter. We will only mention a single fact here, to show the folly of too great haste in looking for the spiritual 'fruit of missions in India. In the beginning of the present century, the Rev. D. Palm was sent by the London Missionary Society to the province of Jaffna in Ceylon: but, after several years' labour, the mission was reported a failure, and it was abandoned. The missionaries of the American Board entered upon the abandoned station; and, on coming to Tillipally, the natives immediately brought to their notice a lad, who had been one of Mr. Palm's scholars. He became their *first* Tamul schoolmaster, was baptized in 1824, was licensed as a catechist, and died as such, after exhibiting for many years a consistent Christian deportment. "The fruit of six cocoanut trees near the mission-house, planted by Mr. Palm, and of which the American missionaries have eaten for thirty-five years, is but emblematical of the higher fruits they have gathered from the labours of one, whose mission was accounted a failure."

To form a sound and correct judgment on this matter, we must examine the missions in Hindustan by the measure of success, which has been granted to other missions in other ages and in other countries of the world. We must find cases parallel to our own in all their bearings, and judge of our results by theirs. To do this thoroughly would require an immense induction of a great variety of particulars, and would lead us away from the immediate object of this paper. We can only indicate therefore, in few words, the view we hold of this important subject. We cannot compare the modern missions in Hindustan with the establishment of Christianity among the Franks by Clovis; among the Saxons by Charlemagne, after a thirty-three year's war; among the Danes by Otho the Great; in Norway, by Olaus Trygvesen, or his successor Olaus the Saint; among the Sclavonians, by the Dukes of Saxony; among the Russians, by Vladimir; or in Prussia, by the Teutonic Knights. Most of these missions were missions of force, not of persuasion: they were carried on by warlike Governments with swords and spears;—not by believing men, who aimed to enlighten and convert. Neither can we compare them with the Spanish missions to Mexico and Brazil, or with the missions of the Portuguese and Dutch in this very country. Persecution, civil disabilities and

fraud, are not the agents, which the saviour of men bade his followers employ in Christianizing the nations; and we have wisely given them up. We must, therefore, for a just comparison, fall back upon the early missionary success of the apostolic age, or look to modern missions in other lands. A glance at both will help to put our position in India in a clear light.

The missionary labours of the apostolic age were grand in their character, rapid in their operation, and gigantic in their results. But from what agencies did those results spring? We must look for them not merely from the day of Pentecost;—not merely from the time, when the preachers began to declare their gospel message of mercy. The work of preaching to be successful must have ready hearers, as well as zealous teachers: and although it was only from the day of Pentecost that men began to preach, yet the Providence of God had been preparing the minds of the hearers for more than three hundred years previously. For more than three hundred years, He had been moulding the nations, uniting them together, removing hindrances and creating facilities, for the conversion of the world: and it was not till “the fulness of time” was come; not till all the preparations were completed, that “God sent forth his Son.” Without due attention to this important fact, we cannot correctly estimate the progress of Christianity on its first establishment. By the wars which took place during those centuries, old societies were broken up and old notions scattered; while the frequent intercourse of different nations with each other tended to expand the minds of all. The universal empire of Rome became the means of binding all those nations by one common authority under one common law: especially when accompanied by the great privilege of Roman citizenship. The wonderful spread of the Greek language, of Greek manners and Greek notions, tended to the same end. The different religions of the world were brought into contact, and their follies and mutual contradictions brought them all into contempt. Philosophy tried to fill up the void produced, but miserably failed: and the desire for religious truth being unsatisfied, led men to look for a special deliverer who was to enlighten all nations. The dispersion of the Jews also wonderfully aided the desired result. From the days of Shalmaneser, they went eastward; from the days of the Ptolemies, they went westward, until Syria, Asia-Minor, Greece, and Italy, were filled by their synagogues and their religious discussion. By their zeal for Judaism, they gained over thousands of proselytes, and so annoyed the old idolatrous parties, as to draw down on their head severe persecutions. Under these circum-

stances it was, that the pure gospel of Christ was preached, "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven," accompanied with the gift of tongues and the power of working miracles ; and the influence of this grand and extensive preparation met with magnificent success. How differently placed is the work of missions in India at the present day ! With the Apostles the preparations were completed : with us they have had to begin. With them old things had passed away ; with us they exist still. They had but to reap : we have to sow. Who can wonder then that with few agents, in a foreign clime, and speaking foreign tongues, the work in Hindustan has fallen, and will continue to fall short of the splendid results which they attained ?

Neither do we find an exact parallel between missions in India and the successful missions of modern days elsewhere. We cannot compare them with those in Greenland, or South Africa, or the West Indies, or among Brainerd's Indians, or in the South Sea islands. A mighty difference meets us at the very outset. The tribes in these localities were uncivilized in the last degree ; while the Hindus have a civilization extending back more than three thousand years. Those were without a written language : these have thirteen polished languages, each with its own character, and an extensive literature in one of the oldest languages of the world, the Sanskrit. Those were debased and ignorant : while the Hindus are educated. In those, reason was undeveloped : in the Hindus it is perverted, and has become an enemy far more difficult to deal with. Those had but few gods and a small number of priests ; these worship numerous principal deities, honoured by expensive festivals, by a daily ritual, and upheld by a powerful and exacting hierarchy. Those had fettered the natural ties of kindred and social union with no unnatural laws ; but these have superadded to natural ties the stringent rules of *caste*, the breach of which renders the transgressor a vagabond and outcast. Even with all the facilities for the progress of truth among those tribes, years passed, in each instance, before great results were attained in the conversion of many souls. What delay, therefore, might we not expect in Hindustan, amid the numerous difficulties which its case presents ?

The circumstances of our India missions seem to us altogether unique and peculiar. In its idolatries, India resembles other lands, it is true ; but in its numerous ancient and venerated Shastras ; in its lordly and powerful priesthood, the monopolists of its ancient learning ; in its well-bound family-system ; and above all, in its bonds of caste, it presents difficulties and obstructions to the progress of Christianity, such as it has not

met before. Triumph it will over all these obstacles ; it has begun to triumph already : but there may, there must be, delay, before the complete triumph is achieved ; and when it does come, it will be one of the most signal and illustrious that the world has ever seen. The dam, which stands before the trickling rill, and leaves its tiny waters to fall in slender strings over its grassy ridge, shakes, quivers, falls before that rill, swollen to a mountain torrent, and pressing forward its pent-up waters. And thus is it with Christianity in this 'day of small things.' Caste may form a barrier to its passage ; but the knowledge of the gospel is increasing and accumulating among the people whom the bonds of caste restrain. Already has it begun to shake, and its defenders, fearful of a crash, have rushed to its defence : but they cannot stay the weight and force of Christian truth. In due time their system must give way ; and there will be a steady and continuous flow of Hindu families into the church of Christ.

We look, with some satisfaction, on the little band of native converts already gathered from among the people of India. They may be few in number ; but they are proofs that the work of the church has not been carried on in vain. They are an earnest of the great results, at which missionaries aim, and which must ultimately follow. They may be few in number ; but considering the difficulties that have been encountered and overcome, we need feel no surprise. Even in their fewness, we learn a fact most encouraging in relation to the future. It has been shown that the ratio of their increase is steadily progressing. A statistical paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta a few years ago, shewed that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Krishnaghur, the accessions of native converts to the Christian church had been made thus :—

From 1793 to 1802.....	27
„ 1803 to 1812.....	161
„ 1813 to 1822.....	403
„ 1823 to 1832.....	675
„ 1833 to 1842.....	1045
In 1843 and 1844, <i>two years</i>	485

With the increased agency now employed, and its greater efficiency, we may hope for results far higher and more numerous than these.

But the accession of native converts is but a small part of the results which missionary labour has secured in India and Ceylon. The wide and extensive preaching of the gospel ; the spread of Christian knowledge ; the infusion of Christian ideas

into native minds; the preparation of an efficient system of agency, and of materials which that agency may employ; the acquisition of valuable experience, and similar results,—all find their use in smoothing the path of future labour and securing future and more rapid success. Such a result of past efforts has frequently been noticed by missionaries of long standing, who knew, from their own hard experience, what valuable helps are now provided for the missionaries of modern days. The following testimony of the Rev. W. Fyvie of Surat, given in 1847, on his departure for America, illustrates the case so clearly, that we quote it:—

“Persons arriving at Bombay now visit it under different circumstances, from what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. When I landed on your shores, there was only one church in Bombay, and one service on the Lord’s Day, very thinly attended indeed. There are now six places of public worship on this island for divine service in English, and a seventh is now building. Thirty or thirty-five years ago, evangelical preaching was, I fear, but little known on this island; but now the case is happily very different and has long been so. Less than thirty-five years ago, there were no Educational, Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies here. Is not the case now very different? Then one hardly knew where to look for a decidedly pious person, for the worship of God in families, and prayer meetings in public. In how many pious families, in this place and at other stations, is the voice of prayer and praise presented to God, morning and evening, at the family altar: while weekly prayer-meetings are also numerous. In viewing all that has been done among our countrymen, have we no cause to say, ‘what hath God wrought!’”

“Thirty years ago, if any native had wished to become acquainted with Christianity, there was then no Bible, Tract, or Christian book in Mahrathi or Gujurati, to put into his hand. During the last twenty-five years, however, the Bible has been translated and printed in both these languages, so that the people can now read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. Tracts, discourses, prayers and catechisms have been prepared and widely circulated, and are read by thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the heathen at the different missionary stations have believed the gospel-report; others, an increasing number, are convinced of the truth of Christianity, but have not yet sufficient moral courage to put on Christ, and to forsake all for his name: some of the converts have become preachers

"of the gospel. When I arrived in India, the American brethren, Messrs. Hall and Newell, were labouring amidst 'many' discouragements to establish their first native school. 'Now there are numerous schools at all the different missionary stations, and they might be greatly increased. When 'I arrived, with the exception of the two American brethren 'mentioned, there were no missionaries in the whole of Western 'India. Since that time, the great Lord of the harvest has 'thrust forth many labourers from Great Britain and Ireland, America, and the Continent of Europe. Let us bless God 'for this; and pray that they may be upheld, directed, comforted, sanctified, and their labours greatly blessed. No 'doubt, but in due time, they, or their successors, shall reap 'largely, if they faint not."

This interesting passage will apply to the whole of India, except the Serampore mission and a few stations in the Madras Presidency, which had been established previously to the time referred to: and it will suggest to the reader one class of results which missions have already produced. These results we shall now describe in detail.

In addition to the actual conversion of a goodly number of native Christians, missions in India, in preparing the way for far more numerous conversions hereafter, have spread a large amount of Christian knowledge throughout the country, and have produced deep impression upon the native mind, both in relation to the follies of Hinduism and the truth of the Bible. For many years missionaries have preached with steady perseverance in chapels, bazars and schools, in the neighbourhood of their stations. They have undertaken extensive preaching journeys over districts of the country seldom visited. They have distributed thousands of tracts and portions of the Word of God. They have held conversations, and not unfrequently long discussions with the disciples of Hinduism and of Muhammad in chapels and shops; by the way-side and in the thronged bazars; at the weekly markets, and in the great annual festivals. They have maintained thousands of schools, both in the vernacular and English languages; and thus have brought home the word to young and old.

After all this, is the country the same as it was 'fifty years ago? Far from it. The knowledge which they have spread, has sunk among the community, and is working, like leaven, in silence but with certainty. The Hindus have learned that their system is full of errors; that the science of their Shastras is contemptible and worthless; that their idol-worship is foolish and insulting to Him, who is a SPIRIT; that the characters ascrib-

ed in the Shastras to their many gods are full of vice and crime ; that those Shastras are full of inconsistencies ; that their worship is unworthy of reasonable beings, and their priesthood is grasping and ignorant. They have learned in contrast, that there is but one God ; that He loves the souls of the sinful, and has sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. Many have been led to acknowledge that their system must decay, and Christianity surely triumph. Acknowledgments to this effect are made repeatedly in all parts of the country ; and a conviction, more or less deep, that Christianity will destroy caste and idolatry, has entered thousands of minds. Temples are being allowed, to a great extent, to fall into decay, while the number of new ones erected is by no means large. In those parts, where missions have been carried on most extensively, a considerable falling off in the attendance at the great festivals is distinctly observable. The swinging festival, for instance, in Lower Bengal is very different from what it used to be. The number of idols sold at festivals is greatly diminished, and the offerings at the great temples are of far less value than they once were. A great change has taken place in the views and in the spirit of the people at large. Formerly they knew nothing of what true religion really is ; but they have been enlightened on the nature of moral obligation, the duty of love to God, of love to men, and the nature and evil of sin. Missions have gone far, during the last fifty years, in developing a conscience amongst the natives, in whom it was in a deadly sleep. Is not this alone a great result ? The Hindus, too, have begun to lay aside some of their old notions. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honoured ; the clever Sudras thrust them aside from place and power without scruple ; by far the greater increase of wealth and wisdom has been diffused among the latter. Thousands now approve of female education ; and, in the great cities, the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. Even the re-marriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its advantages fully acknowledged. A numerous body is coming forward in society, possessing far more enlightened notions than their fathers did ; a body of men, who put little faith in the Shastras, and look upon the old pandits and teachers as ignorant bigots. The great contrast between these two parties shows how great a step has been made in the process of public enlightenment. The spirit, in which Bible truth is heard, has also greatly improved. Formerly, when a missionary preached, he was compelled to enter into disagreeable and apparently useless controversies ; the same objections were brought forward again and again ; and

the discussion was frequently closed, with the practical application of broken pots, sand, dirt and cries of 'Hari bol!' But now, in all the older missionary stations and even beyond them, discussions seldom occur. The people come to the chapels, and often listen to the end: frequently acknowledging aloud the truth of what is said. What is even more singular, is that small companies have been found in various parts of the country, who have gathered a little collection of Christian books, and meet together to read and study them. These facts are full of encouragement from the proofs they furnish, that the word of God, though hidden, is not lost; but that like good seed, it *will* spring up and put forth, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Only let this word, so extensively known, be applied with power 'by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and, at once, 'the little one will become a thousand, and the small one a great nation.'

These facts must not, however, be reckoned of more value than they are worth. Much has been done, it is true, to enlighten the Hindus, but infinitely more yet remains. Their ears are opening to listen to the gospel, and their minds are beginning to receive it, while an awakened conscience feels its power. In the neighbourhood of many stations, it is true, that many declare that Hinduism is false and Christianity true; but very few perceive the duty which arises from a fact so important. Truth and duty are, in their ideas, not necessarily connected. They do not yet possess the feeling that they need the physician, whose skill they acknowledge; and no where has any spirit of enquiry been aroused on an extensive scale. Missionaries have therefore to go on;—preaching and teaching still—preaching and teaching still. They can see that they are not labouring in vain, and that the word of God will not return to Him void. In confirmation of these views, we will quote the testimony of a missionary, who has laboured in Bengal for forty-five years, and mention two most extraordinary facts described in missionary reports. The Rev. W. Robinson of Dacca, after a missionary journey, says:—

This little trip has fully convinced me of one important fact; viz, that the time for *preaching* is come. Go where you will, the people will hear. It was not always so; far, far otherwise was the state of things nearly forty years ago, when Chamberlain and I were together at Cutwa. Then the people used reproachfully to ask; "What is the use of all this labour? Nobody will hear you; no one will become a Christian." Chamberlain's reply usually was; "We are throwing a little fire into the jungle—burning the jungle to prepare the land for cultivation." I think we may now boldly affirm, the jungle is burnt; the field is ready for cultivation. Our business is now to drive the gospel-plough through the length and breadth of India. But where are our labourers? Painful thought! we have none. Here are whole districts without a labourer.

The avidity with which books are now received, is a marked feature in the present state of the Indian mission. Former periods of the mission were those of clearing and ploughing ; but now the time for sowing is come. Go and preach where you will, the people will hear you ; carry books where ever you please, and they will be most gladly accepted. Tell our good friends at home, that the sowing time is indeed come ; and that, if they wish to reap bountifully, they must sow bountifully. We want seed to sow :— books, books in quantities almost innumerable and we want men to sow the seed. It will be a sad blot on the churches in England, if, after the ground is thus prepared for the reception of the seed, that seed is not cast in abundantly.

The extraordinary facts, described in the following extract, took place during a fearful outbreak of cholera in Assam in 1847, and are described in a letter from one of the Assam missionaries :—

The ravages of this disease have been fearful among us. Some days there have been as many as eleven or twelve deaths ; one hundred and ten were swept off in twenty days, which is a very great mortality for so small a station as this. During this period of distress, we have seen some striking proofs of the diminished confidence, with which many of the natives regard their own religion. Several of them, in the hour of their extremity, have been found calling upon the name of Jesus Christ. Others have spent nearly all their time in making pūjas ; and the temples near us have resounded day and night with their idolatrous songs. Soon after the disease broke out, the Brahmins and others of the better class, made a grand festival, and sacrificed a large number of goats, ducks, &c. At the close of their celebration, one of the Brahmins, who has been in my employ as pandit for the last two years, was called upon to make an extempore prayer to the deity, which he did in the presence of some thousands. Having a curiosity to know how a heathen would pray, I requested of him a copy of his prayer, which he readily gave me ; and was not a little surprised to find how nearly he had imitated the prayers which he has, from time to time, heard among the Christians. He had not once used the name of any of their gods, but had simply addressed God as the Supreme and Eternal ; in fact, if it had not been for the omission of the name of Christ, it would have been precisely such a prayer as a Christian might make. This, amongst a people like the Asamese, who consider that all religion consists in repeating the name of *Rām*—in whose Shastras it is declared again and again, that the word *Rām* is the centre and substance of all religious merit, and the only ground of salvation—appears somewhat extraordinary, and would seem to indicate that the native belief is undergoing an important change.

The last extract, we quote, is from the Rev. G. Würth of Hubli, on the borders of the Bombay Presidency, and not far from the district of Goa :—

When travelling last year in the southern parts of the Dharwar Collectorate, I met with a man, who told me that there was a Lingaite Swami, in a village called Maruli, who advised the people to throw away the Ligna, which they wear on their breast, and to put no confidence in their idols, but to believe in Christ. I was very much surprised to hear this ; and went one day to the village where the Swami resided. I did not, however, find him at home ; but, some of his disciples telling me that the Swami would be very glad to see me, I wrote him a letter, inviting him to come and pay me a visit. He very readily complied with my request, and came to the temple

where I was, followed by many of his disciples (Lingait priests), who carried with them a great number of books. Among these were the New Testament, Genesis, the Psalms, and the Prophets, all in Canarese. The Swami having taken his seat in the midst of his disciples, I thus addressed him: "You have, I see, many of our sacred books; you have read them; do you believe what is written in them?" He said, "Why should I keep them, if I did not believe their contents?" After I had spoken to him and his disciples about the necessity of receiving the remission of their sins through Jesus Christ, of whom all these books bear witness, and of confessing him openly before all men, the Swami said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God, and that the Holy Trinity, God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, is the only true God; and, though the people call me a madman, I shall not give up this my conviction." Then taking the Evidences of Christianity in Canarese, he read from it the article on the Divinity of Christ, to show me that he entirely approved of what was written there on the doctrine. He has formed a circle of disciples around him, who are to believe that of which their master is convinced. I was quite astonished to hear a Swami, of the Lingaites, speak in this way, who was never in close connection with a missionary. He had drawn his knowledge from Tracts, but especially from the Scriptures, which, in their divine simplicity, are the best teacher for everybody. He did not, it seems, till now seek the remission of his sins in Christ, but rather admired the sublime truths of the Christian religion. But I entertain a good hope, that the word of God, which has led him on so far, and which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, will, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, become to him, in this respect also, "a lamp unto his feet, and a light to his path."

Though missions have apparently accomplished little in most parts of India, in certain districts they have made most substantial progress. Three years ago, considerable religious enquiry was awakened in the neighbourhood of Barisal, to the east of Calcutta. A careful examination has shown that the enquiry was, in numerous instances, sincere and well based, and is even not yet come to an end. In a short space of time, 188 natives have been admitted to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, and 1,085 individuals been brought under Christian instruction. The great anxiety of these new Christians for further instruction, their willing obedience to church discipline, their patience under much oppression, and the continual accessions to their number, furnish evidence, that the work going on among them, is a really Christian work.

The religious movement in the Krishnaghur district is so well known, that we need but name it. The spirit of enquiry, in which it began, seems to have been sincere; but the famine of 1839 brought so many inferior motives into connection with it, as greatly to depreciate, if not to destroy, its usefulness. But as famines in India have, in no case but this, led to large accessions of natives to the Christian church, it must be allowed, that there was something peculiar to give it a religious direction. Be this as it may, by its means, 4,400 natives have been

brought under Christian instruction, six missionary stations have been established among them, and churches, mission-houses, and schools erected. It is allowed, even by the friends of the mission, that the state of religion is low; and that many old habits still remain among the people. But it is not all evil. One-half of the people regularly attend public worship; and one-sixth is under daily instruction in the boarding schools. Faithful labour will do much, under the Lord's blessing, towards completing the work thus begun.

In the province of Jaffna, in Ceylon, several circumstances evince the deep impression made on the population by the American mission during the last thirty years:—not that the native Christians are very numerous, but they are intelligent and well educated. This mission has directed its efforts chiefly to education. Under the looser notions of caste prevalent in Ceylon, they have been able to instruct *heathen* boys and girls in boarding schools (a circumstance unheard of throughout North India); and, of the many hundreds trained by their Christian care, a very large proportion have made a public profession. An intense desire for education has spread through the province—for the education of females as well as males; the whole district has been greatly enlightened, and a conviction established that Hinduism must be destroyed. So extraordinary is the desire for knowledge now prevalent, that when certain Hindus in Jaffna established a school in opposition to that of the missionaries, they were compelled *to introduce the Bible*, in order to keep their school open!

By far the greatest progress has been made in South India, in the provinces of Tinnevely and Travancore. Missionary work has long been carried on in these districts, and the people are far more open to the gospel than other Hindus. In Travancore there is a native Government, and the Brahmins are both numerous and powerful. But the majority of the people, both there and in Tinnevely, are not Hindus like those in Northern India. They are Shanars, a large body devoted especially to the cultivation of the palm-tree: and, whether immigrants, or a portion of the aborigines of the land, who have been enslaved by Brahmin conquerors, they still retain their original customs. They are all devil-worshippers, and worship the objects of their fear with horrible ceremonies and disgusting dances. They continually add to the number of their devils: and, singularly enough, in one district, *an Englishman was worshipped as such*, for many years. The offerings presented on his tomb, were *spirits and cigars!* The Shanars are said to be “the least intellectual people found in India.” Their long servitude and oppression

have debased them to a very low level : and, though a few are found to possess considerable ability, the majority are marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance and vice, and are unable to carry out a process of thought for any length of time. Their social bonds, such as those of parents to children, are feeble, and their social amusements few. But withal they are a docile and pliant people, and decidedly willing to improve. The causes, which led to such a rapid progress of Christianity among them, are readily discernible. Their religion sat very lightly on them ; their caste is low ; the religion of Europeans was, of course, looked upon with favour. In Travancore a special reason existed. Many years ago, General Munro procured an order from the Rani, that Christians should be exempted from work on their sabbath, and from employment in the Hindu festivals. These circumstances have contributed much towards the easy passage of so many converts from heathenism to Christianity. The whole number, now under instruction, we reckon to be 52,000. It must not, however, be supposed, that they are all true Christians. None know this better, or have spoken it more plainly, than the missionaries who instruct them. Yet had they only given up their abominable devil-worship, a great thing would have been accomplished. But they have done more. They have placed themselves under an evangelical ministry ; they regularly attend public worship : more than 17,000 children and young people are daily instructed in Christian schools, some of whom are being educated as teachers, and others as preachers to their countrymen. Best of all, a goodly number have exhibited in their lives the fruits of conversion to God. A great improvement has taken place in this numerous body of Christian natives ; a great desire is evinced for increased instruction ; family prayer is not uncommon ; the public services are well attended ; and a large sum in the aggregate is annually contributed for Christian books and for the poor. The whole Shanar population, 120,000 in number, is open to missionaries ; and, if Societies are faithful, and missionaries faithful, we may hope, in two or three generations, to see the whole of the southern provinces of India entirely Christianized.

The wonderful progress of the American missions at Moulmein and Tavoy might well be described at length, even in a short sketch like ours. They are carried on in the territories of the East India Company, and enjoy the protection of its Government. But we have omitted them altogether from our enquiry, inasmuch as the races, whose conversion they seek, are generically different from those of Hindustan, and their languages entirely of another character. We will only add that the history

of these missions from their commencement by Dr. Judson, including their apostolic success among the Karens, may well claim a notice of its own. Our American Baptist brethren have thrown nearly their whole energies into Burmah, and have reaped deserved success. We trust that they will give somewhat more of their zeal to the work of missions on the continent of Hindustan. Not only is there ample room for all the churches of Christ, but the country appeals to those churches, with the assurance that they can never sufficiently supply the labourers required. Our enterprising brethren, then, across the Atlantic, will find in India an open field, and be welcomed heartily into it, as honoured fellow labourers.

As another fruit of their labours, missionaries are able to point to a large number of individual converts, now dead, in whom the fruits of religion were decidedly evinced. They can show, not merely thousands of Christians under instruction, and a small band of professors, but native converts distinguished from their brethren by the peculiar consistency of their lives, and the triumphant hope which they enjoyed in death. There is no vague generality here; no mere display of numbers; no boast of thousands of nominal converts, who, on the first opportunity, relapse into their fathers' heathenism. We see the gospel received by individuals on their personal conviction of its truth. We see them adopting it willingly, professing it openly, bearing reproach for it with patience, and obeying its precepts. We see them purified by its law, strengthened by its motives, encouraged by its promises, holy in life, and happy in death. So frequent and so decided is this individuality in Indian missions, that one can scarcely open a Missionary Report without finding evidence of it. It is not confined to one Presidency only, but exists in all; and proves that the Spirit of God is at work in them all, bringing forth the same fruit in all parts of the country—fruit the same as that which the church has borne in all places and in all time. The large number of converts, whose death or conversion is recorded in the history of Indian missions, enables us the better to point out those who have been distinguished above their brethren. Many there are, whose names are known, not only in India but in Europe. In the recently published "*Oriental Christian Biography*," we find nearly ONE HUNDRED such described. Among them, *Rajanaiken*, the active and devoted catechist of Tanjore; *Abdul Massih*, Henry Martyn's convert, and a faithful missionary at Agra; *Krishna Pál* and *Pitamber Singh*, the early converts of the Serampore mission; *Hingham Misr*, the first convert at Monghyr; *Ramji*, the first convert to the south of Calcutta, and his

excellent son-in-law, *Radhanath* ; *Mahendra* and *Khailas*, the first catechists of the Free Church in Calcutta ; *Lakhan Das*, *Krupa'Sindhu*, *Radha*, and many others, whose holy lives and happy deaths have cheered the hearts of the missionaries in Orissa ; *Samuel Flavel* of Bellary, the native ordained missionary of the London Missionary Society ; *Nyanamutto* of Tinnevely ; *Christian Thomas* of Vizagapatam ; *Mohun Das* and *Tajkhan*, the pensioned sepoy of Chunar ; *Brindabun*, the disciple of Chamberlain ; *Gunganarayan Sil* ; *Narapat Singh*, who gave up his property that he might be a Christian ; —with many others, are conspicuous and well known. Others not so conspicuous, have enjoyed peace in death, and left to their sorrowing pastors the assured hope, that they have entered upon eternal life. A goodly number of the native converts, as we have shown, have been appointed preachers to their countrymen, and a few have been publicly ordained to the Christian ministry, in the same way as European missionaries. Many others have been appointed as readers, school teachers, and school-mistresses. Thus is the way being opened for making Christianity an indigenous religion ; and, though the beginnings are but small, they must not be forgotten or passed by in ingratitude and contempt.

But the pleasing results of missionary labour, in commencing or maintaining spiritual life in the heart, have not been confined to native society. From the first, the destitute condition of our own countrymen at many stations attracted the missionaries' eye ; and the fruit of their ministry among them has been seen both in the conversion of some, and the maintenance of true religion in others. *Mr. Robert Money* of Bombay ; *Captain Page* of Monghyr ; *Captain Paton* of Lucknow ; *Mr. Robert Cathcart* of Dharwar, and *Judge Dacre* of Madras ; *Donald Mitchell*, the infidel officer of Surat, and subsequently the first missionary of the Scottish Missionary Society ; *Mr. Casamajor*, the friend of the Mangalore mission ; *John Monckton Hay* of the Bengal Civil Service ; *Mr. Cleland*, the Calcutta barrister ; *Major Hovenden*, *Captain Mills* and *Lieut. St. John*, are but specimens of those, who readily acknowledged the lasting benefit, which missionary instruction and counsel had conferred upon them. Many now living, the friends and supporters of missions, we forbear to name. Numerous soldiers in the European regiments have had no other instructors than missionaries ; and great have been the benefits they have received. Missionary labour, too, has done a great deal towards raising the tone of European society from its thoroughly irreligious condition at the opening of the present century, to that

which it now exhibits, after a lapse of fifty years. Then, there were but few churches and ministers of the gospel : now, both are numerous. In the Presidency of Bengal, for instance, there were but three chaplains and three churches. Now there are seventy churches for the use of Europeans, occupied by more than sixty episcopal chaplains and ministers, besides those we have already mentioned under the charge of missionaries. Then the attendants on public worship were but a handful : now every station has its worshippers. Drinking and gambling have greatly decreased, and marriage is honoured. Much, very much, of this is owing to the improvement of English society in England itself, which has been reflected upon this and other dependencies of the empire. But much, in all justice, must be attributed to the efforts of missionaries in the country, who, by their character, their spirit and their direct instructions, have aimed to advance the religious welfare of "their kindred according to the flesh."

Again, the LITERARY LABOURS of missionaries in India, have been by on means insignificant. Coming to a foreign land, and to nations speaking a variety of polished languages, it has been their duty to adapt their instructions to the capacities of their hearers, to address them in their own way, and construct, *ab initio*, a system of agency, that shall directly apply Christian truth to the native mind. This object they have kept steadily in view. To missionaries the languages of India owe a great deal. They found the higher range of terms appropriated by the learned, and they have given them to the common people. They found many of the languages stiff; they have made them flexible. They have brought down the high language of the Brahmin; they have elevated the *patois* of the Sudra, and thus formed a middle tongue, capable of being used with ease and elegance by the best educated classes. The Tamul and Bengali languages have, especially, been formed and established in this manner. Missionaries have compiled more DICTIONARIES and GRAMMARS of the tongues of India than any other class of men. We have Bengali grammars by Drs. Carey and Yates; Bengali dictionaries, large and small, by Dr. Carey and Mr. Pearson, with volumes of dialogues. We have a Hindui dictionary by Mr. Thomson of Delhi; a Hindui grammar and dictionary by Mr. Adam of Benares; a Bengali dictionary by Mr. Morton; an Uriya grammar and dictionary by Dr. Sutton; a Hindustani dictionary by Mr. Brice; a Hindustani grammar by Dr. Yates, and Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries by Drs. Yates and Carey. We have Tamul grammars by Ziegenbalg and Rhenius; the Malayalim dictionary and grammar by Mr. Bailey of Cottayam; a Gujurati grammar by Mr. Clarkson of Baroda; and a Sing-

halese grammar by Mr. Chater of Colombo. Of other languages, we are unable to speak, but doubt not that many such efforts have been made in them likewise.

Their great work, however, in this direction, has been THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, a work which ranks first in importance among the agencies employed for India's conversion. Besides the numerous Serampore versions, including thirty translations of the whole, or parts of the Bible into Indian tongues—and which, however good for a beginning, and however useful in powerfully directing attention to the greatness of the object, are acknowledged to be unfit for standard use—apart from the great products of these mighty minds, we have translations of the whole Bible into the following languages, carefully revised during the last twenty years. There are versions into Hindustani or Urdu, and Hindui ; into Bengali and Uriya ; into Tamul and Singhalese ; into Canarese and Malayalim ; into Mahrati and Gujurati. We have ten versions of the entire Bible—not first attempts by scholars at a distance, but the work of ripe years, by missionaries who were constantly in intercourse with the people for whom the versions were intended. The complete New Testament has been similarly revised and published in five languages ; *viz.* in Assamese, by the American missionaries ; in Telugu, with much of the Old Testament, at Vizagapatam ; in Tulava by the Mangalore missionaries ; and in the ancient languages of India, the Sanskrit and Pali. Besides these again, we have a gospel or two published in four languages, spoken by the barbarous hill-tribes ; in Santal, Lepcha, Khassia, and the Tankari of Koteghur. Translations have also been commenced in the Punjabi. Thus are the civilized Hindus and Mussulmans of all India and Ceylon enabled to read, in their own tongues, the wonderful words of God, clearly and intelligibly set forth. The value of such a book who shall declare ? How many years of thoughtful labour are concentrated in this small library of Bibles ! How many millions of immortal minds will draw from it the streams of instruction, which shall convince the sinner, make the Christian grow in grace, comfort the sad, rebuke the backslider, warn all of hell, point all to heaven. Had missionaries done nothing else but prepare these excellent versions, incalculable good would have been effected. Apart from all good to the natives, they have lightened the labours of their successors, and given them an immediate entrance to their work, for which the first missionaries long sighed. This is an effect of past missionary labour which it will take a long time to develop fully. As an illustration, we quote a passage from the letter of a Ceylon missionary, on lately receiving Mr. Percival's beautiful translation of the Tamul Bible :

" For several years all the Tamul Scriptures, which I obtained, were some half-a-dozen copies of the Serampore edition of the New Testament, and one copy of the Tranquebar edition of the Old Testament by Fabricius, the printing of which was so bad as to be scarcely legible. What a pleasing contrast to that state of things does our present supply of Tamul Scriptures exhibit ! Now we have the whole of the Old and New Testaments beautifully printed and bound in one volume. We have it also in parts of almost every form and size, suitable for distribution among the people, and for the use of our numerous schools."

The translation of the Bible constitutes but one portion of the results of missionary labour in the native languages. In all the languages above mentioned, missionaries have prepared a small library of Christian books, to explain and enforce the truths which the Bible teaches. In each of the chief languages, they have prepared from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for Hindus and Mussulmans, exposing the errors of their system, and urging the claims of the Bible upon their attention. A few books and tracts also have been similarly published for the instruction of native Christians. In almost all these languages we find translations of the *Pilgrim's Progress* ; the *Holy War* ; *Doddridge's Rise and Progress* ; and similar works. We have books on the Evidences of Christianity ; on the doctrines and duties of the Bible ; exposures of Hinduism and Muhammadanism ; and in Tamul, an exposure of the errors of Popery. There is also a goodly collection of vernacular school books, Instructors, Readers, books of Bible history, and the like. Christian and Papist, Hindu and Mussulman, will find in every language of this land, useful instruction in the gospel of Christ : and the stores of knowledge thus opened are enlarging every year. A fresh impetus has been given to these efforts only recently, by the proceedings of the Calcutta Tract Society ; the Madras Society has followed it up ; and there is every probability of two very extensive Christian libraries being rapidly formed in the Tamul and Bengali languages, containing numerous standard works thoroughly adapted to the people who use them.

There is one circumstance, which greatly contributes to the production of these native works, and in connection with which Missionary Societies have not, perhaps, receive that meed of praise which is their due ; we refer to the establishment of Mission Presses. At the present time there are no less than *twenty-five* printing establishments in connection with missionary stations in India : and it is from the facilities they furnish for producing tracts and books, as well as from the liberal donations

of the English and American Bible and Tract Societies, that missionaries have been able to publish so much for the instruction of this country. Not only directly, but indirectly, have they promoted the extension of information throughout India. This example, and that of their countrymen engaged in the periodical press, have led the natives likewise to import presses for themselves; and at the present time, in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, there are no less than fifty-four presses belonging to natives, engaged in printing vernacular works or publishing newspapers and magazines. Of these, twenty-six are in Calcutta.

Missionary literature does not stop here. Indian missionaries have done much towards drawing the attention of the Christian world to the claims of Hindustan upon their sympathies and prayers. Many of our countrymen engaged in Government employ have described its scenery, its productions, its history, its resources, and the social life of the Europeans that reside within its borders. But to missionaries are we indebted for full accounts of the religious systems professed by its people; of their religious rites, their religious errors, and their social condition; of the character of their priesthood, their caste system, their debasing idolatry, the ignorance and vice which every where prevail, and the great difficulties in the way of the people's conversion. While but three or four such works describe the religious condition of China, or of the South Sea islands, or South Africa, or the West Indies, we can name at least thirty works written about India by missionaries, or containing the lives of missionaries who have died in the country. These works embody an immense amount of information respecting the natives of India, and fully illustrate the attempts which have been made to spread Christianity among them. Neither are these of an inferior kind, nor written by inferior men. They include works by the Serampore Missionaries; by Dr. Duff, and Dr. Wilson of Bombay; the works of Messrs. Weitbrecht, Long, Wilkinson, Buyers, Leupolt and Smith on Missions in the Presidency of Bengal: those of Messrs. Peggs, Sutton and Noyes on Orissa; those of Messrs. Campbell, Hoole, Hardey and Smith on the Missions of South India; and the admirable work of Mr. Arthur, published not long since. They include the *Memoirs* of Carey, Schwartz, and Rhenius, the 'Sketches' of Mr. Fox, and the 'Journals' of Henry Martyn. Shall we pause to describe the usefulness of these valuable contributions to the missionary literature of our missionary age?

Missionaries also maintain several English periodicals, des-

criptive of their work and its details. Of these two monthly periodicals, and one quarterly, are published at Madras ; two at Bombay ; and four in Calcutta. These have been most useful in recording the difficulties and encouragements of Indian missionary life, in developing the experience of friends, and meeting the calumnies of opponents. Two of them have existed twenty years, and contain a vast accumulation of useful information.

In connection with this subject, we must in justice refer to the speeches and writings of Indian missionaries when in Europe, and to the good they have done, in placing before the Church, the claims of missions in their proper light. Missionaries, when they return to their native country even on account of sickness, do not eat the bread of idleness. It is a well known fact that they are extensively engaged in travelling among the churches, imparting information, making appeals, fostering the missionary spirit, and as eye-witnesses, relating its results. To such journeys the churches owe a great deal of what they know concerning the heathen world. Many a Christian mother learns from a missionary's appeal to devote her sons to the good cause ; and many a youth receives those impressions, which end in his own consecration to the salvation of the heathen. All the churches are enlightened, and the zeal, the liberality, the prayerfulness, of all are called forth afresh. England, Scotland, Germany and America have all benefitted in this way by the reports of the men whom they themselves had sent to the eastern world.

Let these literary agencies and literary products of missionary labour in India be taken in connection with other efforts in other departments of their work—and it will at once appear that great things have been accomplished and great hindrances removed. Demands are now speedily met, and wants readily supplied. How differently situated, therefore, is missionary work now from what it was at the commencement of the present century. When a missionary lands for the first time in this country, he no longer finds himself in the destitute circumstances, which awaited his first predecessors. There are books at his command to inform him of the country and the people to whom he has come, to describe their superstitions, and shew him how to meet them. He finds grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies to aid him in studying the native languages. He finds, in many places, Hindu students in missionary institutions, able at once to receive his Christian instructions, though delivered in his own language. He finds native chapels erected wherein he may preach ; and finds the people

prepared in spirit to understand his message ; he finds school-houses built, scholars gathered, and school-books, suited to his scholars, waiting for him ; he finds Christian tracts and translations of the Bible ready for distribution. His theological nomenclature is already settled, and he has only to learn it as fast as he can. He finds small societies of Christians already gathered, in which his halting efforts in the vernacular may be commenced, and to which converts may be introduced. He finds that a vast amount of secular work, in building houses, churches and schools, has been completed ; all the elements of an efficient agency have been prepared ; an agency suited to the country in every way, in language, and in thoughts, embodying the knowledge and experience of many men, who spent years of toil in acquiring them. The more this matter is studied, the more highly shall we value the past labours of Indian missionaries. If human agency must be employed ; and if efficiency in the agency is conducive to the speedy attainment of the contemplated results ; then it must be allowed that, in their literary and other labours, apart from actual conversions, missionaries have already completed much toward the object of their efforts, the regeneration of Hindustan. "Other men have laboured, and we are entering into their labours." We have been sent to reap ; let us remember those that sowed.

Missionaries, and the religious public, which supports them, have, during the past fifty years, exerted a great influence upon the Government, by inducing it to remove some of the most glaring abominations current throughout India. Dr. John of Tranquebar and Sir Fowell Buxton were the first, who brought before the Government of India and the British Parliament respectively, the dreadful practice of *Suttee*. Under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, that great Indian Governor, the *Suttee* disappeared ; and, when he left the country, the noble Lord declared that nothing in the course of his administration gave him so much pleasure in the review, as did the removal of that great evil. *Infanticide*, too, especially in Western India, has been greatly checked, although not perfectly exterminated. The *Human Sacrifices*, systematically offered in Goomsur, have been forbidden, and an agency has been established to save the unhappy victims, the Meriahs, by removing them from the district. *Thuggee* has been almost entirely put down, and an institution established at Jubbulpore for training the families of Thugs to various useful employments. *Slavery* has been abolished throughout the Company's territories ; though it still exists to a lamentable extent in Travancore. Some of the bonds which connected the Government with idolatry have been sever-

ed. And lastly, by the celebrated Act of last year, it has been declared, that all natives of India are free to hold their own conscientious opinions in religion, without fear of legal penalties. These improvements have been effected within the last twenty-five years ; and the result of the efforts made to secure them cannot but encourage those who strive to see other great evils checked, such as the Charak puja, Ghat murders, and the support of idolatry by the Government itself. To these subjects, over and over again, the attention of the Government and of the public has been called by missionaries ; and the direct and indirect effects of their disinterested advocacy of the claims of humanity cannot be too highly estimated.

These brief statements contain ample proof that missionary labour in Hindustan has been anything but unsuccessful. If the small number of native professors do not inspire entire confidence, or fall short of the high expectations which some had formed, on a survey of the amount of labour bestowed on the country, we think that a wider view of the results of missions, in not only converting a few, but in consolidating a powerful and widely-spread agency, must tend to excite the strongest hope in relation to the future. In the increased attention directed to India by the churches of Europe and America ; in the large number of missionaries located throughout its great districts and in its most influential towns ; in the complete establishment of many stations, including the erection of buildings wherein all varieties of labour are pursued ; in the numerous and useful translations of the Bible or New Testament : in the formation of a Christian library, suitable both for the conversion of Hindus and the enlightenment of converts ; in the successful study of the native languages and the formation of aids for future students ; in the faithful description of the superstitions and social evils prevailing throughout the country ; in the record of faithful and long tried experience ; in the extensive improvement of European society ; in the removal of enormous evils from among the native community, and the public exhibition of the *fact*, that some parts of Hinduism are too monstrous to be allowed, and must be put down by law ; in the securing of liberty of conscience for all ; in the gathering of a native church, some of whose members have been distinguished by their Christian consistency and fidelity to the gospel ; in the substantial progress made in certain provinces of our Indian empire ; and in the deep and wide impression made upon native society by Christian truth, the loosening of the bonds of caste, the extension of knowledge and the enlightening of a sacred con-

science ;—in all these important results, we think that great things have been accomplished by our Indian missions, and that we have the most ample encouragement to carry out what we have begun. “Thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph !”

It should be remembered, that these results have not been secured without great efforts, without great difficulties, without many trials. Difficulties meet the gospel everywhere—difficulties arising from the sinfulness of the hearer, and from the human weakness of the preacher, in every country of the globe. But in India, there are special hindrances, and trials with special peculiarities, which help to retard the efficiency of the preacher, and the entrance of the word into the hearer's heart. These difficulties are not connected with physical privations : even the heat, which is so trying to health and patience, is borne by missionaries in common with thousands of their countrymen with aims far inferior to theirs. They arise from the great power of the superstitions of the country, of the ancient Shastras, of Brahminical rule and Sudra servitude ; from the iron system of caste and family connection ; from the ignorance of the people ; from their great apathy and utter indifference to the subject of true religion ; from their constant levity respecting sacred things ; from their subtlety and cunning ; from their total want of moral courage, and from their dependence upon others. The native churches add to these trials. Their small numbers ; their imperfect character ; their frequent faults ; their want of earnest zeal ; their dependence on their teachers ; all try the faith and patience of the missionary, and hinder the swift progress of the gospel among the heathen. The worldliness and irreligion of Europeans also increase these difficulties. In past days, much more than at present, the immoral lives, the injustice, and the corruption of Europeans, put a great stumbling-block in the way of many well inclined to the gospel ; and the evil, though much diminished, still exists. Again, with one or two honourable exceptions, we believe, the whole political press of India is either indifferent to missionary labour, or downright hostile to it. If occasionally a few encomiums appear upon the missionary character in general—encomiums which are intended to propitiate that powerful body, but are valued at just their proper worth—at other times gross misstatements and misrepresentations of their work are admitted without a word of comment ; or principles are advocated, which cut away the very foundation on which missions rest, and declare them to be chimerical and vain. Happily, the mis-

sionary body has a press of its own, and contains some of the best writers in India. But surely a class of men, who, with all their deficiencies, have come to India solely for its good, and are spending £187,000 a year within the country for that end, may justly claim a better treatment than some have given them.

One difficulty in the way of their labours deserves special mention, both from its importance and extent; we mean the *support of idolatry* by the Government. There was a time when, through the extensive preaching of the gospel by the Tranquebar and Tanjore missionaries and other causes, the temples in the Madras Presidency began to be deserted and perceptibly to fall into decay. Then it was that the Government of Madras took them under its own protection, appointed the officiating priests, received the offerings, disbursed the expenses, publicly presented gifts, and restored new vigour to the dying system! Voluntarily, deliberately and knowingly the Government of Madras made itself trustee of the pagoda lands, for the perpetuation of that debasing idolatry, which the God of Heaven has determined to overthrow. In times of drought, the "Collector" ordered the Brahmins to pray to the gods for rain, and paid money for their expenses. European officers joined in salutes to the idols. Some, of their own accord, would make their obeisance: and others would ride in front of the cars, shouting with the multitude, "Hari Bol!" Villagers were summoned to draw the cars by order of the Collector, and were whipped by the native officials, if they refused. The temples were kept in repair by the Government; and the illuminations at the festivals were paid for from the treasury.

The same guilty course was adopted at the other Presidencies. In Ceylon, all the chief Buddhist priests were appointed by Government; and expenses for "*devil dancing*" continued at Kandy for seven days, were paid, as per voucher, "FOR HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE!" Again the Government of India, by one of its Regulations in 1810, recognises Hindu and Mussulman endowments as pious and charitable uses; places the superintendence of them in the hands of Christian officers, instead of leaving them, like all other trusts, solely to the parties interested; and, by this regulation and by the practices we have described, has established the closest connection between themselves and the shrines of abominable idolatry. These are a few facts illustrative of the Government connection with Hinduism: we are acquainted with many more, but find it impossible, in this sketch, to enter into detail. We will add only another fact on the subject of Muhammadanism.

We hear much from England of the endowment of Maynooth by the British legislature; yet that legislature consists partly of Romanists, and the fact of the endowment, though matter of sorrow, cannot altogether be viewed with surprise. But what shall be said of the Indian Government, calling itself Christian, and supporting a large church establishment, while at the same time, it supports the CALCUTTA MADRISSA—a college for the education of Muhammadans in their own creed? The privileges denied to the Bible, which is repudiated as a class-book from the Government schools, are allowed to the Koran; and that false and fanatical system is patronized, and its zealous proselyting priests are trained by our Christian rulers! The late Mr. Bethune, we believe, wished to change this system, and to make the college the means of conveying sound knowledge to the scholars. We fear, however, this purpose is not likely to be soon carried into effect. So long as the present system continues, shall we have obvious reason for finding fault with the position of the Government in relation to the false religions of India.

There are some who make excuses for this open violation of the law of God, who can find reasons for delaying the entire severance of the East India Company from this plague spot. But we are sure that every right-minded man, who looks at the simple fact of a Christian Government's lending the prestige of its name to the cause of Hinduism or of the false prophet, must condemn it as a crime. That the religious people of England so regard it has been shown in many ways. Their numerous remonstrances with the Court of Directors; their numerous petitions to Parliament; the declared assent of Her Majesty's ministers, and the stringent despatches of the Directors themselves, all agree in affirming that the Government connection with idolatry is a thing which *must* be put a stop to. Some features of the case have already been corrected: the Government of India has not been wholly averse to diminish the evils which it still cherishes. The pilgrim taxes at Allahabad and Gya have long been abolished, and the temples given back to the Brahmins. Oaths, in the name of Hindu idols, have been abolished. The attendance of European officers on idolatrous ceremonies has, at last, been dispensed with, and salutes in honour of the idols have ceased. The colonial office has given up the tooth of Budh, and determined "to separate the British Government from all active participation in the practices of heathen worship." The Court of Directors, in 1847, gave stringent orders, that the guardianship of the temples and mosques in the North-West Provinces, and

the contributions paid to them, amounting to Rs. 1,10,000, should cease. But a great deal yet remains to be done. The temple of Jaganath still receives its Rs. 23,000 annually : and to this day, the Residents at Nagpore and Baroda, the representatives of the Government, take a share in the heathen festivals. In the Madras Presidency, the evil continues to a fearful extent. Down to 1841, more than £400,000 a year passed through the hands of the Madras Government, in connection with heathen temples ; and the annual profit was £17,000. Even after the receipt of the orders of the Court in 1841, Mr. Chamier, the secretary, in communicating these orders to the Board of Revenue, and informing them, that the withdrawal from the management of the pagodas is to be 'final and complete,' writes thus : "It is not, however, the desire of Government, that the revenue officers should relinquish the management of lands attached to religious institutions, which have been assumed for the purpose of securing the public revenue, or in order that protection may be furnished to the ryots..... *There is no intention of withholding any authorized and customary payments and allowances.*" To this day, therefore, the donations continue. To this day, the temple priests, the dancing women, and the idols' clothes are paid for by our rulers ! With such orders from the Local Government, to *explain* the views of the Court of Directors, we can easily understand the following statement, in Sir Herbert Maddock's Minute in 1844, on the grant to Jaganath : *

"The temple of Jaganath is only ONE of INNUMERABLE HINDU TEMPLES, *the establishments and worship of which are partly maintained by money payments from the public treasury* : and it cannot be proposed to commute all these payments in a similar manner (*i. e.*, by an assignment on the land revenue), though there is no other reason for making Jaganath an exception, than such as arises from its greater celebrity and from the notoriety of the Government's late connexion with its management."

It must not be concealed that the complete truth on this important subject remains to be known by the public. We fear that even the Court of Directors themselves, are not thoroughly acquainted with the extent, to which they endow, or take in charge, the shrines of false religions. We require, therefore, first of all, a most thorough enquiry into the expenditure, in every zillah of our Indian Empire, on account of mosques, temples and priests, and shall never be content until it is made. The

* In the Parliamentary Blue Book.

mere statement of the bare truth will, we are sure, both astonish the Government and lead to a sweeping reform.

Apart from these definite results, obtained amid many difficulties, the missionary agents of the past fifty years in India have (as already stated) acquired a store of experience calculated to render their future operations more efficient and more successful. Even their failures and mistakes have not been in vain : and the experiments made have only tended to develop more clearly the character of the field they occupy. We purpose merely to mention one or two of the more important lessons, which experience has taught : though we should like to see the whole matter thoroughly examined by those, who have made themselves acquainted with the history of Indian missions.

1. Experience has shown that in endeavouring to meet a system like Hinduism, the Church of Christ may profitably employ a variety of plans. Amid the peculiarities of Hindu society, the preacher of the gospel has to reach rich and poor, young and old, male and female, Brahmin and Sudra, learned and rude : he has to set right all who have been led wrong. By preaching in the native languages he may reach the lower classes of the adult population : by good schools, both in English and the vernacular, he may reach the upper classes through their sons ; where circumstances allow, he may establish schools for respectable girls, as well as boys. All will profit by translations of the Bible : all will profit by Christian books. And so long as preachers are few, while the greater part of their labour is spent on a special locality, a portion of it may be applied by itinerancy to the general district around. The missionary's object is one : his plans may be many. We think that those therefore err, who would confine all labours to a fixed routine, to be applied in all places and among all classes. Experience has proved the value of all the plans hitherto employed. All have been blessed both to the conversion of individuals, and the general spread of Christian truth. We may specially observe that the new system of English education, which long suffered so much obloquy, has been proved to be a valuable agent in carrying out missionary ends in a sphere peculiar to itself. Our plans are not antagonists : they are co-agents. " We saw one casting out devils," said the disciples, " and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us." But the master replied, " Forbid him not : for he that is not against us, is on our part." It is only required that every plan should be wisely applied to the persons and the places for which it is suited. That is the very condition of its success.

2. Experience has shown that in the present paucity of

labourers, the large cities and towns of Hindustan are the best mission stations. The same fact has been true in all ages. Great cities contain the most active and intelligent portion of a people, while agriculture has almost always been associated with ignorance and sloth. It is cities that rule the world : and through cities is the world to be converted. It was so in the beginning of the gospel. Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth were the cities in which Paul opened his commission. Jerusalem and Cæsarea had their churches : so also had Rome and Alexandria. It was while Paul tarried at Ephesus 'for the space of two years,' that 'all they which dwelt in (Roman) Asia, heard the word of the Lord. It was from the church of Thessalonica, too, that the word of the Lord 'sounded out in Macedonia and Achaia.' The word *pagani* 'villagers,' came at length to denote 'heathen ;' because, among the villagers the idol system lingered last. It was the same during the Reformation, and is true in India. In those districts where the deepest impression has been made, that impression has been produced through the medium of the towns. Towns give the largest audiences and the most intelligent scholars. If we would lay a good foundation for the conversion of all India, the great cities must be occupied ; and every available plan set to work therein, systematically and steadily for the end in view. Missions to the hill tribes are greatly in favour with some Christians. They argue, that as the hill tribes have no caste and no antiquated religious system, they are the more likely to receive the gospel freely and at once. True : but the hill tribes have no more influence upon India generally than the South Sea islanders. When you have converted them all, you have not gained one step towards the overthrow of Hinduism. Their individual souls are precious, and missions among them must do good. But we want more than this. We want to make every individual conversion tell on the country at large : but that must be among the Hindus or Mussulmans, who constitute the great bulk of the ruling population. The stir that is made in Calcutta or Madras, when a few Brahmins become converts, shews how deadly the blow struck at Hinduism is felt to be.

3. Every mission in order to be efficient, in the way we have described, should contain a plurality of labourers. The scattering of missionaries, in isolated spots, has done great injury in past days. Missions need to be concentrated in well chosen localities. It may seem that more is effected when three missionaries occupy three single stations, than when they act conjointly in one. But experience has proved the contrary. Apart from

the advantage of mutual counsel and companionship, the very combination of efforts gives new power. The sickness and death of single-handed missionaries has frequently interrupted operations in a particular station ; and, in many cases, caused the station to be altogether abandoned. More than *forty* stations have been thus given up at various times ; and almost all the labour and expense bestowed upon them has been thrown away. We need point to only one or two recent instances : Delhi, after having been occupied for twenty-five years, has, since the death of Mr. Thompson, been entirely given up. The Baptist missions at Allahabad and Patna have also been closed after many years of labour. Midnapore has been occupied by single missionaries three times, and three times been abandoned. Kurnal, Mirut, Bareilly, and other stations, were long since given up by the Church Missionary Society ; and only Mirut has been re-occupied. Many other cases might be cited in South India. The principle of Dr. Chalmers's *local system* is peculiarly needed in Hindustan. It is ; that to accomplish a great work, we should commence on a *small scale, in a sphere that is perfectly under our control* ; that we should labour there *till it is accomplished* ; and *push outwards, as our strength increases*. Better a few mission stations, efficient, and steadily maintained, than many imperfectly carried on for years and finally given up. It seems to us, that all chief stations should have three or more missionaries, and never less than two. Rarely will it occur that there are too many missionaries in one place. So great is the work to be done, that none can be considered supernumerary.

Provided with such complete materials for an efficient agency, missionaries, we think, with few exceptions, ought now to give their whole care to the direct work before them. The preparation of agency, however efficient, is but indirect labour, after all. The translation of the Bible and the publication of Christian tracts are only means to an end. They only furnish facilities for getting at the native mind, and for making upon it a lasting impression. That impression remains to be made. When the best translation has been prepared, it must still be circulated. When the best school-books have been written, they must be explained. When the best tracts have been published, they must find readers, ere they serve the end for which they have been composed.

This explanation, this direct *application* of truth to the mind, is the work of the preacher and teacher of the young ; and, however excellent be the agents who prepare these materials, the latter class are essentially needed to complete the work of the for-

mer. During the present century, an immense amount of labour has been spent on the indirect branches of missionary work : and though, with the increase of inferior aids, more labour has been expended on its direct branches, yet that labour is neither so complete, nor so decided, as to render a word of caution respecting it unnecessary. It seems to us, that the external facilities to missionary labour are so great, the literary aids so numerous and efficient, the native mind so impressed, as to call for the most strenuous exertions in applying divine truth directly to the hearts of the Hindus. The time, we think, is come, when missionaries should give their best energies, their best men, and the largest amount of their efforts, to the two great works of preaching to the old and teaching the young. These are not the easiest branches of their labour, but they constitute the end, for which others are carried on. We wish that all missionaries, with the exception of a few, peculiarly fitted to amend our Christian literature, should give themselves to the word of God and prayer. Young missionaries, especially, may well endeavour to learn the native languages at once ; and preach and get experience in native modes of thought. Thus they will be well fitted, after a few years, to employ leisure hours from more active labour in adding to the existing agency or amending its defects. Their efforts will be of the most useful kind, never dissipated nor ill-applied. This will be the best use of their predecessors' hard earned experience, and will save them from the disappointments which they had to bear. This is the true influence of the division of labour in science, or in commerce : and the law holds good, when applied to missions. But, though the principle is obvious, it has not always been acted on. Rhenius declares, that he began to edit a new edition of the Tamul Bible, before he had been in Madras *one year and-a-half* ! Other missionaries have confessed to similar folly, and warned their successors against it. May they be wise in time, and, whether old or young, endeavour to *use up* the materials provided for their use, in facilitating that intercourse with the heathen, which is their primary object in coming to this land.

The principle, which we advocate, will apply to the subjects of missionaries' preaching, as well as to their plans. Now that the contentious spirit of their hearers has been silenced, they need to be instructed. Now that they have learned so much of the follies of Hinduism, they need to be told more fully the truths of the gospel. If they doubt about their false gods, how earnestly should they be pointed to the only true Saviour. Has not the time come in many localities, when missionaries should endeavour to direct their hearers more thoroughly

and more constantly to the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world? They have long required to have their eyes opened to the follies of idolatry, the character of their gods, and the inconsistencies of their Shastras. The circumstances of the case compelled missionaries to point out these evils at length, and to hold discussions with their hearers concerning them. Now let us lift the CROSS higher; let us preach Jesus, the only physician, the only refuge for a dying world: and let us *live* him more fully; believing that the deepest piety is, in every church, both the means and the guarantee of the widest usefulness.

5. Another lesson of experience bears on the character of the men, most suited to be Indian missionaries. In some countries, artisans have been found exceedingly useful in instructing converts, and in making missions self-supporting. India, however, is not the country for such labourers. Two experiments, at least, have been made on a considerable scale, with self-supporting agents, and have completely failed. The country, the climate, the state of Hindu society, and the low rate of wages, are all opposed to the success of this scheme, as a remunerative one. India wants missionaries, whose whole time and energy shall be spent on their direct work as preachers of the gospel. The money, needed for their support, can be far better produced in Europe, or contributed by Christians here, than made in the country itself. An attentive consideration of the peculiar difficulties placed in the way of Indian missions; of the duties to be discharged, and the circumstances under which they must be carried on; of the acquaintance that must be made with the language, the manners and notions of the people, with their religion in all its ramifications, and with the subtle objections they make to Christian truth; of the peculiar trials to which missionaries are subjected, and of the faith, patience and prudence, needed to meet them;—will clearly show the distinctive features of that character, which is best suited to the effective prosecution of Indian missionary work. To meet the climate safely, a missionary should possess a sound constitution. To meet the people and their circumstances, we require men of intelligence and education, men able to master languages, and by largeness of mind, to appreciate modes of thinking different from their own. In regard to the spiritual deadness of the land, we need men of well-established piety, of tried patience, and firm faith. In regard to the weakness of the native churches, and their want of bright examples of Christian conduct, we need men, who, by their superior character, will mould their people, and stamp

them with a high order of excellence. We have no common country to deal with, no common people, and no common religion. In India, therefore, the highest scholarship and the deepest piety will find ample scope for all that they can accomplish.

6. Experience has taught economy, both respecting missionary life and missionary funds. It has taught how, by care and watchfulness, by airy houses, light dress, and avoiding exposure, missionary life and health may, under great disadvantages, be greatly preserved. The climate tries them greatly, as it does all Europeans. The scorching days and sleepless nights encourage peculiar and deadly diseases. But it is the mental anxiety—the round of pressing labour which allows no sabbath rest—that tell most on missionary strength. Yet, even with these disadvantages, their general health has decidedly improved. The number of missionaries, who die or remove annually from the country, is not so large in proportion as it used to be. We have already shewn that the average duration of missionary life and labour in India amounts to *nearly seventeen years*, and is decidedly on the increase.

Our expenditure also has been economized. Missionaries have shared, with their countrymen, in the reduced value of European goods, and their printing presses, especially, are able to work cheaper now than formerly. In general, European and American Societies furnish the salaries of missionaries and catechists; other expenses are provided from local funds. We must, however, mention here (and we wish that the fact could reach the proper parties) that some Societies sustain their missionaries on a starvation-allowance. Numerous missionaries in India receive *less than a hundred and fifty rupees* a month; and some, little more than *one hundred*. This is economy at the wrong end, for it reduces the efficiency of those, who must actually perform the labour. But none can say that missionary funds are extravagantly expended in any way. We have already pointed out, that the whole agency of India and Ceylon, including the support of four hundred and three missionaries, and the instruction of one hundred and thirteen thousand children, costs only £187,000 per annum. Of this sum, the cost of all the agency in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, including the support of one hundred and fifty-nine missionaries, amounts to £68,000. This latter sum is not quite equal to two items only of the Government expenditure; *viz.*, the salary of the Governor-General (£24,000) and his travelling expenses (£45,000).

7. We might mention other lessons, taught by hard-earned

experience—all calculated to increase the usefulness of our great work in India: but we must leave them unsaid. We cannot refrain, however, from uttering a single word in relation to efforts among the heathen. In some stations, pastoral work begins to occupy so much attention as to draw off the attention of missionaries from the idolators at their doors. But this should not be. The missionary work must still maintain its aggressive character. Even Tinnevely, Travancore and Krishnaghur should be occupied, only upon the plan of Dr. Chalmers above referred to. They should be made centres of Christian influence, whence the gospel may spread farther and more effectually. From them both missionaries and catechists may itinerate in favourable seasons; and the Hindus be brought still under the invitations of the gospel. The variety in his work will be a benefit to the missionary; and new converts will be brought into the church.

Have Indian missions then been a failure? Irreligion and fear prophesied in former days that they would be. They prophesied that the Hindus would never be converted, and that the attempt to Christianize them would lead to rebellion. Such notions have long been exploded. Looking at the number of actual converts and the still larger numbers under regular Christian instruction; looking to the character of many, who have died in the faith of the gospel; looking to the vast amount of efficient agency now at work; looking to the deep and wide impression made upon the native mind at large; looking to the improvement in European society: looking to the removal of several of the most striking evils once prevalent in the land; looking to the large and valuable experience acquired by past labours, and to the preparation made by those labours for future success;—we must allow that missions have accomplished MUCH, during the short period in which they have been efficiently carried on. “The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.” The camp has been planted and the position of the Christian army made good. The battle has begun; and the various bodies of troops have had their several positions assigned to them. The translators, with their heavy batteries of Bible truth; the tract writers, with their light field guns; the active cavalry of itinerators; the preaching battalions of foot, and the little band of Christian sepoy, are all engaged in subduing this vast continent, to “the obedience of Christ.” If the work be carried on, what *must* be the end? “The LORD gave the word: great is the company of the preachers.” Shall not “Kings of armies flee apace; while they that tarry at home, divide the spoil” and share the joy of victory?

Every thing calls upon the churches of Christ, both in Europe and America, to complete what they have begun. The claims of India upon their sympathies, efforts and prayers, are becoming stronger every day: and, the more they are appreciated, the more will our great missionary work be prosecuted with earnestness and vigour. In support of those claims, we may appeal to the vast population which India contains, reckoned as at least one hundred and thirty millions, and by some, as two hundred millions. We may appeal to the vast extent of this great continent, its many nations, and its resources for promoting human comfort. We may appeal to its great influence in Asia in general, and to the fact, that as it spread its Buddhism over China, Thibet and Burmah, it must, as a Christian country, be mainly instrumental in bringing those and other countries under the power of the gospel. We may appeal to the Providence of God, which has made the whole country accessible in the fullest degree to missionary labour, under the security and protection afforded by the English Government:—a fact, which, contrasted with the position of China, Madagascar, Persia, Tahiti, and even Kaffirland, must shew the immeasurable superiority of the advantages we possess. We may appeal to the debt which England owes to India, for the commerce it has originated, the support it gives to thousands of our countrymen, and the profits of its merchandise; to an annual gain reckoned at eight millions sterling in value; and to the political consequence attached to the Indian empire. We may appeal to the many and powerful religious systems of the country; to its Hinduism, Muhammadanism and Buddhism: to its ancient Shastras and powerful priesthood; its system of caste, and the degradation of its women. We may appeal to the labour already spent, and to the success with which it has been followed. Some of these motives exist only in India. What other country has them all combined? Separately they are unanswerable: united, who can resist them? But *one* Macedonian called upon Paul to bring the gospel across the Hellespont. Millions of men appeal to *our* sympathies, and with far greater earnestness and with far deeper reason, cry “Come over and help us.”

The present missionary force in India is utterly insufficient for the completion of the grand object in our view. New efforts, therefore, in Europe and America; new efforts in England, Scotland and Ireland; new sacrifices, new gifts, new self-denial alone will avail to secure the men and the money which our agency requires. It is true, that missionaries in India are many in one sense. They constitute nearly one-third of the entire missionary body throughout the world. They are many, as

compared with none : but as regards sufficiency, their numbers are quite inadequate. Neither are they many, as regards the proportion of labourers to the people to be evangelized. The Sandwich Islands, with 80,000 inhabitants, have thirty-one missionaries. The Navigator's Islands, with a population of 160,000, have fifteen missionaries to instruct them. New Zealand, with 100,000, has forty. The population of the South Sea Islands under instruction is 800,000, and is taught by 120 missionaries. In the West Indies, there are not less than *three hundred and fifty* missionaries to instruct a population of *two millions and a half*. More than seventy missionaries are crowded into the "five ports" of China and the Island of Hong Kong. But in India, for 130 (or as some say 200) millions of people, we have but four hundred and three missionaries. Whole provinces, and large towns with thousands of inhabitants, are wholly uninstructed. In Bengal and Behar it has been reckoned that eighteen millions never hear the gospel. Within fifty miles of Calcutta, there are towns and villages with 30,000, 20,000, and 10,000 inhabitants, that never saw a missionary till the present year ; and were so unknown, that no map accurately described their position and size. Delhi, with 150,000 people, much more populous than New Zealand, has no missionary at all. Midnapore, with 70,000, has none. Azimghur, Bareilly, Purnea, Mymensing, and hundreds of other important towns and districts, have none at all. Excepting two missionaries at Lahore and one in Sindh, the Punjab, Sindh, the Bhawalpore states, all Rajputana, all Oudh, Bundelkhund, the Nerbudda valley, and the great state of Hyderabad, have no missionaries whatever. Even Agra, the chief seat of the North-West Provinces, has but eight missionaries, of whom one is absent ; and Benares, the "holy city," with a permanent population of 300,000, has but eleven. The two towns of Saugor and Dacca alone, contain a population *equal to that of all the Malay-peopled Islands of the South Seas* put together. In those islands *one hundred and twenty* missionaries are labouring : while in the former two cities, there are but *five* ! In the whole Presidency of Agra, containing numerous large towns, and peopled with the finest races in India, there are only *as many missionaries (57), as are engaged in the small Negro settlements on the West Coast of Africa*. These things are seen, in India ; in India, under an English Government : in India, opened to the gospel ; in India, white to the harvest. Has the church given to it its proper share of agency ? Grand efforts are made to open doors that are closed ; while doors wide open are neglected ! Oh ! for more of the spirit of Him, who "had compassion upon the multitudes when He saw them as sheep without a shepherd."

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